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CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

By JOHN BOYD THACHER

General Synopsis of the Work

PART I.—"The First Historians of America"—Peter Martyr and Bartolomé de las Casas.

PART II.—"Introduction"—A critical inquiry into the character of Columbus.

PART III.—"The Man"—Biography of Columbus up to the time of his going to Portugal.

PART IV.—"The Purpose"—Showing the influences and adoption of the project.

PART V.—"The Event"—Describing the Discovery from the Admiral's *Journal.*

PART VI.—"The Announcement"—Including the earliest publication of the news and the Papal recognition.

PART VII.—"Exploration"—Giving details of the subsequent voyages of Columbus with the import of his larger discoveries.

PART VIII.—"Personality"—An attempt to classify into types the portraits of Columbus, and to reproduce in facsimile all his known handwriting.

PART IX.—"Los Restos"—Tracing the remains of Columbus and fixing the present repository of the precious relics.

PART X.—"Arbor Consanguinitatis"—The Family Tree of Columbus with its blood-lines allianced to Royalty.

APPENDIX.—Containing the Majorat, the Will of Columbus, and Miscellaneous Documents.

Silver Caravel, Bearing in its Stern the Castillo Locket, Containing a Small Portion of the Ashes of Christopher Columbus.

Christopher Columbus

HIS LIFE, HIS WORK
HIS REMAINS

AS REVEALED BY

ORIGINAL PRINTED AND MANUSCRIPT RECORDS

TOGETHER WITH AN

Essay on Peter Martyr of Anghera and Bartolomé de las Casas, the First Historians of America

By

JOHN BOYD THACHER

AUTHOR OF "THE CONTINENT OF AMERICA," "THE CABOTIAN DISCOVERY," ETC.

VOLUME III

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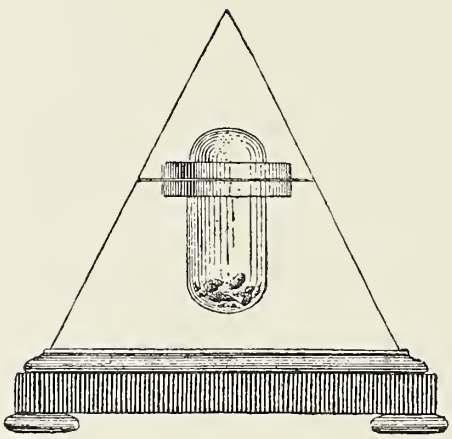

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PART VIII

PERSONALITY

CHAPTER CXV

PERSONAL APPEARANCE OF COLUMBUS

The opening passage in the *Libretto* gives the earliest description of the person of Columbus:

"Cristophoro Colõbo, Zenoeſe, homo de alta & procera ſtatura roſſo de grande ingegno & faza longa."

"Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, a man of tall and lofty stature, of ruddy complexion, of great intelligence and with a long face."

As this passage does not appear in the edition of 1511 or in subsequent editions of the *Decades* of Peter Martyr, it may be assumed that it was interjected by Trivigiano, who had a personal acquaintance with the Admiral, and was therefore qualified to speak of his distinctive appearance. Antonio Gallo and Bartholomeo Senarega, both cotemporaneous Genoese historians, —although their manuscript works were first reproduced in print by Muratori in 1733,—fail to give any account of the Admiral's personal appearance. These Genoese writers, as we have seen, were the first to give the story of the family origin. Gallo says:

"Christophorus & Bartholomæus Columbi fratres, natione Ligures, ac Genuæ plebejis orti parentibus, & qui ex lanificii [nam textor pater, carminatores filii aliquando fuerunt] mercedibus victitarent." [1]

"Christopher and Bartholomew Columbus, brothers, Ligurians and Genoese by nativity, sprung from common parentage, supported themselves with the wages which come from weaving [for the father being a weaver, the sons became carders or weavers' assistants]."

Oviedo, who was a youth at the time and a page in the Court, may have seen Columbus in Barcelona when he returned from

[1] Muratori, *Rerum Italiorum*, vol. xxiii., folio 302, Milan, 1733.

his first voyage. In his *Historia General y Natural de Las Indias*, Oviedo describes briefly the person of the Admiral, but not at all as if from sight. He begins his description of Columbus by the parenthetical clause: "Segun yo he sabido de hombres de su nasçion"—"According to what I have learned from men of his nation." He then describes his person as follows:

"De buena estatura é aspecto, mas alto que mediano, é de reçios miembros: los ojos vivos é las otras partes del rostro de buena proporcion: el cabello muy bermejo, é la cara algo ençendido é pecoso." [1]

"He was of good stature and appearance, of more than medium height and with strong limbs, his eyes bright and his other features of good proportion: his hair very red and his face somewhat burned and freckled."

Las Casas, the Historian of the Indies, and who also as a youth knew Columbus after his return from the New World, says:

"Fué de alto cuerpo, más que mediano; el rostro luengo y autorizado: la nariz aquileña; los ojos garzos; la color blanca, que tiraba á rojo encendido; la barba y cabellos, cuando era mozo, rubios, puesto que muy presto con los trabajos se le tornaron canos." [2]

"His form was tall, above the medium: his face long and his countenance imposing: his nose aquiline: his eyes clear blue: his complexion light, tending toward a decided red: his beard and hair were red when he was young, but which cares then had early turned white."

Andrés Bernaldez is one of the earliest writers to whom we go for our knowledge, but he does not speak of the features of the Admiral. He tells us that Columbus was a bookseller in Andalusia, that when he died he was seventy years of age, and that it was his custom after his return in 1496 from his second voyage to wear the ecclesiastical garb of the Franciscan order, both the frock and the girdle.

"Ovo un hombre de tierra de Génova, mercader de libros de estampa, que trataba en esta tierra Andalucia, que llamaban Christobal Colon, hombre de muy alto ingenio, sin saber muchas letras. . . ." [3]

"There was a man from the country of Genoa called Christopher Columbus, a dealer in printed books who traded in the country of Andalusia; a man of very great intelligence without being very learned. . . ."

"Y vino en Castile en el mes de Junio de 1496 años, vestido de unas

[1] *Historia General*, Seville, 1535, liber ii., cap. ii.
[2] *Historia*, lib. i., cap. ii.
[3] *Reyes Catolicos*, chapter cxviii.

ropas de color de hábito de fraile de San Francisco, de la observancia, y en la hechura poco ménos que hábito, é un cordon de San Francisco por devocion." [1]

". . . He came to Castile in the month of June, 1496, and because of his devotion he was dressed in robes of the colour of the ancient habits of the brothers of St. Francis, made almost like a habit, and wearing a cord of St. Francis."

"El cual dicho Almirante D. Christobal Colon, de maravillosa y honrada memoria, natural de la provincia de Génova, estando en Valladolid el año de 1506, en el mes de Mayo, murió in senectute bona, inventor de las Indias, de edad de 70 años poco más é ménos." [1]

"Which said Admiral Don Christopher Columbus, of wonderful and honoured memory, a native of the province of Genoa, the discoverer of the Indies, being in Valladolid in the month of May of the year 1506, died *senectute bona* [in a good old age] at the age of 70 years a little more or less."

Ferdinand Columbus, the son, wrote of his father:

"L'Ammiraglio fu huomo di ben formata & piu che mediocre ftatura, di volto lungo, & di guancie un poco alte, fenza che declinaſſe a graſſo, o macilento. Haueua il nafo aquilino, & gli occhi bianchi, bianco, accefo di viuo colore. Nella fua giouentu hebbe i capelli biondi, benche, giunto che fu a' trenta anni, tutti gli diuennero bianchi." [2]

"The Admiral was a man of good form, of more than medium stature: with a long visage, the cheek-bones a little high: inclining neither to stoutness nor thinness: his nose was aquiline and his eyes light: he was a blond inclining to high colouring: in his youth his hair was fair, but when he was thirty, it had all turned white."

The first part of the *Historia* written by Oviedo was printed at Seville in 1535, long after the events happened, certainly more than forty years after Oviedo had seen Columbus and his triumphal reception in Barcelona.

Bartolomé de las Casas, the fullest of the first historians, and in whose hand was the original manuscript *Journal* of Columbus, wrote his work when in advanced years. It is evident that he contemplated writing of the events that happened not merely in the early years after the discovery, but bringing the history of the Indies down to his own last days, even to the year 1566, in which year he died at the grand old age of ninety-two. But he reached in his historical writing no farther than to describe the expedition of Jacome de Castellon against the Indians,

[1] *Reyes Catolicos*, chapter cxxxi.

[2] *Historie*, Venice, 1571, recto folio 7.

undertaken in 1521. We know that in 1559 he was engaged in writing this history, and he complains that his voyages and his occupations have interrupted a work long before begun. No matter when it was begun, it must have been long after the events directly connected with Columbus, and he is doubtless making a draft on his memory when he recalls the personal appearance of the great Admiral. His history, while often consulted in manuscript by scholars and writers, did not reach the public in printed form until the year 1875.

Andrés Bernaldez was Curate of Los Palacios, a village near Seville, between the years 1488 and 1513. He knew Christopher Columbus personally, and left behind him a manuscript work in which he related the events of the four voyages accomplished by the Admiral. This manuscript was printed at Granada, by Don José Maria Zamora, 1856, in two small quarto volumes, and bears for its general title: *Historia de los Reyes Católicos D. Fernando y Doña Isabel, Cronica Inedita del Siglo XV, Escrita por el Bachiller Andrés Bernaldez.* Irving and other historians had access to the manuscript, and quoted from it in their works. The reference to the ecclesiastical dress worn by the Admiral is often cited in confirmation of the correctness of detail in the Jovian portrait of Columbus.

There has been controversy over the authenticity of the work alleged to have been composed by Ferdinand Columbus and known bibliographically as the *Historie*, from the first word of the title. The work was originally written in the Spanish tongue, and it remained in its manuscript form for years. Finally it found its way to Venice, where it was done into Italian by Alfonso Ulloa, and printed in 1571. It was translated into French and published in Paris in 1681, but, as we have elsewhere said, no student should follow the very imperfect French translation. Ferdinand, in describing the actual discovery, quotes at length from the Admiral's *Journal*, which he very naturally had in his possession. This *Journal* was also at the hand of Bartolomé de las Casas when he was writing his *Historia.* Because the *Historie* contains certain matter not in Las Casas, doubt has been cast upon it. But so far as the two accounts relate to the discovery, there is no essential difference. One of the objections raised against the genuineness of the *Historie* is the assertion of Ferdinand that his father came from dis-

tinguished ancestry; but this, to our mind, is the best evidence in its favour. Its introduction into his *Life* of his father is natural, especially in view of what had been said by Antonio Gallo, Bartholomeo Senarega, and Agostino Giustiniano as to his plebeian parentage. He had Sabellicus to quote as a possible authority on his side.

However, the point to which we desire the reader's attention is that none of the accounts describing the personal appearance of Christopher Columbus was published until many years after his death, except alone that given in the *Libretto* and in those subsequent works which literally copied that authority. And as this account does not appear anywhere in Peter Martyr, the credit must be given to Angelo Trivigiano.

The anatomist from a few bones constructs the entire animal structure. The artist with these few features has painted his own Columbus. More than eighty of these portraits exist, none executed directly from its subject or painted in the lifetime of the Admiral. Portrait-painting was not much practised in Spain in the fifteenth century. Indeed, there are no satisfactory or authentic portraits of King Ferdinand or Isabella,[1] his wife, or of Cardinal Ximénès, or of the *Great Captain*, Gonzalvo de Cordova. Some of these portraits of Columbus may be classified into types, some are purely imaginative, and some are palpably impossible. For instance, the Capriolo and Rinçon portraits are of the Jovian type, while the Talleyrand and Costa are of the De Bry school; the Parmigiano and Montanus portraits must have been evolved out of the fancy of the artist;

[1] In the *General History of Spain*, by the R. F. F. Juan de Mariana (see lib. xxv.) is the following description of the personal appearance of the Catholic Sovereigns:

"Both the King and Queen were of a middle stature, their limbs well proportioned, their countenances graceful, pleasing and yet grave; their mien majestic, but their complexion somewhat swarthy; especially the King's, tanned with being always in the field, his hair chestnut-colour and long, his beard trimmed after the manner of that age, his eye-brows large, his head bald, his mouth small, his lips red, his teeth little and thin, his back broad, his neck straight, his voice sharp, quick of speech, of a sharp wit, of a sound judgment, of a courteous disposition and ease of access. In material affairs he was expert: in matters of government not to be paralleled; so great a lover of business that it seemed to be his delight and diversion. His body was not pampered with pleasures, but inured to labour. His diet was temperate and his garb modest. He was an excellent horseman. When young he was addicted to cards and dice, grown more staid his chief sport was hawking.

"The Queen had a good face, fair hair, dark eyes: she used no paints or washes and had a singular modesty and gravity in her looks. She was very devout and a lover of learning: she bore her husband affection, but mixed with jealousy. She had some knowledge of the Latin tongue, which her husband wanted, having no learning given him in his youth; yet he loved to read history and converse with learned men."

the Rinck and one or two others belong to the impossible class. As the Apostles sometimes appear in mediæval painting wearing the dress of that period, so Columbus is sometimes made to dress in the costume and to assume the oddities of a period one hundred and fifty years after his time. Indeed, the Rinck portrait is that of a Canadian fur trapper of the present day.

There were artists in Spain at the close of the fifteenth century, but none who displayed the ability of the Italian painters. Among those Spanish artists whose names have been recorded we find Francisco de Amberes, Garcia del Barcia, Juan de Borgoña, Juan Sanchez de Castro, Gonzola Diaz, Juan Flamenco, Juan de Flandes, Frutos Flores, Jorge Ingles, Juan Nuñez, Nicolas Francisco Pisano, Antonio del Rinçon, Juan Rodriguez, Pedro Sanchez, and Perez Velloldos.

CHAPTER CXVI

No 1. THE JOVIAN PORTRAIT

Whoever mounts to the Laurentian Library in Florence must enter by the cloisters adjoining the Church of St. Lorenzo, and as he turns into the entrance to the library stairway he finds himself opposite the statue of Paulus Jovius. This statue is a striking figure executed in marble by Francesco da Sangallo. A legend upon the tablet declares that Jovius, who died at Florence December 11, 1552, was the glory of the Latin tongue, and that as a historian he was superior to Sallust or Livy. Paulus Jovius was known to Moreri and Bayle as the writer of a history of the world, beginning with the events of the year 1494; to-day he is remembered by the world as the rich owner of a villa on the Lake of Como and the founder of a museum in which he gathered the portraits of men famous in his own and other times. As a writer of history, posterity as well as his own time, while crediting him with learning, charges him with insincerity and corruption, asserting that money and favour purchased the colouring of character and the suppression of defects.[1] Paulus Jovius, or Paolo Giovio, as he was called in

[1] Voscius says Jovius in a sense set up a biographical bank and promised an ancient genealogy and an immortal glory to all the scoundrels who recompensed him well for his pains, and he traduced all others who would not pay him for his lies.

Bodin affirms that when Jovius was asked why he told so many lies and suppressed the notice of events which were true, he answered that he did it in favour of his friends,—"a hundred years hence there will remain no proof to convict me of falsehood." Some say he bragged that he had a pen of gold and another of iron, one for the Princes who were bountiful to him and the other to use against those Princes from whom he received nothing. Scaliger speaks of him thus: "Paulus Jovius, a flagrant liar—*mendacissimus*."

Jovius certainly expected, or his friends expected, that higher ecclesiastical preferment would come to him. There is reason to believe that he hoped to receive the appointment to the Bishopric of Como. In the Preface to his history is a letter from Andrew Alciatus dated from Pavia, October 7, 1549—in answer to a letter

Italian, was born in Como in 1480, and thus when Columbus died in 1506 he was a young man of twenty-six, already practising the profession of medicine in Rome. He might have seen Columbus, so far as time contributed to his opportunities, but there is no evidence that he ever visited Spain or ever set his eyes upon the face of the great Discoverer. Nevertheless, to him we owe the earliest presentation of an alleged likeness of Columbus. Jovius early abandoned his calling as a physician, and sought preferment through the Church and in a literary career. Pope Adrian VI. made him a canon of the Cathedral of Como. In 1527, he was made Bishop of Nocera dé Pagoni, near Naples, by Pope Clement VII., with whom he seems to have been a favourite courtier. A genuine collector is born, not made. Jovius must have set himself to the task of gathering portraits of distinguished personages at a very early period, for we find him in 1521 already in the possession of a pretentious collection. All time served him for a field. His heroes came from all ages, all nations, all callings. For the most part they were grouped in two general classes: those famous for a warlike spirit comprising the one, and others going into the larger list of "the learned"—*Elogia Virorum Literis Illustrium.* Neither Rome nor Italy confined his search. We find quite a

written him by Jovius in which the latter acquaints Alciatus with his discontent, declaring his intention of forsaking Rome and betaking himself to Florence: "You write to me," says Alciatus, "that, moved by a heavy injury done you, you have thought of leaving Rome (a thing I thought would never come to pass) that you may not remain an uneasy witness of the wrong done you in that court where you have for many years enjoyed the blessing of a golden mediocrity, as well as a just respect flowing from the importance of your studies. I am therefore, I confess, surprised that to a person who, like you, has both learning and years to plead in his favour, Pope Paul should prefer another to be Bishop in your country." And then Alciatus indulges in a low reference to the Pontiff.

The elder brother of Paulus Jovius, Benedictus by name, was a sort of father to him and gave him his education. Benedictus was himself a most learned man but preferred a retired life, remaining at Como, with the exception now and then of a visit to Milan to hear lectures from a Professor of Greek, in which language he himself was a proficient. He left behind him letters which his sons were to publish, but we believe nothing much was ever printed.

The first work published by Jovius was a little treatise, *De Piscibus Romanis*, in 1524. His great work was the history of his own time in some forty-five books, that is from 1494 until the year 1544, beyond which period we believe his writing did not extend. During the sacking of Rome, in 1527, he lost that part, some six books, which treated of the period from the death of Leo X. to that dreadful event, and this gap in his work it is said he never brought himself to re-write, although it was the occasion of many solemn resolutions to repair the loss by another strong literary effort.

spirited portrait of Henry VIII. of England, painted before Holbein fixed for ever his massive features.

No. 1. The Jovian Portrait.

In a letter written to Mario Equicola on August 28, 1521, Jovius begs him to procure for him a portrait of Brother Battista Spagnoli, called the Carmelite, and alluding to some of the nota-

ble pictures then in his gallery. However, it is doubtful if he then possessed a repository worthy the name of gallery. This was to come later when, discouraged by the failure of Pope Paul III. to appreciate him and his claims by promoting him to be Bishop of Como when a vacancy occurred in that See, he retired to his villa and devoted himself to the increase of his museum. Here he confined himself to no mere gallery of portraits, but antiquities as well, and objects of rarity and beauty invited their acquisition.[1] He seems to have fancied that his villa occupied the identical site of that once belonging to Pliny the Younger, and thus he named one of his seven magnificent galleries the Hall of Pliny. Other galleries were the Vestibule of Homer, the Hall of Minerva, the Salon of the Sirens, the Hall of the Graces, the whole being called a museum, or the Abode of the Muses. Giorgio Vasari,[2] who must have seen this collection, speaks of it in his *Vite de' Più Eccellenti Pittori, Scultori è Architetti*, assigning it the highest place among picture, or rather portrait, galleries. Giulio Romano gave to it his own collection of Raphael's works, and Cosimo I., Duke of Tuscany, sent from Florence the celebrated artist Cristofano dell' Altissimo to copy some of the portraits not in Florentine galleries. Vasari enumerates no less than two hundred and fifty-three different portraits so copied, and which to-day are in the Uffizi Gallery. It is in allusion to this work of copying that we have the earliest mention of a portrait of Columbus.

Cristofano dell' Altissimo began in 1552 his labour of copying the portraits in the Jovian gallery, and between that date and the year 1556 he forwarded to Florence seventy-four finished portraits. Under date of October 23, 1556, he wrote from Como that he was about to send two more boxes of pictures, and among these is indicated a portrait of Columbus. Thus we know that in the middle of the sixteenth century there was preserved at Como a portrait of Columbus. It is not pretended by

[1] It is probable that the villa, with at least some of its galleries, had been occupied as early as 1537. The military operations in that region in the latter part of the sixteenth century caused a partial destruction of the villa and the rising of the waters of the lake still further contributed to its useless condition. Boldoni, who visited it in the year 1617, pronounced it then a ruin. The collection of portraits is believed to have been kept together until 1587, when it was divided between two branches of the family, one branch taking the portraits of the warriors and the other branch taking the portraits of the literary or learned men.

[2] Vasari, *Vite del Più Celebri Pittori &c.*, Florence, 1848, xiii., 173.

any one that the portrait was painted from life, or that the artist, whoever he may have been, ever saw Columbus. It is simply the first mention of an attempt to preserve his features.

What, then, has become of this picture? The portrait of Columbus preserved in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence may be the copy made by Altissimo, but the original from which it was made is not positively identified. Must the original be recognised by its close resemblance to the copy made for Duke Cosimo? Not necessarily. An eminent writer on painting in Italy [1] declares that Altissimo "copied the features of celebrated men, but paid little attention to other circumstances." The Florentine portrait, then, may resemble the features found in the original Como or Jovian portrait, while the accompanying details of dress, position, and accessories may have been omitted or much altered.

It is probable that the portrait of Columbus was among the last gathered personally by Jovius, for in his edition of *Elogia Virorum Bellica Virtute Illustrium*, published at Bâle in 1551, the year before Jovius died, there is a short biography, but no engraving of Columbus. In the year 1575 there issued from the press of Petrus Perna in Bâle a folio edition of the *Elogia* in which for the first time appeared a woodcut engraving of the likeness of Columbus.[2] In the Florence edition of the *Elogia*, printed by Laurentius Torrentinus in 1551, appeared the biographical sketch of the great Admiral, but the portrait was not yet engraved. There are several instances showing that Jovius had prepared his eulogies before he possessed portraits to illustrate his heroes. In May, 1551, Jovius wrote to the Cardinal

[1] Lanzi, *History of Painting in Italy*.

[2] It is worthy of passing notice that the first pictorial representation of the discovery was in a series of woodcuts published at Bâle, in the German edition of the Columbus *Letter*, and that it was in the same town that there was published to the world the first engraved likeness of the great Discoverer.

There is nothing more mysterious in the study of history than the unexpected association of events. Sometimes, however, the imagination furnishes one of its connecting threads. A distinguished American historian has called attention to the strange birth of the two great impulses in the same little town of St. Dié, in the lonely Vosgian mountains, the one being the composition there of the *Imago Mundi*, by Petrus Aliacus, in the year 1410, which the historian thinks led Columbus, when in after years it fell into his hands, to develop and put to successful test its suggestion of traversing the Ocean-sea from the east to the west; the other being the suggestion issued also in St. Dié, nearly a century later, when Martinus Waldseemüller proposed that the New World should be called America. The Author has diligently sought to verify this interesting connection of two events, and while he has found the source

Ercole Gonzaga urging him to furnish a portrait of Francesco Gonzaga, whose eulogy he had composed, but whose likeness he lacked. August 5, 1551, he again wrote, "I pray your Excellency not to make me a liar, since I have already written that I have his picture in the Museum." In his dedication to his seventh book, the reader will find the illustrious collector apologising for some missing portraits, notwithstanding the eulogies which there appear.[1] Among the desiderata are the portraits of Peter Martyr, of Anghera, and of Johannes Müller, the friend of Toscanelli, eulogies of these two distinguished characters appearing on pages 206 and 218.

Tobias Stimmer, a Swiss engraver, practised his art in Bâle between the years 1570 and 1590, and is generally regarded as responsible for the illustrations found in the *Elogia*. He not only engraved from work already executed, but he was an original designer as well. Papillon [2] declares that he had taste and a marvellous fidelity in composition, the latter quality suggesting embellishment and alteration rather than servile following of copy, and thus diminishing our faith in the correctness of his production. On the other hand, the frequent repetition of design in the frames which surround his woodcuts do not indi-

of the historian's assertion, he has failed in confirming the earlier authority, so far as it relates to the composition of the *Imago Mundi* in St. Dié.

[1] In the dedication to the seventh book, Paulus Jovius thus excuses the omission of some effigies:

"Non miraberis, eandidifsime Prineeps, si eomplures qui fuis feeulis infigni bellieæ laudis preconio floruerunt, hoe volumine pretermifsi videbuntur. Nam ex profeffo eos tantùm, quorum veras imagnies naneifei potuimus, appofitis Elogijs exornandos arbitrabamur."

As we turn the pages of the 1575 Jovius—and the diseerning reader will have no other—we observe that there are wanting in the *Eulogies of Warlike Characters* no less than ten portraits which Jovius had been unable to obtain:

Julianus Cæsarinus, portrait intended to go in the frame on page 98.
Nieolaus Pieeinnius, portrait intended to go in the frame on page 128.
Franeiseus Gonzaga, portrait intended to go in the frame on page 234.
Antonius Columna, portrait intended to go in the frame on page 247.
Odettus Fusius Lotreehius, portrait intended to go in the frame on page 287.
Ugo Moneata, portrait intended to go in the frame on page 289.
Philibertus Aurantius, portrait intended to go in the frame on page 297.
Franeiseus Borbonius, portrait intended to go in the frame on page 332.
Ferdinandus Gonzaga, portrait intended to go in the frame on page 385.
Johannes Tarnouius, portrait intended to go in the frame on page 387, wrongly printed 378.

It will thus be seen that Jovius probably never did obtain the portrait of Franeiseo Gonzaga for whieh he appealed with so mueh feeling to the Cardinal on August 5, 1551.

[2] *Traité de la Gravure en Bois*, vol. i., p. 258.

cate great richness or variety of composition. The work of Stimmer, at least as regards his fidelity as a copyist, has been severely criticised,[1] but it may be because the critic has observed his attempt to draw the likeness of such a mythical hero as Romulus, or to vouch for the counterfeit presentment of his Numa Pompilius.[2]

Here, then, is the earliest known portrait of Christopher Columbus, and to it as to a type may be referred a large and important portion of the many alleged Columbian effigies. Some writers have thought that since Ferdinand Columbus was several times in Rome during the time that Jovius is known to have lived in the Imperial City, he might have furnished the collector with a true likeness of his father. But nowhere does his son speak of a portrait of his father. It is true he might have so described the features and appearance of the Admiral as to enable a skilful artist to make a tolerable portrayal of them upon canvas, but he certainly would have mentioned the existence of such a portrait if he had known of its composition.

Another patron of art besides the Duke Cosimos desired a copy of the Columbus portrait, and in the same year, 1552, the Princess Hippolyti Gonzaga sent Bernardino Campi, a young Italian painter, to the Jovian villa on Lake Como to copy that and other portraits. It is said that Ferdinand I. of Germany also caused a copy of the Jovian portrait to be made, although it was probably after the death of Jovius. If, then, so many copies were made, resembling somewhat each other, but differing in treatment and in details, how shall we determine which is most like the original? May not the fact that several copies were reproduced at Como at about the same period account for the pertinacity with which the advocates of each, having knowledge of their antiquity, insist upon the originality of their favourite portraits? All we can positively state is that in the middle of the

[1] Ginguené, a French writer in the *Biographie Universelle*, in 1816, says that the woodcuts found in the *Elogia* were not faithfully copied from the portraits in the Jovian gallery.

Niecéron, in his *Mémoires Pour Servir à l'Histoire des Hommes Illustres dans la République des Lettres*, Paris, 1724–1741, remarks that the portraits in the *Elogia* of Jovius are for the most part fanciful.

[2] There seems to be more certainty that the effigies in the Jovian gallery representing the Learned Men were engraved by Stimmer than those of the War-like class. There is a life of the printer Petrus Perna, written by Manni and printed at Lucca, in 1763.

sixteenth century Paulus Jovius owned in his collection of portraits of celebrated men an alleged likeness of Columbus, and that in the year 1575 this portrait was engraved by Tobias Stimmer and published by Petrus Perna in Bâle, with the claim on the part of the publisher that the woodcut engravings were faithfully reproduced from the originals in the Jovian Museum. This somewhat rude woodcut, then, which the reader will find on page 191 of the 1575 edition of the *Elogia*, and which we here reproduce, must represent the original earliest portrait of the Discoverer, and to it must be referred all those resembling it in type, and after it, in credibility and authenticity, must come all Columbian portraits which do not resemble it in features and in characteristics. It will be noticed that the right brow is very much arched, while the left is almost straight. The upper lip is drawn in somewhat, while the under is rich and full. There is certainly an attempt to make the nose aquiline and the nostrils wide. As the reader observes the carving on the frame, he is inclined to congratulate the engraver on so appropriate a design, the Indian with his arrows suggesting the natives first seen by Columbus. This feeling of harmony passes when it is discovered that the same frame is used for Alexander the Great and Scipio and a score more of illustrious men whose portraits adorned the Jovian Gallery.[1]

In March, 1577, there issued from the same press of Petrus Perna at Bâle a little quarto volume of 71 leaves, entitled *Musæi Joviani Imagines*. It contains 130 woodcut portraits taken from the collection in the gallery of Paulus Jovius. It is edited by Theobald Müller of Marburg, who wrote brief poetic eulogies

[1] The curious reader will be interested in examining the 1575 edition of the *Elogia*. The frame used for the portrait of Columbus was made to do duty for twenty-two other illustrious names, with slight variations in its inner compartment. Thus we have:

Alexander Magnus. Page 7.

Scipio Major. Page 12.

Farinata Ubertus. Page 36.

Robertus, Neap. Rex. Page 68.

Tamerlanes. Page 103.

Braccius. Page 121. In this portrait a small but shapely vase occupies each upper corner of the inner frame.

Franciscus Sforza: Page 139. A form of shield replaces the vase.

Amurathes II. Page 141. A dolphin appears in each upper corner.

Bartholomcus Coleonus. Page 148. Two crossed cornucopias in upper corners.

Julianus Medices. Page 159. Cherubs in upper corners and round shield in lower.

of the subjects of the portraits. On the verso of folio 34, h^2, is the portrait of Christopher Columbus, printed from the same block as in the *Elogia* of 1575, except that an entirely different border is used. This confirms our opinion that the portraits in the Jovian Gallery were not elaborately framed as in the woodcuts, but that these accessories of frames were introduced by the engraver for purposes of ornamentation. As this little book is much more rare than the *Elogia* of 1575, we give the six lines composed by Theobald Müller:

"Ignotos populos atque abdita regna Columbus
Et claffe extremos repperit Antipodas,
Quos facra inftituit mox relligione remotis
Quos venerabantur numina vana, Dijs.
Scilicet hoc meruit plus illo tempore laudis
Belligeri quàm per Martia gefta duces."

Vitelloeius Vitellius. Page 185. New seroll-work in corners.

Christophorus Columbus. Page 191. See our fac-simile. The seroll-work in the inner corners again differs.

Gasto Foisscius. Page 412 (*sic* for 214.) Goat's head in upper corners and bats with extended wings in lower.

Campfo Gaurus. Page 222.

Horatius Balconus. Page 242. Seroll in upper and deer's head in lower corners.

Antonius Grimanus Venetus. Page 257.

Corolus Aurelianus. Page 334. Lamb's head in corners.

Hariadenus Barbarussa. Page 342. Seroll-work.

Pyrrhus Stipieianus. Page 362.

Tammasus Sophi, Persarum Rex. Page 376.

Flavius Blondus, in the division Elogia Doctorum Virorum. Page 27.

Argyropylus. Page 50. Seroll-work extending along the top and bottom.

Demetrius Chalcondyles. Page 55.

It is also to be noticed that in the edition of 1578 the frame for the portrait of Columbus is the one which in the edition of 1575 contains the portrait of Vitellius Vitellius on page 183.

CHAPTER CXVII

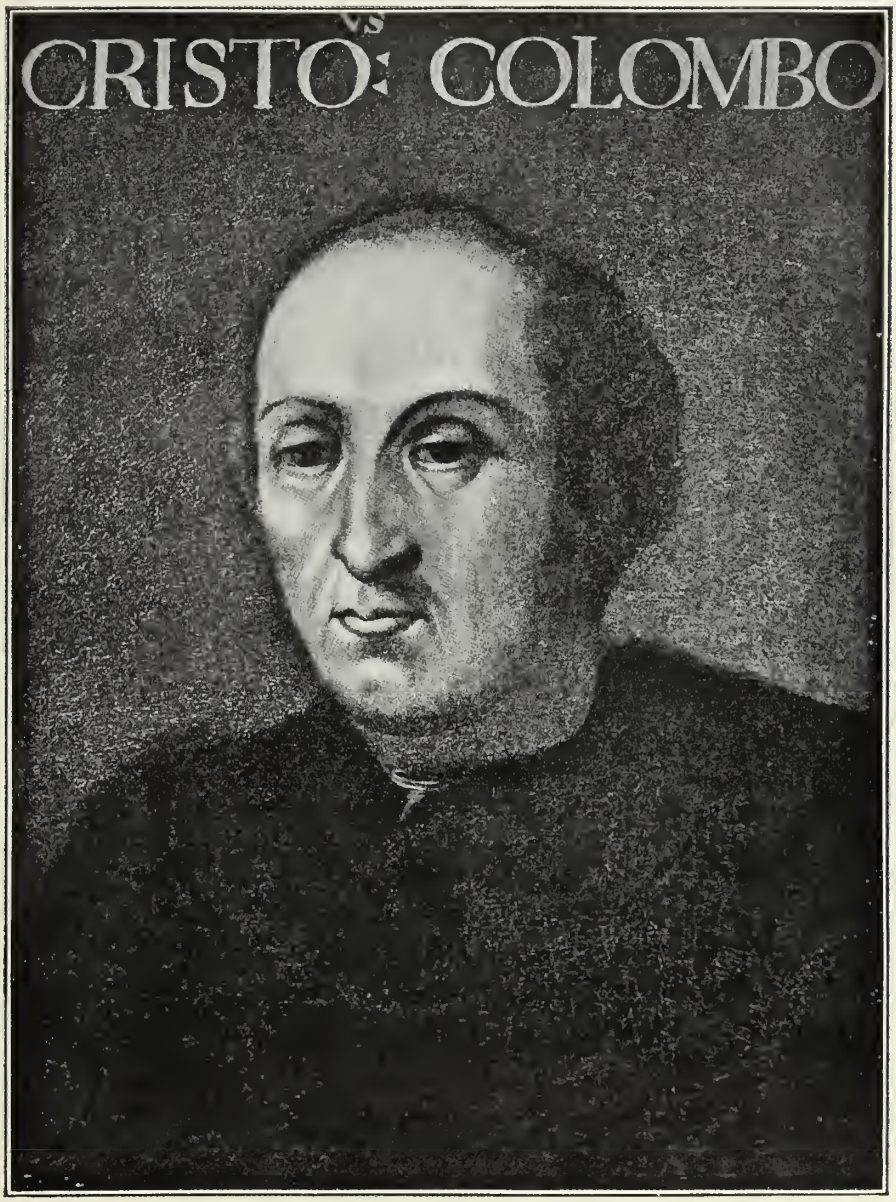
THE JOVIAN TYPE

No. 2. THE ALTISSIMO OR FLORENTINE PORTRAIT

The history of this portrait has already been related. It is by Cristofano dell' Altissimo, and was made by him at the order of Duke Cosimo of Tuscany from an original in the Jovian Gallery at Lake Como, between the years 1552 and 1556. The portrait here given is painted on a panel of wood and preserved to-day in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence. It is confidently declared to be this identical Altissimo copy. There is one prominent feature common to the portraits of this type,—the dimple in the chin. Neither Ferdinand nor Las Casas mentions this feature. Its presence never fails to give to a human countenance an expression of great good nature and gentleness not particularly associated with a forceful and dominating spirit. While the dimple is still preserved in this portrait, the artist has inverted the lines on the face, converting the rounded, pleasant curves found in the Jovian engraving into hard and severe lineaments, entirely overcoming the weakness of the little depression of the chin. The face is elongated. The arched eyebrows are still there and the pupil is the same, but the eye is less opened. The nose is perhaps more aquiline. The hair is shorter and less grizzled. An alteration is observed in dress, the garment being a richer robe than that worn in the Jovian engraving. The words *Cristo*^{vs} *Colombo* are on the upper margin of the panel.

No. 3. THE ALTISSIMO PORTRAIT AS COPIED BY ORDER OF THOMAS JEFFERSON

In 1784, when Thomas Jefferson was Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of France, he caused a copy to be made of the



No. 2. The Altissimo Portrait.

Altissimo picture, and this copy he took with him to America. It hung in his library at Monticello until the settlement of the estate conveyed it to other hands. It passed into the posses-

No. 3. The Altissimo Portrait as Copied for Thomas Jefferson.

sion of Mr. Israel Thorndike, who, on November 26, 1835, presented it to the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston. It still hangs in one of the rooms of the Society. Mr. Jefferson wrote of this portrait:

"The Columbus was taken for me from the original which is in the gallery of Florence. I say *from the original*, because it is well known that in collections of any note no copy is ever admitted, and an original existing in Genoa would be readily obtained for a Royal collection in Florence. Vasari names this portrait, but does not say by whom it is made."

Genoa was the last place to look for an "original," by which we presume Jefferson meant a contemporaneous example portrait of Columbus. But the American statesman certainly exhibited perspicacity in having a copy made from a painting

vouched for by Vasari. He could not be expected in the midst of the arduous arrangement of his *Notes on Virginia* and amid the gathering clouds of French disturbances to investigate the ruins of the Jovian Gallery at Como or to search through the world for earlier or better authenticated examples of the portrait of Columbus.

No. 4. THE ALTISSIMO PORTRAIT AS COPIED FOR GOUVERNEUR MORRIS

Some years after Jefferson's copy was made, Gouverneur Morris, himself Minister to France, caused another copy to be

No. 4. The Altissimo Portrait as Copied for Gouverneur Morris.

made in Florence of the Altissimo portrait. Upon his death, his widow presented it to the New York Historical Society, in whose possession it still reposes. It may be said of each that it resembles with fidelity neither the other nor its Florentine prototype.

No. 5. THE DE ORCHI PORTRAIT

When some years ago the approaching celebration of the

four hundredth anniversary of the Columbian discovery invited the attention of the world, it was asserted that Dr. Alessandro de Orchi of Como, Italy, possessed the original portrait of Columbus, once in the Jovian Gallery. His possession of the

No. 5. The De Orchi Portrait.

picture was accounted for in this way: at the beginning of the seventeenth century the villa and museum formerly owned by Paulus Jovius became the property of his nephew, Francisco Giovio, and thirteen years afterward, or about the year 1613,

the art collection was divided among the latter's sons. The greater part of the pictures remained in the possession of the eldest of these sons, and for many generations was passed down from father to son until in the year 1848 the last of the male line, one Paolo Giovio, dying without heirs, his sister, Antonia, daughter of Alessandro Giovio, inherited his estate. Antonia married Flaminio de Orchi. She died in 1870, and the portrait, together with other property, came into the hands of Dr. Alessandro de Orchi. The pedigree of the picture has been disputed. There seems to be a disposition, however, to accept its history as probable. It presents a strong, forceful personality; the forehead broad, the face long, the nose aquiline, the eyebrows arched, the hair white and curly, the dress similar to that in the Altissimo portrait, which this much resembles. Over the head, the extreme top of which divides the words, is the legend

C
OLOMBVS LYGVR—NOVI
ORBIS REPTOR.

It has been thought that these words in the legend rather confirmed the Jovian origin, as we read in the *Elogia: Hic enim ille eſt Chriſtophorus Columbus, ſtupendi alterius et nullis ante ſeculis cogniti terrarum orbis repertor.*

Some have thought that this picture was painted by Raphael and was among his works when Giulio Romano, after the death of his master, presented the collection to Paulus Jovius. Others have said that Giulio Romano employed his most promising pupils, fulfilling orders given him for pictures by Pope Julius II., in copying portraits—"some heads from nature"—reported to be of great interest. Among these pupils was Bartholomeus Suardi, called "Bramantino," and his hand is supposed by some to have painted the present portrait. It may have been the original from which the Jovian engraving was made, but one cannot assert it with certainty. The treatment of the dress and the introduction of strong hands, together with the general representation of a much younger face, seem to indicate that the Jovian engraving was made from another portrait than the De Orchi.

No. 6. THE YAÑEZ PORTRAIT

Pictures like persons may have their romances. In the year 1763, Señor N. Yañez of Granada sold to the Spanish Government certain portraits, claimed to be contemporaneous and originals, of four illustrious persons, Columbus, Lope, Cortez, and Quevedo. These portraits were painted on panels of poplar wood, a wood common in Italy, but not in Spain. The portrait of Columbus was placed in the National Library at Madrid. As accepted by the government, the portrait resembled somewhat

No. 6. The Yañez Portrait—before Restoration.

the Jovian engraving, but over the figure was a flowing robe with a heavy fur collar, "more suitable for a Muscovite than a sailor," as was afterward reported by the investigators. Over the head was the legend, *Cristof. Columbus Novi Orbis Inuentor.* In the year 1847, Valentine Carderera examined the picture carefully and discovered that it was not an original, but had been painted over an earlier portrait. Not then, but at some time later, when Don Angel de los Rios was preparing an article for publication, somewhere about the year 1875, Carderera proposed that a complete restoration should be attempted. This delicate work was committed to Martinez Cubells, restorer

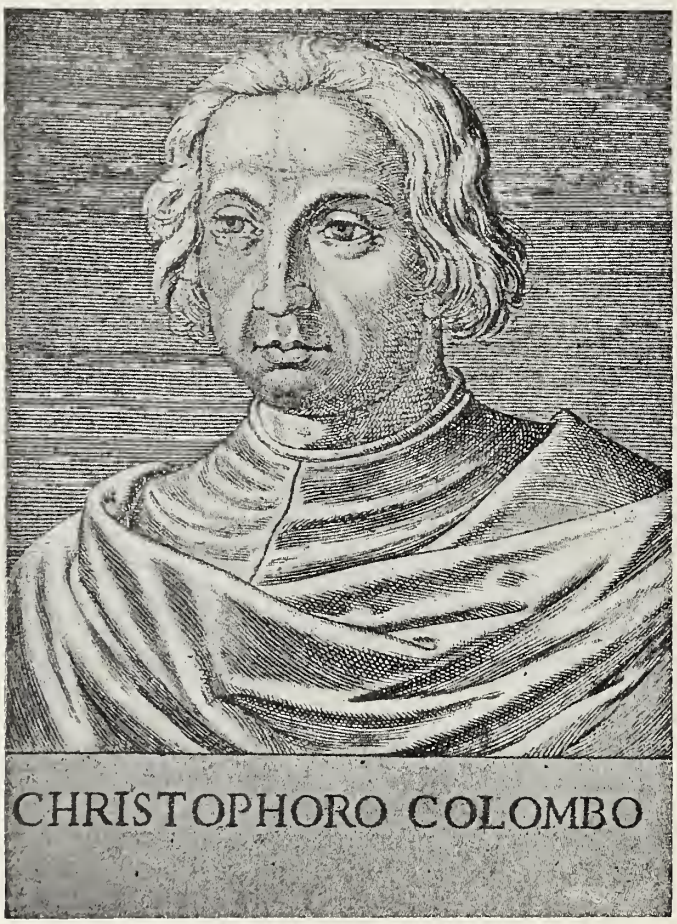
No. 6. The Yañez Portrait—after Restoration.

of paintings for the Royal Museum of the Prado. The application of truth-restoring chemicals revealed another and vastly different picture. A much stronger and nobler face appeared on the panel, the furred robe vanished, and in its place was the usual garment such as is found in the Altissimo or Florentine portrait. In place of the above legend were the words:

Colombvs Lygvr Novi Orbis Reptor.

No. 7. THE CAPRIOLO ENGRAVING

This is an engraving presumably from an accepted Columbian portrait, and is only spoken of here because writers com-



No. 7. The Capriolo Engraving.

monly refer to it as an original picture. It is found for the first time in the work edited by Filippo Tomasini and Giovan

Turpino, and printed at Rome in 1596 by Domenico Gigliotti, entitled :

Ritratti di Cento Capitani Illustri Con li Lor Fatti in Guerra Brevemente Scritti.

The portraits were engraved by Aliprando Capriolo, and this of Columbus, or its reproduction in oil known as the Royal Palace portrait, seems to have been adopted as worthy of reproduction by the French editors of Martin Fernandez Navarrete, in their translation of his famous *Colcccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos.*

The distinguished Spanish writer should not be held responsible for the adoption of this picture or for the support given its authenticity by its association with his work. In the original Spanish edition, published at Madrid in 1825, the author or compiler did not venture to select one of the many portraits of Columbus and pronounce it a true representation of his features. When portions of this work were translated into French, and published at Paris in 1828, there was placed in the first volume a portrait of Christopher Columbus inscribed *Dessiné sur Pierre d'Après un Tableau Original Contemporain Appartenant à S. M. C. par Don Pedro Colomb, Duc de Veragua, Arrierè Petit Fils de l'Illustre Navigateur.*[1]

[1] In the advertisement of this French translation, the editors say:

"We have ornamented the first volume of our translation with a portrait of Christopher Columbus, drawn upon stone, from the beautiful portrait of the great Navigator in the Library of His Christian Majesty, by Don Pedro Columbus, Duke of Veragua, great-grandson of the illustrious Genoese, and Spanish grandee of the first Order. This nobleman, who possesses many copies in oil of this portrait made at various times, and who has also many original portraits and copies of all the known portraits of the most celebrated, not to say the very first of his ancestors [*sic*], regards this portrait as the most authentic in resemblance. He has also drawn upon stone another portrait of Christopher Columbus, hung in the Arsenal at Carthagena, and he believes, as do the first painters of our day in Spain, and in particular the famous Aparicio, author of *Rachat des Esclaves* and of *L'Entrevue de la Famille Royalle Espagnole avec S. A. R. le Duc D'Angoulême à Son Débarquement au Port Saint-Marie, le Ier Octobre 823*, that both are contemporaneous with the great Columbus, whom tradition reports as sitting for his portrait to many artists. This opinion is shared by the learned Don Francisco Antonio Gonzalez, Chief of the Royal Library, and by Don Martin Fernandez de Navarrete himself, who, in the character of Counsellor and perpetual Secretary of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts, has had every means of engaging in researches the most minute, throughout the entire realm of Spain to discover which of all the portraits of the Genoese hero has best transmitted his features and characteristics to posterity. It may be said that the portrait of Columbus which according to De Bry, after having decorated the Chamber of the Council of the Indies, had been stolen and transported into the Low Countries and of which he has given a drawing at the beginning of his *America* (1595), the one at Carthagena, and this which we give, present beyond question the features of the same person, but as the surroundings and accessories differ in all three, we have selected that which the heir of the name of Columbus as well as the learned men and skilful artists of whom we have spoken agree in regarding as the most authentic.

"Moreover, it is this last also which the Minister of the Marine of Spain has selected from which a copy should be made, together with the portrait of another

We shall see several other pictures greatly resembling this engraving, and which, as we have been unable to discover proof of the present existence of its original, we incline to believe were copied at one time or another from the Capriolo engraving itself.

DETECTOR NOVARVM TERRARVM
CHRISTOPHORVS COLVMBVS
PRIMVS GENVENSIS
NOVA DUM BONA
Christophorus genuit quem Genua clara Columbus
Nomine perculsus quo nescio primus in altum
Descendens pelagus, Solem versusque cadentem
Directo cursu, nostro hactenus abdita Mundo
Cuncta detexit, Hesperio parturit Philippe:
Audenda hinc alios plura et maiora relinquens

No. 8. The Crispin De Pass Portrait.

eelebrated navigator and of two of the general offieers of the Royal Spanish Fleet, distinguished for their writings on the navy, to ornament the salon of the Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies.

"This portrait is also the only one whieh resembles perfectly the bust portrait of Christopher Columbus in one of the salons of the same ministry.

"We regret not being able to deelare positively to our readers just who was the artist of this original portrait of the brave and wise navigator to whose eourage and to whose studies the Old World owes the New: but it is generally regarded as having been painted at Seville after the return of Christopher Columbus from his seeond voyage, and it is exaetly at this time that there flourished in Spain the famous Antonio del Rinçon, who had studied in Rome and who was the first to break away from the grotesque forms of the Spanish painters of the Middle Ages, an enforeed slavery for all the artists who had preceded him. This portrait may be attributed with more probability to Antonio del Rinçon, as Ferdinand the Catholic King had attraeted to himself this artist so eelebrated espeeially as a painter of portraits, and whom he appointed a gentleman of his Chamber."—(French translation of Navarrete, Paris, 1828.)

No. 8. THE CRISPIN DE PASS PORTRAIT

There was published at Cologne, about the year 1598, a work entitled *Effigies Regum et Principum*,[1] in which is a ortrait of Columbus engraved by Crispin de Pass. This talented artist copied the Jovian engraving, but gave to his burin a flight of fancy, permitting it to place in the left hand of the figure an octant, and to throw about the neck two or more folds of a massive gold chain, in memory of the doubtful legend that the Admiral constantly wore over his Franciscan dress the chain of gold given him by Guacanagari, the Indian Cacique. There is introduced an expression of cunning and craftiness which we cannot find in the Admiral's character.

No. 9. THE CUCCARO OR CALENDI PORTRAIT

Count Napione, in his work *Della Patria di Cristoforo Colombo*, published at Florence in 1808, presented a portrait of the Admiral, which was engraved by Guiseppe Calendi from an "ancient portrait belonging to Signor Fedele Guglielmo Colombo of Cuccaro." Tradition has reported two portraits as hung in the gallery of the castle belonging to the Columbus family in Cuccaro. The one was said to have been brought to Italy from Spain when Baldassare Colombo returned from his famous law-suit, and which long remained in possession of the primogenital branch. This

No. 9. The Cuccaro or Calendi Portrait.

[1] *Effigies Regum ac Principum, Eorum Scilicet Quorum Vis ac Potentia in re Nautica Seu Marina Præ Cæteris Spectabilis est*, without typographical notes, but of the end of the sixteenth century.

was finally donated to the King, Carlo Alberto, by the Cavalier Filiberto and of it now no trace whatever can be found, though careful search has been made in the Palatine collection at Turin and elsewhere.[1]

This engraving is sometimes called the Cancelliera portrait, because of its appearance in *Notizie di Cristoforo Colombo* (Rome, 1809), by Francisco Cancelliera.

No. 10. THE ROSELLY DE LORGUES PORTRAIT

[See our No. 11]

Count Roselly introduced into his *Life of Columbus* a picture of the Admiral, taken from a portrait which he claimed had come from the Colombo family of Cuccaro. If it is true, it must be the second of the two portraits to which we have already alluded as once reported to be in the old castle there. It cannot have been the one from which the Calendi engraving was made, since that was given King Carlo Alberto as early as the year 1835. The painting is on wood, and its worm-eaten condition suggests some degree of antiquity. It greatly resembles the Capriolo portrait as well as the one in the Royal Palace at Madrid, except that the hair is parted much more noticeably than in either. Count Roselly thinks it an example from the hand of Antonio del Rinçon. It is a curious fact that the presence of neither of these original Cuccaro portraits was to be seen when Carlo Vidua, in his exhaustive search for Columbian documents and relics, visited the castle of Cuccaro in the year 1807. He found "neither portraits, inscriptions, nor other antiquities." It is also strange, if his ancestral halls held one or both of these ancient portraits, that Monsignor Luigi, last of the noble Colombo family of Cuccaro, should have selected to illustrate his memorial work an engraving of the De Bry portrait.

No. 11. ROYAL PALACE (MADRID) OR RINÇON PORTRAIT

In the Royal Palace at Madrid, in the library, hangs a portrait of Columbus which is attributed to the celebrated artist

[1] "The pieture reprodueed by Calendi is affirmed to have been brought to Asti by Fedele Guglielmo Colombo when at the beginning of the eentury he went there as eommandant. It was then donated to Carlo Alberto by the Cavalier Filiberto in 1835, that he might favour Luigi Colombo, then a elerk, who by the Royal reeommendation was able to enter into eeelesiastieal preferment at Rome. I owe this information to the eourtesy of M. Luigi Torre di Casale Monferrato."—(I Ritratti di Cristoforo Colombo per Aehille Neri.)

Antonio del Rinçon, and which is said to have been painted from life when the Admiral returned from his second voyage. Antonio del Rinçon might have painted Columbus, but there is no proof that he ever did. On the contrary, there exists a long list of his completed works in which the distinguished name of Christopher Columbus does not appear. This artist was employed by the King and Queen, and later by Cardinal Ximénès

No. 11. The Royal Palace (Madrid), or Rinçon Portrait.

in decorating the halls of the great University of learning he was establishing at Alcala. The present portrait may have been painted from the Capriolo engraving or from its original. It is probably the same picture from which the Duke of Veragua, Don Pedro Colombo, made his design, and which was reproduced in the French version of Navarrete's work. It will be noticed that the hair in this portrait more nearly resembles the Capriolo than the Roselly de Lorgues example.

This Rinçon portrait was accepted by Count Roselly de Lorgue as a veritable portrait of the Discoverer and is inserted

as such in his *Life of Columbus*. The Count has declared that he had in his possession the original portrait in oil, painted by Rinçon. Critics, however, for the most part regard the picture as a reproduction of our No. 11.

No. 12. THE COGOLETO OR ISNARDI PORTRAIT

Cogoleto, a little town some fifteen miles from Genoa, and a claimant for the honour of having given birth to our Columbus,

No. 12. The Cogoleto or Isnardi Portrait.

preserves behind a green curtain in its town hall a portrait of the Discoverer, which tradition says has hung there for more

than three hundred years.[1] Girolama Serra and his colleagues of the Academy of Genoa in the *Memorie Dell' Accademia Delle Scienze, Lettere ed Arti Di Genova* (Genoa, 1814), write: "In the Municipal Building [of Cogoleto] there is still to-day an ancient picture always sought by learned travellers, having the Roman epigraph *Christophorvs Colvmbvs Novi Orbis Repertor.*" Giovanni Batista Spotorno repeats this in his *Della Origine e Della Patria di C. Columbus* (Genoa, Frugoni, 1819). Felice Isnardi, whose authority is largely accepted by Italian writers, says:

"There was preserved in the Communal Hall [in Cogoleto] for more than three hundred years, an ancient picture representing Christopher Columbus, with the following epigraph in chalk: *Christophorvs Columbvs Novi Orbis Repertor;* and that this drawing represented the true image of the great navigator was never doubted by any one,—not by the learned, certainly, since they find it to conform to the physical description which has been transmitted us of his appearance by his son Ferdinand,—nor by the native inhabitants and by the common people, since popular tradition reached them from mouth to mouth, generation after generation, that this portrait is indeed the veritable image of the Great Man who brought so much honour to his country."[2]

The reader will recall that Isnardi is the insistent advocate for Cogoleto as the birthplace of Columbus. He is wrong as to the legend being in chalk. Giambattista Belloro denies the authenticity of the painting, and declares it "an awkward thing depicted on canvas which it would not be difficult for the least expert judge to recognise as a copy." He then remarks that one might accept the theory advanced by others that this portrait is not intended for Columbus at all, but for the priest Antonio Colombo. Later, Isnardi deducted a century from the alleged municipal possession of the portrait, and declared it was certain

"that the commonalty of Cogoleto has preserved for more than *two centuries* that precious likeness."

[1] The late Judge Charles P. Daly of New York saw this portrait when he visited Cogoleto in the year 1881, and afterwards, at his request, Admiral Baldwin, then in command of the United States squadron, caused to be taken a full-sized photograph of the portrait. This photograph is now upon the walls of the American Geographical Society in New York.

[2] *Dissertazione ond'è chiarito il luogo preciso della Liguria marittima occidentale ove nacque C. C. Pinerolo*, Ghigliotte, 1838.

Spotorno wrote afterward:

"The pretended picture of Columbus which one has wished us to believe contemporaneous with the Discoverer and to which later and with more modesty one wished to assign an antiquity of two and more centuries, is now considered by all to be a picture of the priest Antonio Colombo and is recognised by its style to be a painting of Croce.[1] After I had indicated two other canvasses by Croce in Savona the learned were given an opportunity to examine the characteristics of this picture and thus, comparing it with those found in the said Savonese picture, the enchantment is broken and the awkward image is found to be a canvas useless alike as a representation of Columbus and as a work of art."

The strong utterance of Spotorno seems to have overcome the advocates for the genuineness of the portrait, and Isnardi himself returns the somewhat weak fire that the sailor's robe shows that the portrait is not that of a priest. And yet there is little doubt that Isnardi was correct in regarding the portrait as intended to represent Christopher Columbus, for, poor as it is as a work of art, it clearly belongs to the Jovian type and the later reproductions of that engraving.

No. 13. THE NEGRI PORTRAIT.

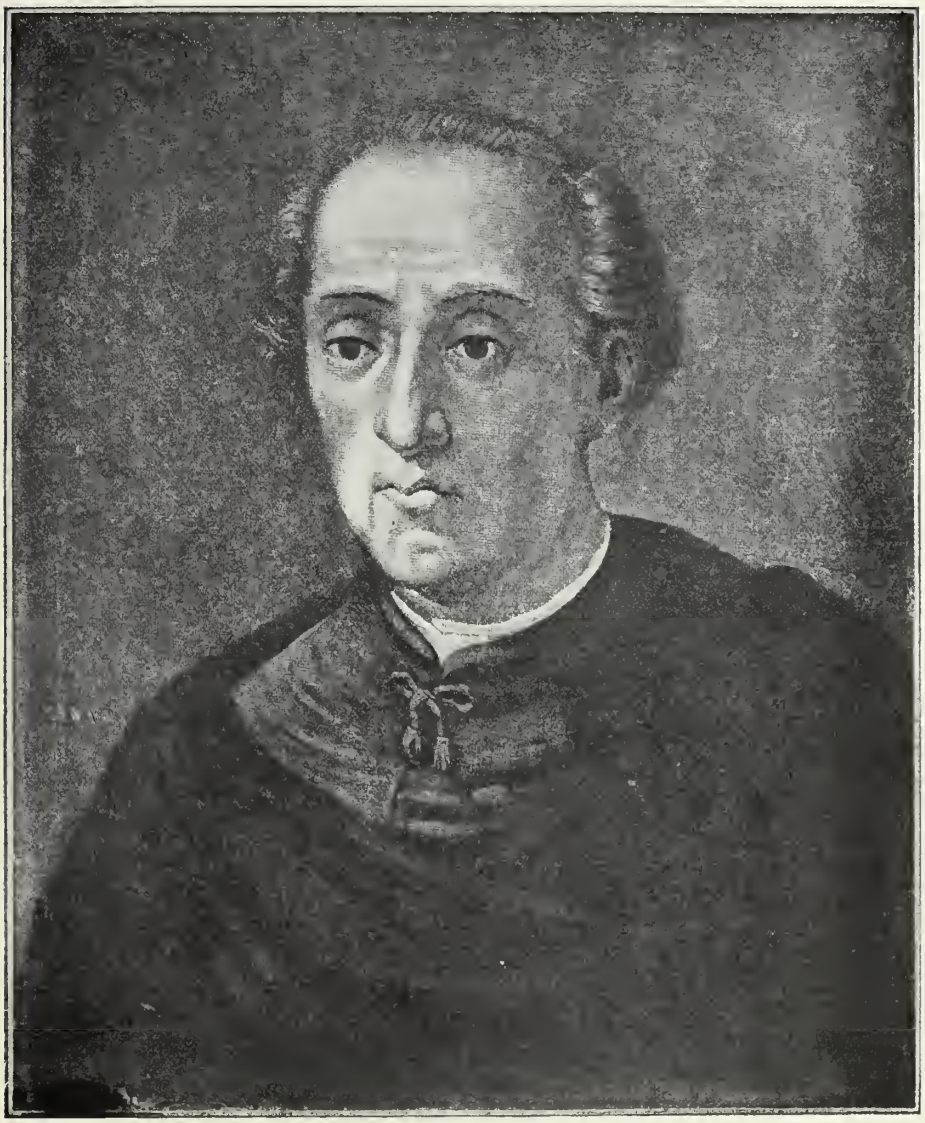
This portrait, the property of the brothers Antonio and Giovanni de Negri of Genoa, is reproduced in the *Raccolta*, Plate IIII., Volume III. of Part II. It resembles the Cuccaro portrait, but it will not well bear photographing. It is said to have come from the Moriconi family, which had dwelt in Spain for a long period.

No. 14. THE ROUEN PORTRAIT

There were formerly in the Museum at Rouen, in France, two portraits of Columbus, one of which was executed in the year 1835 by the painter Paolo Carpentiez, who is said to have copied it from the Royal Palace portrait at Madrid, and which it certainly resembles. Inasmuch as it is a modern reproduction, it need not interest us now. There is said, however, to be a note at the back of the picture to the effect that it is a copy from the original of Sebastiano del Piombo, formerly in the Gallery of Paintings of the Escurial, and which afterwards passed into

[1] Giovan Battista Croce, a mediocre painter, pupil of Giovan Andrea de Ferrari, lived at the close of the sixteenth century.

the hands of Vallet, an editor at Paris. There is no account of any such portrait ever having been in the Gallery of the Escurial, and the only painting of Columbus ever elsewhere



No. 14. The Rouen Portrait.

alleged to be by Sebastiano Venetis del Piombo is the so-called Talleyrand portrait, and differs essentially from this as well as from its type.

No. 15. THE FERRARI PORTRAIT

This unusual representation of Columbus is here introduced because it seems to us in its features to be of the Jovian type. It belonged a short time ago to the Cavalier Tomaso de Ferrari

No. 15. The Ferrari Portrait.

of Genoa. Many experts assign its date of execution to the end of the sixteenth century. It presents the Discoverer clothed as a warrior, with a baton in his right hand, while his left rests

upon his hip. In the upper dexter corner is the mysterious signature of the Admiral, over which has been painted the name *Cf. Colvmb.* Beneath this is the shield containing his coat-of-arms. In the lower dexter corner is the top of an immense globe, on the watery portions of which are descried numerous caravels, while the lands are evidently intended to denote the newly discovered countries. The upper sinister corner discloses a partially drawn portière. The physiognomy, while that of a middle-aged person, is distinctly like the Jovian characteristics.

No. 16. THE AMBRAS PORTRAIT AT VIENNA

This very remarkable portrait is reproduced for the first time in the *Raccolta* issued under the auspices of the Italian Ministry of Public Instruction. It would seem that Ludwig August Frankl copied its head only when he published his poem on Cristoforo Colombo at Stuttgart in the year 1836, and writers have gone on reproducing this engraving as if it were the real Vienna portrait. This picture is believed to be the one made for Ferdinand I. of Germany when, in 1579, in imitation of Duke Cosimo, he directed a copy to be made for him of the original Columbus portrait in the Como Gallery. If this is true, the reader will observe how different in its body and accessories it is from the Jovian type, which in face it certainly resembles. In the year 1610, the picture is said to have passed into the possession of Ferdinand's son, the Archduke Ferdinand, Count of Tyrol. It remained for many years in the castle of Ambras in the Tyrol, near Innsbruck, from which it gets its ordinary title, but in the year 1805 it was returned to Vienna, where it graces one of the galleries. In one lower corner by the figure's left foot is a shield with a caravel floating upon a sea. About the shield is the famous but doubtfully authorised legend,—*A Castilla I á Leon Nvevo Mvndo Dodi Colo.* Certainly neither Columbus himself nor the Spanish Sovereigns ever inscribed this motto on his coat-of-arms. In the picture its separation from the Spanish coat-of-arms is noticeable. In the opposite lower corner is a globe from which reaches a standard with the double coat-of-arms of Castile and Leon.

No. 17 THE STRADANO PORTRAIT

Giovanni Stradano was a Florentine painter living in the second half of the golden age of art called the *Cinquecento.*

No. 16. The Ambras or Vienna Portrait.

This medallion portrait was engraved by Adriano Collaert and afterwards reproduced in De Bry's *Collection of Voyages* in 1594. It seems to us in its general characteristics, particularly in the figure's garb, to belong to the Jovian type. One must be careful not to confound this De Bry portrait with the portrait appearing in the volume of De Bry dated 1595, which is known under that name and which is totally different, forming a distinct type of itself. This engraving by Collaert has no mean place as an object of interest in the Columbus portraits, for it is almost certain it preceded the one made by Capriolo. We do not know in what year Collaert died, but his latest engravings bear the date of 1586.[1]

No. 17. The Stradano Portrait.

No. 18. THE DI PADOVA PORTRAIT

In the Municipal Palace at Genoa there is preserved a small rectangular frame containing two oil portraits, one of Christopher Columbus and the other of Americus Vespucius. These were given to the city of Genoa by Count Giuseppe Riva di Padova, who accompanied his gift with the following statement:

No. 18. The Riva di Padova Portrait.

"The picture is an excellent work which it would appear to me should be attributed to Giulio Romano or to some other artist of that time and of that school. The faces in the two medallions are very much like those of the two medals as seen in the famous engraving of Collaert, taking note that in the picture Columbus is

[1] De Angelis's *Notizie Degli Intagliatori*, Siena, 1810.

at the left and the contrary in the engraving. But the engraving does not give these pictures in more than simple outlines, where in the pictures the faces are perfectly detailed, especially in the case of Columbus in shining cuirass and red mantle, the dress, I imagine, of his Admiralship. If the painter cannot be identified, the period at least may be fixed as belonging to the middle of the beautiful *Cinquecento*."

Writing again shortly after, the Count Riva di Padova reaffirms the identity between the medallion and the original engraved by Collaert, and thus concludes:

"So that either the engraver took it specially from this painting—the Count's medallion—by a most excellent hand or it was the painter who made use of the same model as the other artist."

The picture examined by the Count Riva di Padova from which Collaert made his engraving has distinctly written in chalk the words *Iohannes Stradan. Inven.* Therefore, if the two are by the same hand, Stradano must be the artist. Italian critics, among them Achille Neri, see in the Padova portrait a different and somewhat later hand which retouched the Stradano design, giving different disposition and colour to the hair, altering the expression and rejuvenating the face to correspond with the subject's prime. The Padova portrait seems to be a development or an artistic enlargement of the Stradano, the robe and raised collarette of the one being metamorphosed into the more war-like attire of the other. However this may be, both seem to have had a common prototype, and this we can believe is none other than the Jovian engraving or from its lost original.

No. 19. The Herrera Portrait of 1601.

No. 19. THE HERRERA PORTRAIT

This rude engraving with its distorted features may also be assigned to the Jovian type, and doubtless followed the medallion above described. It is found in the *Historia General de los Hechos de los Castellanos, Madrid, 1601.*

No. 20. THE NAVAL MUSEUM PORTRAIT
Frontispiece to Vol. I

This portrait we have selected to form the frontispiece of our present Work. Already the reader knows there exists no

authentic portrait made contemporaneously from the living figure of Columbus. The earliest representations of him are admittedly made long after his death, made possibly from some contemporaneous original, but which original is no longer known. Therefore, given a type like the Jovian, given the features hastily sketched for us by Ferdinand Columbus, by Las Casas, by the compiler of the *Libretto*, we may consistently intrust their development into a satisfactory picture to some capable and honest artist. When the eminent scholars and artists of Spain assembled in solemn conclave have settled upon the portrait now preserved in the Naval Museum as the best artistic reproduction of the features of Columbus, realising as we must from the examination thus far made of the examples which we can classify under the Jovian type that it has not essentially departed therefrom, appreciating the intelligence, the nobility, the strength of its every line, of its every curve, recognising the firm purpose, the high courage, the lawful pride over the accomplishment of his plans, and the pathetic but brave anxiety over delayed rewards,—rewards to be employed in other designs perhaps even greater and more lofty in conception, —when we find all this in one and the same portrait, and parting with all hope that an absolutely authentic likeness made from life will ever be found, we feel justified in placing it on the wall of the humble historical Work we have constructed and inscribing it the "Portrait of Christopher Columbus, the Discoverer of the New World."

CHAPTER CXVIII

THE DE BRY AND BEARDED TYPES

No. 21. THE DE BRY PORTRAIT

The second type of Columbian portraits has been called the De Bry type from its having first appeared in the fifth part of the famous De Bry *Collection of Voyages* printed in 1595. As with the Jovian engraving, while we fix the type, its original is not identified, nor is it likely to be. The reader will find on the first page of Part V., vol. i. of Theodore De Bry's *Collectiones Peregrinationum in Indiam Occidentalem* the following interesting but doubtful account of the portrait:

"Quoniam autem ille Columbus vir erat cordatus, magnique ingenij & animi, Rex & Regina Castiliæ antequam ab illis discederit, eius effigiem ab eximio aliquo pictore ad viuum exprimit iusserunt, vt si ab illa expeditione non rediret aliquod eius monumentum apud se haberent. Huius autem effigiej exemplar nuper post absolutem quartum librum superiorem, ã quodam amico meo qui illud ab ipso pictore acceperat magno cum gaudio nactus sum, cuius te quoque participem facere volui, atque in hunc finem eam effigiem à filio meo exigua forma quam fieri potuit perfectissimè in aes incidi curaui, quam & tibi hoc libro offero atque obuerdetur."

"Since then this Columbus was a sagacious man, of great mind and soul, the King and Queen of Castile before that he should depart from them, commanded that his portrait should be painted from life by some renowned artist, in order that if he never came back from his expedition they might possess of him some memorial. And so to my great joy, lately, after the completion of the fourth book I have had a copy of this portrait from a certain friend of mine who had received it from the artist himself: I wished to have thee also, O reader, participate in this joy and therefore for this purpose I have caused this picture to be cut in metal by my son in as small a form and as perfectly as was possible and which I now offer thee in this present book."

Certainly De Bry intends the reader to understand that his friend received from the hand of the same artist whom the King and Queen employed to paint the portrait of Columbus a replica or copy of the said portrait. If the friend had received the original, De Bry would not have used the words *Hujus*

QVI RATE VELIVOLA OCCIDVOS PENETRAVIT AD INDOS
PRIMVS ET AMERICAM NOBILITAVIT HVMVM
CHRISTOPHORVS COLVMBVS LIGVR INDIARV PRIM INVEN A 1492
ASTRORVM CONSVLT ET IPSO NOBILIS AVSV
CHRISTOPHOR TALI FRONTE COLVMB ERAT

No. 21. The De Bry Portrait.

effigiei exemplar, but it would have been *hæc effigies* which the friend received. Gio. Batista Spotorno, in his *Memoir of Columbus*, says:

"We have no wish to conceal that Theodore de Bry pretended that he possessed a portrait of the hero, the same that was to be seen in an apartment of the Council of the Indies: from which place having been stolen and

carried to the Netherlands for sale, it came finally into the hands of De Bry, who gave an engraving of it in his *America*."

We have just seen what De Bry did say, and his statement is inconsistent with that given by Spotorno. If the original had been stolen, a cry would have gone forth from Spain and its loss recorded. If a mere duplicate had been stolen, it could not have been this one, for his friend received his directly from the artist's own hand. But is there not something extraordinary in De Bry's statement on this point? He did not have the picture in 1594 when the fourth part of his work was completed, but between then and 1595, when the fifth part went to press, he did have it. It came to his friend, who had it from the artist, who in turn had painted it in the year 1492, between April and the beginning of August. One hundred and three years separated the execution of the original and the passage of its creator's duplicate into the hands of De Bry's friend. The painting of the features of Columbus was intrusted to a renowned or distinguished artist, and it is not likely an artist would have attained distinguished honour in Spain in those days much before he was forty years of age. But assume that because of precocity the artist was distinguished enough at the age of thirty years to be employed for this purpose, he would have been one hundred and thirty-three years old in 1595, when the friend received it and handed it to De Bry. If the friend had long been in possession of the picture and had received it when he was thirty and the artist was eighty, the transaction would have taken place in the year 1542, the artist having been born in 1462 (assuming he was thirty when he made the portrait in 1492), and De Bry's friend being then thirty years of age, having been born in 1512. This friend then would have been eighty-three years old in 1595, and must have kept concealed from the knowledge of De Bry for fifty-three years the possession by him of this interesting portrait.

There is no evidence that there ever was a portrait in the Council Chamber of the Indies, and indeed a careful search in the Spanish Archives and the private papers of the Indian Department, from the time of Ferdinand and Isabella to that of Philip II., has failed to disclose that either the government, the Indian Council, or the Sovereign ever possessed a portrait

of Columbus. Certainly Ferdinand Columbus, Las Casas, Oviedo, Peter Martyr, or some person would have made mention of a contemporaneous portrait if it had ever been executed, for each of these writers was given to treating of details and of insignificant as well as of important affairs. As engraved by De Bry's son, Jean De Bry, it is distinctly of another type from the Jovian. The face is heavy and stolid. Thick curls push their way under a peaked cap. The sombrero and not this Italian cap was the usual head-covering in Spain at the end of the fifteenth century. A dimple marks the chin, but three prominent warts are introduced on the cheek. Ordinarily we would be disposed to accept as an authentic likeness the portrait which presents defects. Fancy concerns itself with embellishment and adornment and not with imperfections. But here again, in their careful descriptions of his person, Ferdinand, Las Casas, the Curate of Los Palacios, or some one who knew him, would have mentioned such noticeable marks. Of course the failure to mention them would not stand against the slightest contemporary mention of the existence of any such pictorial representation of them or of the distinguished face on which they built their homes. No one looking at this face would pronounce it a *long visage*, and if we know anything of his personal appearance it is that his face was long. If we know a second feature of his face, it is that his eyes were bright and piercing, not heavy and dull as in this type. His locks were white from about his thirtieth year, and this portrait speaks not of gray hairs.

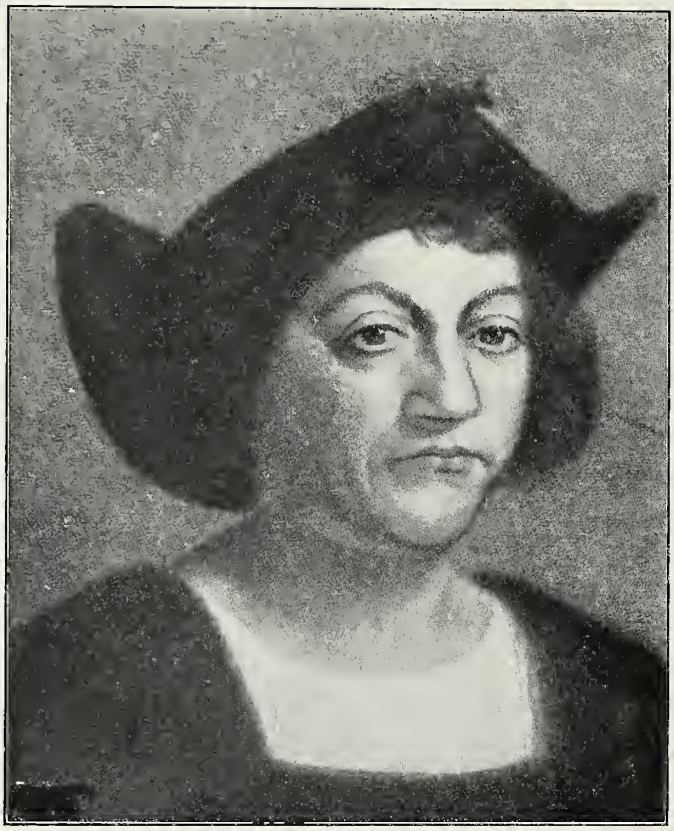
Probably no other picture of the Admiral has been so often reproduced, with certain modifications, in histories and stories of Columbus and his times.

No. 22. THE VERSAILLES PORTRAIT [1]

In the year 1833 there was brought from Brussels and

[1] It was said to have been presented the Museum by the Count de Montesquieu. The Historical Museum of Versailles was founded by Louis Philippe at an initial cost of fifteen million francs, and in 1832 its galleries were adorned with historical pictures brought from the Louvre and other places. Thomas Jefferson thought the presence in the Uffizi Gallery of the Altissimo portrait a sufficient guarantee of its genuineness. This rule is not safe to follow in any public gallery. There is much rubbish in the Versailles gallery as elsewhere, and increased knowledge is daily changing titles to pictures and ascribing new names to their artists. This is particularly

deposited in the Museum at Versailles a portrait of Columbus which was evidently executed by some Flemish artist, and which presents the features of some plump and contented Hollander. A celebrated French critic, Feuillet de Conches, has sought to show that this is the work of some student or follower of Jan Van Eyck of Bruges, asserting that it discloses certain



No. 22. The Versailles Portrait.

characteristics of his school. Several of his students are believed to have gone into Spain and Portugal, and it is argued that the picture was made of Columbus while he was yet in Portugal. Van Eyck himself died in 1441, and any student of his must have been much older than Columbus himself. It is painted on wood and is of ancient appearance. If there was a Flemish-

true of the labours of the modern school of art critics with headquarters in Florence, where the analytical process is taught which enables the expert to discover by technicalities the handiwork of ancient artists. Corrections are making in every great gallery and pictures are dissected and assigned to their creators and to their schools.

taught artist in Portugal during the time Columbus lived there, he would have had no more improbable a sitter for a portrait than the future Admiral of the Indies, then unknown, poor, and friendless. Did this Van Eyck student discover what neither Alfonso the King nor John, his son, could discover,—the divine purpose, the piercing eye, the unbendable ambition, the incurable hope? If the student saw these things, why did he not put it on his panel instead of painting a sleek and comfortable burgher?

Feuillet de Conches declares that this identical portrait is the original from which Jean De Bry made his engraving.

It will be observed that this portrait does not disclose the warts found in the De Bry engraving, and that instead of curly, wig-like locks, we have under the same hat, smooth hair, dark and thick. The inference is that the Versailles portrait was painted from the De Bry engraving, and not that the De Bry picture was engraved from the Versailles portrait. Therefore, De Bry declares that he caused his son to copy the portrait received by his friend from the artist "as perfectly as possible." It is not likely that under these circumstances an engraver would purposely introduce facial marks or would introduce a mass of curls where the portrait copied showed hair smooth and plain. On the other hand, it is very probable that an artist in copying from such an engraving would wish to improve his subject, and would omit the defects and give to the hair a more natural appearance. But the reader will observe that in both the Versailles portrait and in the undiscovered De Bry picture there is no attempt to present that peculiar personal feature spoken of by Ferdinand, the possession of white hair at the early age of thirty, a period after which and not before the portrait or any portrait must have been painted if taken from life. De Bry distinctly says that the portrait from which he had his engraving was executed *ad vivum*.

The De Bry engraving has been reproduced, as we have said, many times, but probably never better than in the engraving made by Paolo Mercuri, the famous Roman artist. There was said to have been another ancient portrait unmistakably Flemish, of Columbus, in the Versailles Museum, acquired at the Magnan sale in the year 1841,[1] but it disappeared after the

[1] Jomard saw and described this portrait. (See *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, third series, vol. iii., p. 369.)

Prussian occupation of 1870. It was on a small panel of wood, 12 x 14 centimetres in size. An anchor was on the frame, and on the right side of the figure one read this inscription of eight lines:

"Cristoff. de Colomb, Groots Admiral Vost Zee onder Fernand: Christopher Columbus, Grand Admiral of the Sea under Ferdinand."

The head was completely bald, and the costume was a great coat, or vitchoura, worn by sailors in the beginning of the sixteenth century.

No. 23. THE TALLEYRAND PORTRAIT

For more than a century a portrait of Columbus hung in the château of Valençay in the Department of Indre, France, the property of the Duke de Valençay de Talleyrand de Segan. It belonged to Prince Talleyrand and is a work of artistic interest. The portrait, according to M. Achille Neri,[1] bears the inscription in six words:

Hæc est Effigies Leguris Miranda Columbi.

Count Luigi di Turenna, in a report to the Geographical Society of France, in speaking of this picture, says:

"It has been attributed to Sebastiano del Piombo: if it were thus, it would appear very improbable that the portrait was painted from nature. Luciano Sebastiano, called Brother Sebastiano of Piombo, born in 1485, would have been only twenty-one years of age at the time of the death of Columbus, and history relates that Sebastiano gave himself to painting at a relatively late age, being at first almost entirely consecrated to music. But I am tempted to believe that the attribution is apocryphal and that the portrait was done from nature. Everything in the execution permits the supposition, and it is quite a probable thing that an identical portrait must exist elsewhere, the Duke of Talleyrand possessing in the Gallery of the Château a modern engraving which is manifestly a *copy* of the above picture, a picture which in the memory of man has never gone away from Valençay." [2]

M. Achille Neri then continues:

"And since the engraving mentioned is none other than that of Mercuri, one must obviously recognise in the picture of the Duke of Talleyrand the portrait existing in the Museum of Versailles: this however bears no writing which might even be added afterwards in the former by another hand. We do not pause to discuss the estimate of the Count of Turin in regard to

[1] See *Raccolta—Commissione Colombiana*, Part II., vol. iii., p. 267.

[2] See *Société de Géographie. Compte Rendu des Séances de la Commission Centrale*, 1891, p. 470.

No. 23. The Talleyrand Portrait.

the antiquity of the likeness and of its construction, it appearing to us sufficiently clear from the matter discussed above, that it treats of a type too different from the former—the Jovian—which from historical reasons we consider the most credible and ancient."

This Talleyrand portrait of Columbus is to-day believed to be in the Metropolitan Museum in New York City. It bears the following legend:

Hæc est Effigies Liguri Miranda Columbi Antipodum Primus Rate qui Penetravit in Orbem. Sebastianus Venetus Facit.

Competent art critics pronounce it a genuine work of Sebastiano called *Il Piombo.* Sebastianus lived between the years 1485 and 1547, and pictures of his are known bearing similar signatures, although, like most artists of the time, it was an exceptional and not a usual thing to sign a picture. Certainly it was a most unusual occurrence in the early part of the sixteenth century to place a legend on a portrait. Even if the Talleyrand portrait or the portrait now in the Metropolitan Museum be by Sebastianus, it was executed long after the death of Columbus. On the other hand, if it be by Sebastiano, it may have been the original of the De Bry or a copy from a common source.

No. 24. THE BRADLEY PORTRAIT

In the winter of the year 1891, when all the world was searching for portraits of Columbus, William Harrison Bradley of Chicago, United States Consul at Nice, France, purchased an alleged portrait from two elderly ladies living in that city, who had it from the family of Imbert de Lonnes, in which they had once been instructors, the fortunes of which family had become decayed with time and with the political changes of the country. The last surviving member of this family was a Madame Degréaux, living in Marseilles. She declared this portrait came to her through her mother from her grandfather, Imbert de Lonnes; that it had always been considered a picture of great value, that her grandfather during the French Revolution had bought it at one of the sales in 1793 of the Royal effects, and that it had come from the private cabinet of Marie Antoinette, the unhappy Queen of France. It is further reported that at the same sale he purchased two Titians now in the Louvre. Imbert de Lonnes was chief surgeon to the King's brother, and went into retirement during the stirring days of

the Revolution, re-emerging to attach himself to the fortunes of Napoleon, and to become Chief Surgeon in the Branch Home of the Invalids at Avignon.

No. 24. The Bradley Portrait.

The portrait is of the De Bry type. The Admiral is represented in this portrait in a black coat; with the usual De Bry head-dress. The hands, which do not appear in the De Bry

engraving, are identical in position with the hands of the Talleyrand picture. Across the top of the canvas is the legend: *Christoph. Colombo, Ligur. Orbem Alterum Excogitavit et Primus Visit. An. 1492.* At the side is a line which, applying in his lifetime, was certainly not particularly felicitous; from Virgil:

Et Mihi Facti Fama Sat Est.

No. 25. The Venetian Mosaic Portrait.

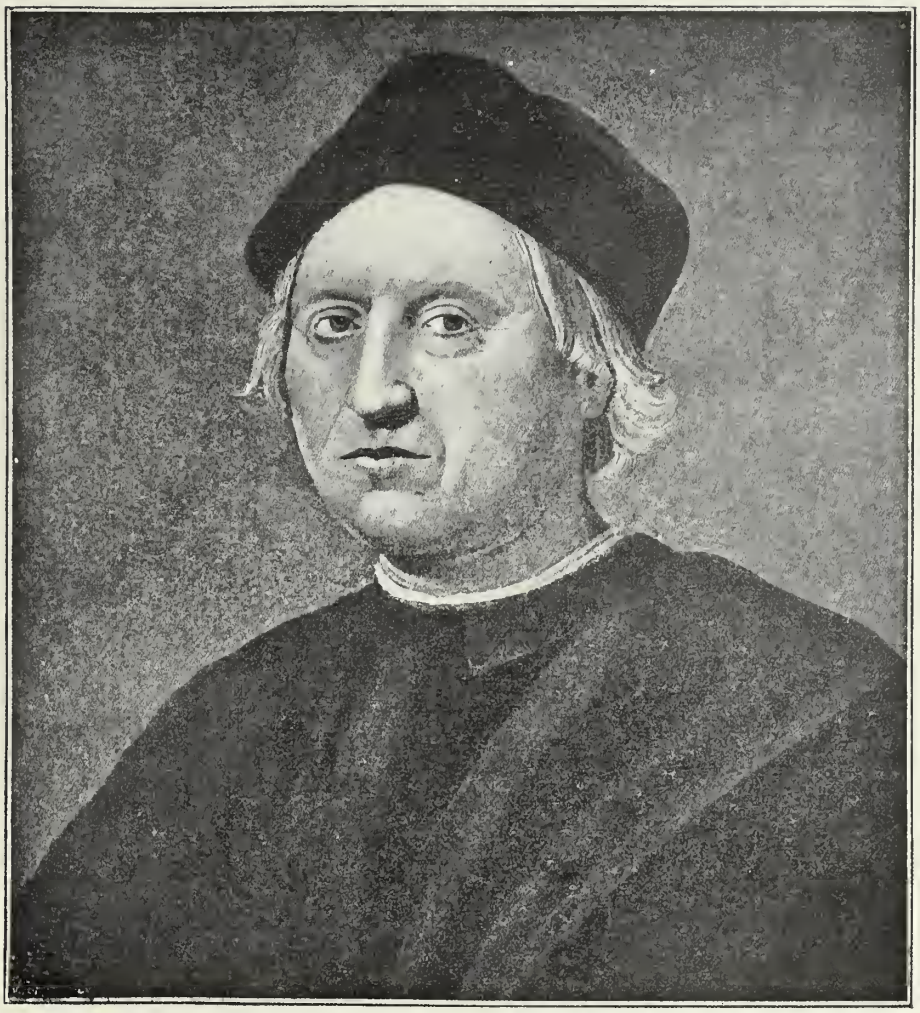
No. 25. THE VENETIAN MOSAIC

To the De Bry type belongs the beautiful mosaic portrait of Columbus presented to the city of Genoa by the sister city Venice when the former entered the cluster of principalities now included in the kingdom of Italy, and to-day it hangs in the Municipal Hall in Genoa. A magnificent frame of ebony, inlaid with ivory, incloses the remarkable picture. It follows the De Bry type, but the hands hold a map of the world partially unrolled.

No. 26. THE CEVASCO PORTRAIT

To this type may be assigned a portrait of merit belonging to the Municipality of Genoa, the gift of the eminent sculptor Giambattista Cevasco. This artist is convinced that it is a "work of the *Cinquecento*, most precious in expression and truth." Comparing it with the portrait possessed by the Duke of Veragua, Cevasco was "surprised by its perfect similarity with the latter painting." To further convince himself that this is a portrait of Columbus, he has fortified himself with "the opinion of competent men and by the two letters 'VS,' the final letters of his name, sufficiently clear, which are legible at the top on the left side of the canvas." [1]

[1] See *Processi Verbali del Consiglio Comunale di Genova*, 1862, Genoa, Ferrando, p. 118.



No. 26. The Cevasco Portrait.

THE BEARDED TYPE

We have adopted this general title for the sake of convenience, and not because there is any one type to which all the bearded faces bear resemblance. Following the same plan adopted in our examination of the Jovian and De Bry types, we will consider them in the order in which notices of them first reached the world.

It is probable that while on shipboard or upon his expeditions Columbus let his beard grow. Both as a matter of convenience and precaution against exposure, the wearing of a

beard by an ocean navigator was natural. The early colonists were much given to going with their beards grown. The natives, themselves beardless, had a great respect and fear for men with hair on their faces. Peter Martyr relates that Ægidius Gonzalus when he was on the coast of Nicaragua, that he might intimidate the Indians, took twenty-five of his youths and made bold men of them by adding false and abundant hair to head and face.

No. 27. The Thevet Portrait.

No. 27. THE THEVET PORTRAIT

Although this portrait was published the year before the De Bry engraving, the extreme improbability of the type has induced us to place it in a subsequent series. André Thevet went to South America in 1555 with the Marquis de Villegagnon when the latter attempted to establish a French colony at the mouth of the Rio de Janeiro. Becoming ill while there, he resolved to return to France, and embarked January 31, 1556, with Boisle-Comte. He gave an account of the new countries he had visited in his *Les Singularités de la France Antartique*, published in 1558. He did not pretend in this work that he had ever coasted the country now included in the United States of America, but in the year 1575 he gave to the world his *Cosmographia*, in which he described a voyage along the eastern coast as far as Canada. His account has never met with the acceptance of scholars, and his false narrative comes back to plague him when he asks us to believe in the authenticity of the likeness of Columbus presented in his *Les Vrais Pourtraits et Vies des Hommes Illustres*, published at Paris in 1584.[1] This portrait has coarse lineaments, unkempt hair, full beard, rather square face; the right hand is pointed to a group of stars, while his left holds an astrolabe.

The French engraver Nicolas de Larmessin made a reproduction of this for *Académie des Sciences et des Arts*, by Isaac Bullaert, Brussels, 1682.

No. 28. THE MONTANUS PORTRAIT

This portrait appeared first in *De Nieuwe en Onbekende Weereld*, by Arnoldus Montanus, published at Amsterdam in the year 1671. It was reproduced the same year in Ogilby's *America*. The engraver followed the Thevet type, greatly improving and embellishing it. The Montanus has been a popular book on account of its maps,[2] and this may account for the frequent reproduction of the Columbian portrait. It has been said that this portrait was painted in Nuremberg about the year 1661.

[1] See *Les Vrais Pourtraits et Vies des Hommes Illustres, Grecz, Latins, et Payens Recueillez de Leur Tableaux, Livres, Medalles Antiques et Modernes*, by André Thevet, Angoumoysin, First Cosmographer of the King, Paris, Kervert, 1584, vol. ii., p. 522.

[2] The collector of Americana will always prize this work because of its early (but not earliest) map of New Amsterdam, found on page 124.

No. 28. The Montanus Portrait.

No. 29. THE HERRERA PORTRAIT

In the edition of Herrera published in 1728 this type of portrait is used in a modified and much more refined form.[1] The dates at which all these Montanus portraits are introduced show of how little importance they are in furnishing us with a reliable and trustworthy likeness of the great Discoverer.

No. 29. The Herrera Portrait.

No. 30. THE PARMIGIANO PORTRAIT

In the *Museo-Borbonico* at Naples is a portrait of Columbus by Girolamo Francesco Maria Mazzola Parmigiano, a Lombard artist, who died in 1540, aged thirty-seven years. It came from the Farnese Gallery, and is acknowledged as a fine picture even by those who refuse to accept it as a portrait of the Admiral. As Parmigiano was only born at Parma in the year 1503, it will not be claimed that the portrait, even if intended for Columbus, was painted from life. This portrait, as well as one of Americus Vespucius, is said to have been painted about the year 1527 for Cardinal Alexander Farnese. It is now said to be a portrait of Gilberto di Sassuolo, an Italian statesman and scholar. The portrait is given importance, since it was offered the world as an authentic portrait by Prescott in his *History of Ferdinand and Isabella.*

Carderera, in his *Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia*, Madrid, 1852, says of this portrait:

"Having carefully examined the portrait in Naples we have come to doubt whether the Parmesian is intended to represent Columbus at all.

[1] The Herrera portrait was accepted by William Cullen Bryant and Sidney Howard Gay to illustrate their *History of America.*

Of course Antonio de Herrera was not responsible for this portrait. The wretched picture, which appeared in his *Historia General de los Hechos de los Castellanos*, Madrid, 1601, is too rude a thing to notice except as concerns the completion of the record.

There is scarcely a point of resemblance between the authentic portraits of the Admiral which so clearly reveal the frank character of a sailor, and the painting of Mazzola which portrays the subject with the delicacy and re-

No. 30. The Parmigiano Portrait.

serve of a courtier. Still more noticeable is the contrast between the garb and austere aspect of our hero, and the exquisite and effeminate decorations of this person whose physiognomy, very long and lean, differs very

much from the oval and strongly marked face of the Admiral, whose noble brow is lighted up with the vivacity of genius. Neither the hair which adorns the temples of the Neapolitan figure with symmetrical and elegant locks, nor the whiskers and long beard, nor the curls smoothly arranged were seen, save in the rarest exceptions, in the time of Ferdinand and Isabella either in Spain or Italy or in any other civilised country of Europe: much less up to the first year of Charles V. could one meet with a slashed German red cap with plume and gold buttons. The same may be said concerning other parts of the attire, as the silk sleeves made at the wrists in annular puffs and slashed, lace about the hands, gloves, a finger ring and other refinements that characterise a fine gallant of the 16th century."

A copy of the Parmigiano in oil, by Antonio Scardino, an Italian artist, is in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, Mass.[1]

No. 31. THE MUÑOZ OR BERWICK-LIRIA PORTRAIT

Juan Bautista Muñoz, a distinguished Spanish historian, received a command, on July 17, 1779, from Charles III., King of Spain, to write the history of America. His work was never completed, but the first volume of his *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* was published at Madrid in the year 1793. This contained a portrait, which is best described by the historian himself:

"I have prefixed the head of Columbus, the Discoverer, to this volume, faithfully engraved with much accuracy. Amongst many paintings and engravings, said to be so many likenesses, I could only discover one which deserves the name, viz., that which is preserved in the collection of the Duke of Berwick and Liria, a descendant of our hero. A *whole length figure* probably drawn in the *last century*, by an indifferent copyist, but in which the masterly touches of Antonio del Rinçon, a celebrated painter of the Court, may be traced. The characteristic features of the Admiral, as drawn by his son, Ferdinand Columbus, have enabled us to select the most striking portrait and to *amend the faults*, perceptible in some lines, which were either mistaken by the artist or obliterated by time."

In the time of Muñoz, the head of the Portuguese branch of the descendants of Columbus was Jacobo-Felipe Carlos Stuart of Stolberg, born at Paris, February 25, in the year 1773. He was the last Duke of Veragua of the Berwick line, and the one who, in 1790, was defeated in his law-suit against the Larreategui-Ortigan branch, the titles and honours of Columbus going to these last, represented to-day in the person of the present Duke

[1] See *Proceedings American Antiquarian Society*, October 24, 1853, p. 15.

of Veragua. His son, Carlos Miguel, became Duke of Berwick y Liria and Alba, and on the death of his aunt, Maria del Pilar Alvarez de Toledo, thirteenth Duchess of Alba, he inherited all the titles of Alba. This digression seems necessary to understand that the Berwick y Liria and Berwick y Alba families are one and the same, and that the portrait called by Achille Neri the "Berwick-Liria Portrait" and the Berwick-Alba Portrait must

No. 31. The Muñoz or Berwick-Liria Portrait.

have been in the same gallery. The Muñoz Portrait was reconstructed from a full-length portrait belonging to the Duke of Berwick y Liria, and the full-length portrait was executed in the seventeenth century from another portrait supposed to have been painted by Antonio del Rinçon. If the artist who painted the seventeenth-century copy altered it from the portrait generally attributed to Antonio del Rinçon, it suggests a complete change of features and surroundings.

The portrait as given in Muñoz is a close copy by Marian

Manella of the face in the portrait given in the *Raccolta* as the Berwick y Liria copy, but with a different treatment of the collar and insignia about the neck.

The picture in Muñoz and the one used by Cristoforo Cladera in his work on Spanish discoveries in the Ocean-sea are from the same source. The Cladera has the same treatment of the collar. There it is asserted to be designed from an original picture of the entire figure formerly possessed by Ferdinand, son of Columbus.

No. 32. THE BERWICK–ALBA PORTRAIT

This portrait appears to be an engraving said to be by D. Rafael Esteve from a drawing by Galiano, and to bear this inscription: *El Quadro Original Fué Pintado en America por Van Loo;* "the original was painted in America by Van Loo." As is well known, no record appears in this country of an American artist by the name of Van Loo. And there is no record that Jean Baptiste Van Loo ever was in America. The story, however, serves to account for the absence of any original. If this head served for the Muñoz portrait, it was much altered. The figure in this full-length portrait is well posed and attractive, but certainly is not our conception of Columbus. The face is young, while the surroundings indicate wealth and honours, both of which rewards were unknown to Columbus. The hair is dark, the face not particularly long. Upon the table are two globes of unequal diameter, and the table is supported by a shield on which one sees the coat-of-arms of the Admiral.

No. 32. The Berwick-Alba Portrait.

There is said to be somewhere a painting of Columbus repre-

senting him seated in a chair, arrayed in richly embroidered robes,—a costume somewhat different from the Franciscan garment which history records him as wearing, and differing likewise from the Hull Portrait.

No. 33. THE JOMARD PORTRAIT

Edmond François Jomard, an eminent French engraver and geographer, was long librarian of the National Library at Paris.

No. 33. The Jomard Portrait.

In 1844 he discovered in a gallery in Vicenza a portrait of Columbus, which he pronounced the best and most life-like image of the great Genoese, and an original work by Titian, or perhaps by Domenico Campagnola, painted between 1530 and 1540. This portrait, with its endorsement by Jomard, was brought before a Congress of Scientists at Genoa, and received the judgment, "an ideal picture, rather than a positive reproduction of the features of the immortal Navigator." The portrait is in the National Library at Paris.

No. 34. THE MENGS PORTRAIT

In the Public Library at Concord, Mass., is an alleged portrait of Columbus, by Raphael Mengs, and which is declared to have been copied from a Spanish portrait. This Mengs Portrait

is said to have formerly been in the possession of Madame Letitia Bonaparte at Rome, and was purchased by Mr. A. P. Chamberlaine after her death, and by him presented to the Library in Concord. The artist Mengs is said to have left a record somewhere to the effect that the original from which he took his copy was a veritable Titian. If it was a close copy, the original may have resembled the Thevet type. It is a portrait of a full-bearded and dark-haired man; his right hand resting on a globe, and the head turned to the left.

No. 34. The Mengs Portrait.

No. 35. THE HAVANA PORTRAIT

In the Council Chamber of the Captain-General's Palace at Havana hangs the portrait of Columbus said to have been pre-

No. 35. The Havana Portrait.

sented to the municipality by one of the Dukes of Veragua, some two hundred years ago. It has a slight resemblance to the head in the Berwick-Alba engraving, but the head has a forehead very high, while in the latter it is extremely low.

CHAPTER CXVIIII

MISCELLANEOUS PORTRAITS

UNDER this head are several pictures of Columbus which have attracted attention and whose individual claims have been advocated with much persistency by voices more or less authoritative.

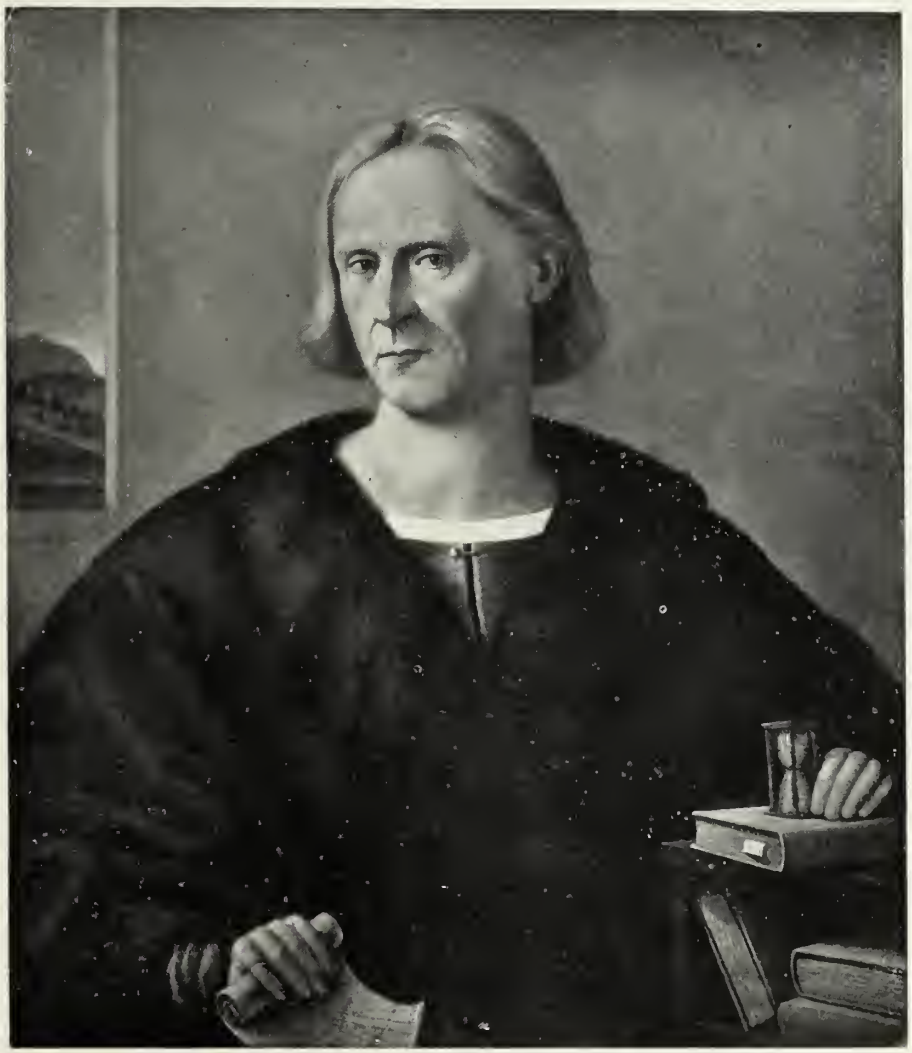
No. 36. THE LOTTO PORTRAIT

Surely no voice can be more authoritative than that of a nation, and no nation can have a more positive tone in its voice than the young and eager people living and moving over the country indirectly opened to them by the great Discoverer. The United States has officially pronounced this particular portrait to be the likeness of Christopher Columbus by placing it upon five million of silver coined money pieces minted as souvenirs of the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery.

The *Italia Marinara* for April 5, 1891, thus describes the discovery in Venice, by the archæologist Antonio della Rovere, of a portrait of Columbus painted by Lorenzo Lotto:

"Should it be asked who since the Nazarene might be considered the greatest man born to the world, the unanimous voice of all nations would respond, Christopher Columbus. There has been no other man since the Martyr of Golgotha who, more than Columbus, has excited the enthusiasm of poets, historians and scientists throughout the world. But few have directed their studies to the venerated person of this great man, since they were so full of admiration for his deeds that the man himself was overshadowed. We shall publish frequently accounts of his deeds the best that have been written, beginning with his life composed by his son Ferdinand Columbus. The authentic portrait which we reproduced in the last number was from Venice and was by Lorenzo Lotto. It was discovered by the learned archæologist Antonio della Rovere and was annotated by Captain Salvator Ranieri. The whole details of the discovery may be

read in two publications, *Guide to the Royal Gallery of Venice*, by Della Rovere, and *Discourse Delivered at the Venetian Athenæum, March 28, 1890*, by Salvator Ranieri. The letters or characters reproduced at the foot of the portrait are the signature of Columbus. The last line, having



No. 36. The Lotto Portrait.

a mixture of Greek and Latin letters, makes the name or word Christoforem; the next to the last line contains the letters X, M, Y, standing for *Christus Maria Joseph*, the upper letters combined in all ways with those of the next to the last line express a kind of ejaculatory prayer like Salva me Cristus Maria Joseph.

"Ranieri is making a critical study of all the pretended portraits of

Columbus and of this true one of Lotto: and from him comes the following *résumé* which we gladly reproduce in its entirety. After eliminating many well-known portraits, he says:

"'But the indisputable fact that the portrait of Lotto is the most ancient gives this a pre-eminence over all the others mentioned. If reproductions of this are not found, it is perhaps on account of the churlishness of the possessors until it came to the Dukes of Parma and was examined by their agent, the Chevalier Rossi and the noble Antonio della Rovere, who made important investigations to see if there were in it any traces of the features of the Cuccaro or of the Capriolo portraits, or of that in the Naval Museum at Madrid. In all these are to be found the details of the hair gracefully flowing over the ear. Nor, after such an analytical classification, can we violently antagonise the conclusions to which came the Baron Vernazza and the learned Spotorno, that *all* the portraits examined by them are false, for if there are any real resemblances we ought to preserve them, small or great, as appears in this case of Dante.'

"Thus having availed ourselves of this preliminary examination, we have succeeded by means of elimination in arriving at the discovery of the archetype. Now, the portrait of Lotto not only is remarkable for having the costume of the period, but impresses the beholder with its marvellous expression as a whole, which enables even an uncultured mind to divine the real person it claims to represent, while the other portraits, having been made not before the second half of the 16th century and many even still later, betray a striking mannerism and become exaggerated in many particulars. Therefore, if we do not still care to take into account the expression, but to have in consideration the difference of the epoch and still more the characteristic features, it still remains that the portrait of Lotto has the right to be proclaimed as the only and veritable existing archetype."

(Salvator Ranieri.)

The Lotto portrait takes its name from the celebrated Venetian artist, Lorenzo Lotto.

It is said for this portrait by those who called the attention of its generous purchaser to its existence that it was painted at the instance of Angelo Trivigiano, Secretary to the Venetian Embassy in Spain, who sent it to the Venetian Senator Domenico Malipiero; the possessions of Malipiero passed to Francisco Longo; the heirs of Longo were the Gradenigos, from whom Luigi Rossi, steward of the Duchess of Parma, purchased it; Rossi sold it to a Signor Gandolfi, who had it restored and repaired, the badly damaged head and cap of the Indian at the right being cut out, and the canvas made square instead of oblong; Gandolfi sold it to Signor Antonio della Rovere, from whom it was purchased, in 1892, by the United States Consul at

Frankfort, Frank H. Mason, for Mr. James W. Ellsworth, then of Chicago, but now a citizen of New York. The signature and date read *Lavrens Lotvs f. . . .*[1] It represents the Admiral holding in one hand a conically projected map of Brazil, while the other, resting on a book, touches an hour-glass. A table holds several books, and upon the back of one we read *Aristotele*, a strange form of the name, to say the least, as it should either be *Aristoteles* or (Liber, Libri, Rhetorica, or some such word being understood) *Aristotelis*. As this picture was first described upon its coming to America, the date of its execution was read 1502. It was pointed out that the territory pictured upon the map held in the hand could have had no significance whatsoever in connection with Columbus, and that the map from which it evidently was taken was a portion of the famous Ruysch map appearing for the first time in the *Ptolemy*, printed at Rome in 1508. It was then asserted that the date was really 1512, and we all know it is easy to make a mistake in reading Arabic numerals. The name is properly written *Lavrens Lotvs f.*, except, we think, he would have used the contraction *p.* instead of *f.* In the Louvre at Paris is the artist's picture, *Saint Jerome in the Desert*, which is signed simply *Lotvs 1500*. Giovanni Morelli, Count Clément de Ris, and Dr. Gustavo Frizzoni of Bergamo, among the first experts in Italian art, pronounce the signature on this *Saint Jerome* picture genuine. In Bergamo there is an allegorical painting by Lotto also signed *Lotvs P. cal. Jul. M. D. V.*, the numerals being consistently Roman. There is a graceful altar-piece in the church at Santa Christina, near Treviso, which is signed *Lavrent Lotvs P.*, the *nt.* forming a sort of monogram. In the church of Asola is an altar-piece in which the name is signed *Lavrent Lotvs Ivnior M.D.VI.* In Munich is his picture representing the marriage of St. Catherine, signed

[1] The signature is fairly legible so far as the name is concerned, but the date generally said to be read following the name, is so dim and faded that it is impossible to decide just what figures were originally used. The name as spelled has not heretofore been correctly given. When exhibited at Chicago, it sadly mixed the Latin and Italian forms. The legend, Lavrens Lotto f., was calculated to arouse some doubt as to its being a holograph signature, as no man would be likely to use the mixed form. Again, in some reports the name was written Lawrens, which is also an impossible form for the beginning of the sixteenth century, the letter "w" not then being in use in Italy. In the signatures of Lotto we have seen he makes his "L" with the two lines straight and at right angles to each other, and not as in this portrait. Moreover, he seems to have written his name on his portraits in capital letters, and not in small letters as here.

Lavren̄ Lotvs. F. It is said in later years, toward 1530, some of his pictures were signed in the Italianised form of his name. The Latin and Italian forms are not found mixed.

We have letters from Trivigiano, written to Malipiero, in which the former speaks of sending him the historical matter of the *Libretto* as well as a map to be made at Palos, but he says nothing of sending him a portrait of the great Discoverer. Of course, if it was made in 1512 instead of 1502, Trivigiano had nothing to do with it. Moreover, if it was made in 1512, it was not made from nature, as Columbus had then been dead six years. Columbus arrived in Spain from his third voyage in October, 1500. He came in degradation and with chains upon his limbs. The chains were taken off his body, but they must have marked his face with the signs of grief. He left Spain in May, 1502, on his fourth voyage. There was an opportunity here for some Spanish artist or some foreign artist then in Spain to have painted him. It was the last opportunity, for when he came back from his last voyage in 1504, he was broken in mind and body, and the last chapter of his life was closing. We have no proof that Lorenzo Lotto was ever in Spain. There is every reason to believe he was in Italy the whole of the period between October, 1500, and May, 1502.

If there be a difference of opinion as to who painted this picture or as to the person it represents, it is manifestly a great work of art. As to the spelling of the name, it is quite possible that some later hand has attempted to improve the portrait or add to its value by writing in the name of the artist. It certainly will have the place of honour among alleged portraits of Columbus owned in America from its arbitrary association with the World's Columbian Exposition.

No. 37. THE MORO PORTRAIT

This portrait derives its position of importance from the fact that Washington Irving selected it from all those seen by him to illustrate his *Life of Columbus*. In the preface to the edition of this work published in London in 1850, the author says:

"The portrait of Columbus prefaced to the present volume is from a beautiful picture painted by Sir Anthony Moro for Margaret, Governess of the Netherlands. It was brought to this country [England] about the

year 1590, and has been in the possession of one family until very recently, when it was purchased by Mr. Cribb of King Street, Covent Garden, London. The characteristics of the mind and features of Columbus are so

No. 37. The Moro Portrait.

forcibly depicted in this picture that no doubt can remain but that it is a true and perfect resemblance of the great Navigator."

The portrait is by others reported to have hung in the cabin of one of the ships in the Spanish Armada during the fight in

1588, and when the vessel which bore it went to pieces on the Cornish coast of England, the owner of an estate near the place of disaster appropriated it as his share of the wreckage, and it was retained in his family until the middle of the nineteenth century, when, as Irving says, it was bought by William Cribb, and upon his death it was sold to Mr. Raymond Groom of Pall Mall, London. It was purchased of Mr. Groom by Mr. Charles F. Gunther of Chicago, the possessor of many valuable and interesting relics, by whom it is still owned. It is to be regretted that Washington Irving has given us none of the reasons which induced him to accept its pedigree. We do not know by whom it was brought into England. It is in a magnificent frame worthy of holding the features of royalty, but there is no mark or symbol upon this frame to associate it with Columbus. It has been said that the frame has carved upon its upper side the coat-of-arms of the first Admiral of the Indies, but this is an error. While certain features of the coat-of-arms indicate a connection with the sea, there is nothing to associate it with Columbus. In the upper left-hand corner one reads *Ch. Colombo*, but the picture is not signed by the artist who painted it. Antonio Moro was born in 1519 and died in 1581. He could not have painted Columbus from life. It is said he painted this portrait for Margaret of Parma, the natural daughter of Charles V., from a miniature of Columbus in possession of the royal family at Madrid. It is further asserted that when the Spaniards retired from the Netherlands, the portrait was taken back to Spain. The figure is that of a Flemish nobleman, not over forty years of age, his hair dark, with whiskers such as were not worn in Spain in the fifteenth century. The left hand has several rings,[1] five on the first finger and one on the little finger.[2] One of these rings, when we saw the picture in 1893, had in-

[1] There are five rings on the first finger of the left hand. One of these is a star sapphire and one is a ring with a crest consisting of two chickens, one about to strike, the other in a position of defence: underneath the crest is a scroll, and under this again is a rose or flower of some kind. The figures 1590 are graved on the drum in the frame of the picture.

[2] At Newstead Abbey, in Nottinghamshire, once the seat of Lord Byron, is a portrait of a man attributed to Sir Anthony Moro, in which the artist has painted a coat-of-arms upon the ring which adorns one of the hands.—(*Anecdotes of Painting*, Walpole, vol. i., p. 214.)

There are other portraits of Moro's known in which the subject holds a globe. This accessory may have been suggested by the Italian Titian.

scribed upon it the figure of a rooster or a bird, having the significance of a family crest. No more delightful writing is known than Irving's *Life of Columbus*, but history has not hesitated to correct more than one of his conclusions. The picture is a beautiful example of Moro's art.

No. 38. THE ALBANY OR FARMAR PORTRAIT

The *Albany* portrait, sometimes called the *Farmar* portrait, hangs in the State Library in the Capitol at Albany, N. Y. It was presented to the State in 1784 by Mrs. Maria Farmar, a great-granddaughter of that famous Captain Jacob Leisler who usurped the office of Lieutenant-Governor and consequently the governorship of the province of New York, and who was executed for treason in the city of New York, May 16, 1691. It enjoys the distinction of having been in America longer than any other of the numerous family of Columbus portraits. It is on wood, 622 mm. in height by 508 mm. in width. The head is turned to the left; the face is that of a young man; the hair is brown or red; the dress is a doublet with slashed sleeves, while the collar is a large ruff; in his right hand is a deep, bowl-like compass. Back of the picture is a curtain partly drawn at the right of the figure, disclosing a caravel, and beyond the water a city with a tower, which we take to be San Domingo. A strange thing about this picture, not easily seen by looking at the original, but plainly revealed by the power of photography, is that another and a much larger figure had been previously painted upon the panel. The face of this older picture is turned almost full-face, and upon the head is discerned what we take to be a hat similar to that in the De Bry engraving. Inscribed on the panel of the later picture one reads above *Anº 1592*, while below one sees *Ata. 23*. It is possible that some artist finding at his hand, one hundred years after the discovery, a portrait of Columbus, perhaps a copy of the De Bry, conceived the—to him—happy idea of representing Columbus as he himself imagined him,—young, ardent, full of purpose,—and then painted over the first picture a second and purely imaginative portrait of our hero. The reader's attention is invited to the artistic strength displayed in the modelling of the chin, the foreshortened fingers, the bend of the elbow, and, in the original, the rich tones of the dress and flesh.

The following history of the portrait is recorded in the Senate Journal for 1850; in a report handed in by the Clerk of the Senate, William H. Bogart, April 9 of that year:

No. 38. The Albany or Farmar Portrait.

"On March 2, 1850, the Hon. George R. Babcock of Buffalo offered the following resolution: *Resolved*, That the Clerk of the Senate, under direction of the President, cause the portrait of Columbus, now in the anteroom, to be removed from its present unsafe position and properly cleaned and hung in the Senate Chamber."

Under this resolution the portrait was taken to New York, cleaned and repaired, and reframed by Messrs. Williams & Stevens of New York, and an inscription added as follows:

"The gift of Mrs. Maria Farmar to the Senate of New York, 1784."

The official record found in the Journal of the Senate for 1784 says:

"A letter [was read] from Mrs. Maria Farmar directed to his Honour, the President, offering for the acceptance of the Senate an ancient portrait of the celebrated discoverer of America, Christopher Columbus, taken from an original painting in 1592, and which had been in her family upwards of 150 years: *Resolved*, That the Senate do accept, with grateful acknowledgments, the ancient and valuable portrait offered by Mrs. Maria Farmar. When the Capital was removed from New York in 1797 this picture was left behind and seems to have been forgotten, in the transfer of the seat of the government: and it continued neglected or abstracted for many years. In March, 1847, the following entry appears upon the Journal:

"March 26, 1847, on motion of the Hon. John L. Viele, *Resolved*, That the Clerk of the Senate cause the portrait of Christopher Columbus presented to the Senate by Mrs. Maria Farmar in 1784, to be removed from the city of New York and put up in some suitable place in the Senate Chamber.

"Mr. John F. Bacon, then Clerk of the Senate, in compliance with the orders of this resolution, visited New York and after considerable search, and through the assistance of the venerable Mr. Skaats, the Keeper of the City Hall, found it in the garret of that building. He proved it to be the property of the State and brought it to Albany, where it was placed in the old Senate Chamber, afterwards known as the *cloak and document room* of the Assembly. When the Senate Chamber was changed, it hung over the fire-place, when by the resolution of the Hon. Senator from the 31st District [Mr. Babcock] it was ordered rescued."

We find a memorandum in the minutes of the State Librarian saying that, under date of 1856, it was sent by the State Library to the Senate Chamber, showing that at least for a time many years ago it had been in charge of what is now its permanent curator.

If in 1784 the portrait had been in the Leisler family for one hundred and fifty years, it would carry its possession back to 1635. Jacob Leisler came to this country about 1660 as a soldier in the employ of the Dutch West India Company. He traded much abroad, having vessels of his own. It is not likely he brought this portrait with him when he first came. If the

date 1592 is a memorandum by the artist of the time of its execution, one would have expected him to add his own name. Under any circumstances, as it represents a youth of twenty-three, it plainly belongs to the division of imaginative portraits.

No. 39. THE HULL PORTRAIT

The Hull portrait is owned by Miss Esther Hull of Danbury,

No. 39. The Hull Portrait.

Conn. It is of evident antiquity, but of unknown origin. It represents Columbus past middle life, long of visage, seated,

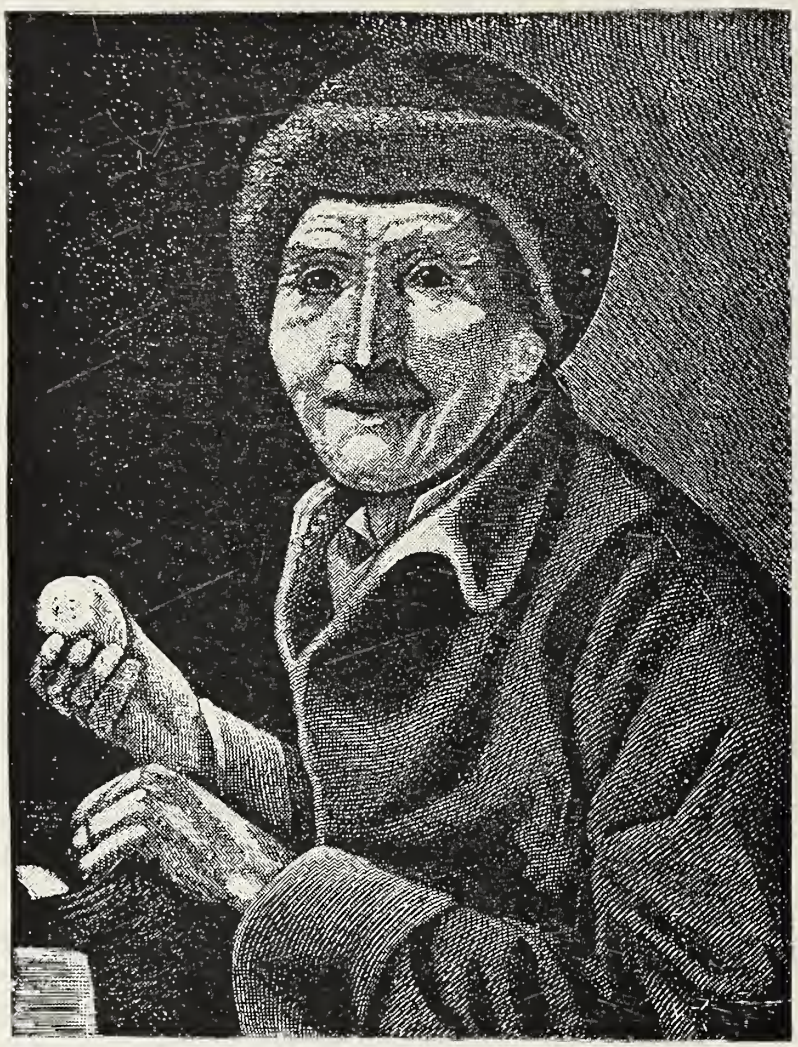
both hands resting on the arms of his chair, clothed like an ecclesiastical prince in dark red velvet trimmed with ermine, his cap likewise of red velvet with a broad lower border of rich ermine. The face is that of an aged and thoughtful man, and is turned toward the right shoulder, on which a white dove is in the act of alighting. No dove ever brought peace to the great Discoverer, but the artist may have meant to represent the gentle bird from which the family derived its name whispering hope to him before the Spanish Sovereigns determined to aid him in his projects. It was a time when he sorely needed hope. On the upper left-hand corner of the canvas one reads *Cristoforo Colombo*, indicating that the artist was Italian. The head, features, cap, and hair are the same as those we find in the full-length portrait by Johannes Stradanus, engraved by Theodore Galle, and to us it seems to have been intended for Americus Vespucius, since it resembles the head in the medallion designed by Stradanus and plainly inscribed with the Florentine's name.

The history of the portrait, as given by the Hull family, is not very full. Many years before, two pictures, the one of Columbus, the other of Americus Vespucius, had been left for storage with Mr. William Jaggers of New York, together with several other pictures. In the year 1850 the owner wrote to Mrs. Jaggers from a Western State, saying that he had met with financial reverses, and that he desired to sell his collection. These two portraits were then purchased by the father of Miss Esther Hull, who took them to Danbury.

No. 40. THE RINCK PORTRAIT

The Rinck portrait takes its name from a Mr. Rinck of Nancy, France, who bought the picture when it was sold at auction in 1845, in the city of New Orleans. It had been brought from Cuba, where it was said to have been the property of an old Spanish family. When it was sold at auction in New Orleans it was catalogued as "The Old Gastronomer." Dressed in a well-worn modern coat, with an old fur hat upon his head, the figure of a smooth-faced but bright-eyed old man is holding an egg which he has taken from a basket. It is probable that the association of the egg with a certain doubtful legend suggested to some one the idea of calling it a portrait of Christopher Columbus. It has the

distinetion of having been diseussed at the *Congrès International des Americanistes*, held at Luxemburg in 1877, but this is seareely enough of itself to give it the stamp of authentieity so long as we can look upon its presentment. The legend was that it had been

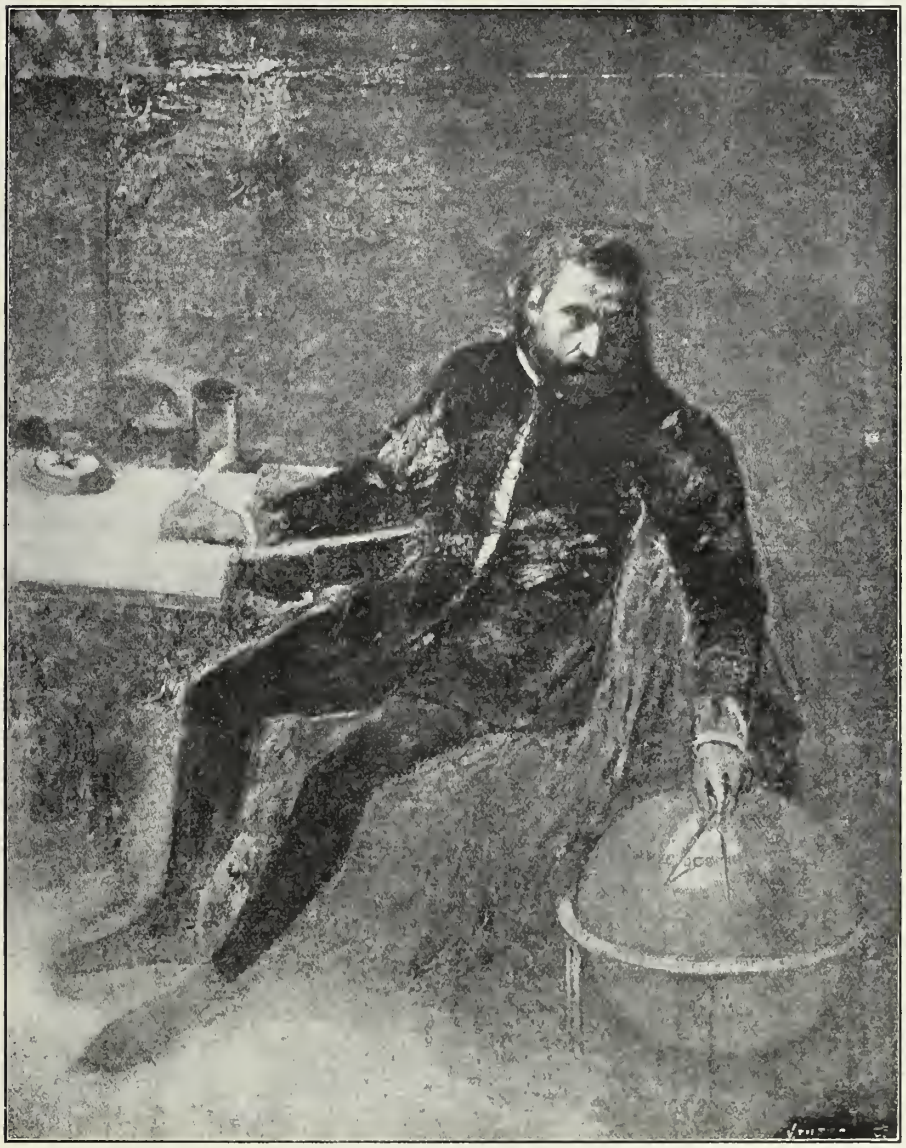


No. 40. The Rinck Portrait.

painted for Diego Columbus, the son of the Admiral, who was Governor of Cuba, who took it to that island, depositing it in the palaee, whenee it was stolen by some filibuster or taken by some partisan for its better preservation.

No. 41. THE SEVILLE (CAPITOL) PORTRAIT

As illustrating the ease with which amateur collectors as well as public galleries and municipal councils are duped in re-



No. 41. The Seville (Capitol) Portrait.

ceiving and accepting Columbian portraits, the following anecdote may be related: M. Berthelot having examined and pronounced apocryphal the portrait preserved in the Archives of

the Indies in Seville, there was brought him another portrait preserved in the Hall of the Ecclesiastical Chapel there, and which it was declared *was* authentic and genuine, whatever the former picture might be. What was his surprise in recognising in this second picture the portrait of Columbus executed by the painter Lassalle in the year 1839, according to the Counsel of Berthelot himself.

"This M. Lassalle," says M. Berthelot, "one of our most skilful artists, wished to exhibit a historical portrait. He consulted me and I proposed as a subject Christopher Columbus. I offered to furnish him with all necessary information. I translated literally the portrait which his son has given us of him. I designed the costume. M. Jomard had the goodness to lend some valuable objects which were to serve as accessories to the picture, an astrolabe of the time brought from Spain, the atlas of Benincasa which Columbus might have consulted, and an old Mariner's Compass. I myself designed the globe of Martin Behem, which the artist placed near the table before which Columbus sat, meditating his great enterprise and measuring the distance between Europe and Cathay."

This picture was purchased by the King of Spain and presented to the Capitol at Seville as "a superb copy of a contemporary portrait."

No. 42. THE DE LA COSA PORTRAIT

Among these portraits belonging to the imaginative type may be mentioned two which some writers have thought might be intended to depict the features of the Discoverer. The one is the somewhat reconstructed picture which is found at the top of the De la Cosa manuscript map bearing the date of 1500.

No. 43. THE PROFILE PORTRAIT ON TITLE-PAGE OF "BOOK OF PRIVILEGES"

The other is the profile drawing found on the title-page of the *Book of Privileges*, and consequently drawn in the month of January in the year 1502. It is reproduced in our chapter lxxxxix.

No. 42. The De la Cosa Portrait.

CHAPTER CXX

MONUMENTS AND STATUES

It was many generations after the time of the great Navigator when the world began to remember him in marble and in bronze. It is not intended to enumerate here the several monuments, statues, and busts erected to his memory. When the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery took place there were not less than twenty-nine important statues of Columbus in the United States. There were seven at that time in Italy, the land of his birth, and six in Spain, the land of his adoption. A remarkable and an agreeable instance of America's regard for her Discoverer is found in the erection to his memory at Baltimore, Md., in the year 1792, of a beautiful but simple shaft some thirty feet in height. It stands in the grounds of the Samuel Ready Orphan Asylum, and was erected by General d'Amamor, a French soldier, who accompanied Count de Grasse when the latter came to serve the United States in the Revolutionary War. When the war ended at Yorktown, General d'Amamor took up his residence in what was then a suburb of Baltimore, and on the three hundredth anniversary of the American discovery secured for himself a perpetual remembrance by mankind in his act of propriety and patriotism. The Italian citizens of Baltimore, one hundred years later, on October 12, 1892, ereeted on Druid Hill a fine statue, designed by Achille Canessa of Genoa.

When in the year 1846 the main portion of the Capitol at Washington was completed, upon the southern buttress of the eastern portico at the right of the main entrance, there was erected a marble group, in which Columbus, an armour-clad figure, stands in a dramatic attitude, holding aloft a globe, on which is inscribed the word "America." It was carved in

Italy by Signor Persico, and is said to have been the first piece of statuary ever purchased by the Government of the United States.

Statues of Columbus since the four hundredth anniversary have been finding homes in almost all our larger cities. Havana has an old marble tablet imbedded in the walls of the cathedral, and in addition three statues, one a full length, heroic figure in marble, standing in the courtyard of the Palace of the Captain-General; another, a marble bust upon a column in front of the chapel, El Templete, was given by the Bishop José Diaz Espada y Landa and marks the spot where mass was first said in Cuba; a third is the impressive figure of an old man in chains reclining on the deck of a vessel which was exhibited at the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893, and which is to-day in the Bibliotheca Publica.

The most beautiful monument erected to the memory of Columbus is that in Genoa, the city of his birth. It was placed in the great public square in the year 1862. The famous sculptor, Lorenzo Bartolini, had the commission for its execution, but, that artist dying in 1850, it was committed to another eminent artist, Freccia. Its final development and completion were due to the joint labours of Franzini and Svanascini of Carrara. It is a huge quadrangular pediment, at the angle of which are seated allegorical figures of Religion, Wisdom, Strength, and Geography; upon the pediment proper is a large cylindrical pedestal ornamented with the prows of ships, and upon this pedestal stands a colossal statue of the Discoverer, one hand on an anchor, the other raised and pointing to the distance.

One marble memorial of Columbus of considerable interest is in the Municipal Building at Genoa. It is a bust surmounting the hollow shaft known as the *Custodia* from the precious holograph letters and manuscripts which are preserved within. It was carved in 1826 by Frederico Peschiera. Gio. Batista Spotorno himself guided the scalpel of the artist, his brain beholding an imaginary picture drawn first in roughest outline by Ferdinand Columbus. As exhibiting the perfect satisfaction and assurance with which a man may accept the handiwork of his fancy, listen to the words of the Genoese historian:

"These pictures I communicated to the sculptor and they directed his hand and mind; his production has succeeded in obtaining distinguished

praise from the connoisseurs of fine arts. Every one possessed of a grain of understanding after seeing this head, *which expresses the living and true lineaments and proportions of the hero*, will throw aside every other portrait."

There does not exist to-day, and we believe there never has existed, an authentic portrait of the Discoverer. This is well.

The Spotorno Bust.

In forming our conception of his personal appearance we have a field as wide as imagination itself. We may paint him a boy in Genoa when the purpose first visited him and wrote upon his soul its errand. We may picture him bearded as a Pard ruling unruly seamen, possessing for his Sovereigns seas and islands and mainland. We may see him with the light of triumph on his wearied face, or, back in Spain, the neglected giver of a New World to Castile and Leon. No canvas has caught his features.

No master's brush has fixed his face for ever on a panel. That face may change for us with every passing scene. When we read his letter to the Sovereigns concerning slavery, we draw in lineaments hard and harsh. We take out those lines when there falls upon his face the light of his purpose concerning the Holy Sepulchre.

Whosoever would paint the true Columbus must project a colossal figure, drawing the features with noblest lines, posing him in the attitude of severe strength, illumining his face with the sublimest purpose, which yet is shaded with patient hope and sure confidence in the delayed will of the Almighty.

Perhaps one day some artist will draw for us such a Portrait of Christopher Columbus.

CHAPTER CXXI

THE HANDWRITING OF COLUMBUS

[LIST OF LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS

I. Holograph document, map of Española, assigned to January, 1493.

II. Holograph document, assigned to early part of the year 1493.

III. Holograph letter, signed, to the Sovereigns; large monogram, Xp̃ Ferens, assigned to the summer of 1493.

IIII. Holograph letter to the Sovereigns, assigned to the latter part of 1497.

V. Holograph letter, signed, to Don Diego Columbus; large monogram, El Almirante, and small monogram, dated April 29 (1498).

VI. Holograph letter, signed, to Father Gaspar Gorricio; large monogram, el Almirante, dated May 12 (1498).

VII. Holograph letter, signed, to Father Gaspar Gorricio; large monogram, el Almirante, dated May 28 (1498).

VIII. Holograph document, signed, large monogram, Xp̃. Ferens, and small monogram, assigned to the year 1501.

VIIII. Holograph letter, signed, to Father Gaspar Gorricio; large monogram, el Almirante, dated February 26 (1501).

X. Holograph letter, signed, to Father Gaspar Gorricio; large monogram, el Almirante, May 24 (1501).

XI. Holograph letter, signed, to Father Gaspar Gorricio; large monogram, el Almirante, dated June 9 (1501).

XII. Holograph letter, signed, to Father Gaspar Gorricio; large monogram, el Almirante, assigned to the year 1501.

XIII. Holograph letter, signed, to Father Gaspar Gorricio; large monogram, el Almirante, assigned to the year 1501.

XIIII. Holograph letter, signed, to the Treasurer Morales; large monogram, el Almirante, dated October 22, 1501.

XV. Holograph document, assigned to December, 1501.

XVI. Holograph document, also assigned to December, 1501.

XVII. Holograph letter, signed, to the Sovereigns; large monogram, Xp̃. Ferens, and small monogram, dated February 6, 1502.

XVIII. Holograph letter, signed, to Nicolò Oderigo; large monogram, Xp̃. Ferens, dated March 21, 1502.

XVIIII. Holograph letter, signed, to the Bank of St. George; large monogram, Xp̃ Ferens, dated April 2, 1502.

XX. Holograph letter, signed, to Father Gaspar Gorricio; large monogram, Xp̃ Ferens, small monogram, dated April 4, 1502.

XXI. Holograph letter, signed, to Father Gaspar Gorricio; large monogram, Xp̃ Ferens, small monogram, dated May, 1502.

XXII. Holograph letter, signed, to Father Gaspar Gorricio; large monogram, Xp̃ Ferens, small monogram, dated July 7, 1503.

XXIII. Holograph letter, signed, to Francisco de Morillo, signed Xp̃ Ferens, dated September 7, 1504.

XXIIII. Holograph letter, signed, to Francisco de Morillo, signed Xp̃ Ferens, dated September 8, 1504.

XXV. Holograph letter, signed, to Francisco de Morillo, Xp̃ Ferens, dated September 9, 1504.

XXVI. Holograph letter, signed, to Don Diego Columbus; large monogram, Xp̃ Ferens, small monogram, dated November 21, 1504.

XXVII. Holograph letter, signed, to Don Diego Columbus; large monogram, Xp̃ Ferens, small monogram, dated November 28, 1504.

XXVIII. Holograph letter, signed, to Don Diego Columbus; large monogram, Xp̃ Ferens, small monogram, dated December 1.

XXVIIII. Holograph letter, signed, to Don Diego Columbus; large monogram, Xp̃ Ferens, small monogram, dated December 3.

XXX. Holograph document (accompanying letter No. XXVIIII), assigned to December 3, 1504.

XXXI. Holograph letter, signed, to Don Diego Columbus; large monogram, Xp̃ Ferens, small monogram, dated December 15, 1504.

XXXII. Holograph letter, signed, to Don Diego Columbus; large monogram, Xp̃ Ferens, dated December 21, 1504.

XXXIII. Holograph letter, signed, to Nicolò Oderigo; large monogram, Xp̃ Ferens, el Almirante, and full title, dated December 27, 1504.

XXXIIII. Holograph letter, signed, to Don Diego Columbus; large monogram, Xp̃ Ferens, small monogram, dated December 29, 1504.

XXXV. Holograph document, assigned to the end of the year 1504.

XXXVI. Holograph letter, signed, to Father Gaspar Gorricio; large monogram, Xp̃ Ferens, small monogram, dated January 4, 1505.

XXXVII. Holograph letter, signed, to Don Diego Columbus; large monogram, Xp̃ Ferens, small monogram, dated January 18, assigned to 1505.

XXXVIII. Holograph letter, signed, to Don Diego Columbus; large monogram, Xp̃ Ferens, small monogram, dated February 5 (1505).

XXXVIIII. Letter, signed, to Don Diego Columbus, Xp̃ Ferens, dated February 25 (1505).

XXXX. Holograph document, signed, large monogram, Xp̃ Ferens, small monogram.

XXXXI. Holograph document, containing his name.

XXXXII. Holograph document of Columbus, written in San Domingo, November 16, 1498, relating to his First Voyage.

THERE is no relic of humanity so full of personality as the handwriting of a man. A mysterious something has gone out from the man's brain, made its way down his good arm and hand, out into the pen until it has eaten its way into the paper before him. Here it remains to speak of him and of his mental features long after his physical obliteration. A piece of holograph manuscript bearing a sentiment or presenting a fact by some person who has walked on the high places of the earth is an object of interest and we guard it as a part of the man himself. If the published thought of a writer is at variance with the sentiment expressed in his holograph, his editor must revise the printed matter. The man himself has spoken.

Some years ago the examination of the handwriting of Columbus might not have been exacted of the world by any impulse more important than curiosity or more sufficient than the collector's love for a relic. To-day the identification of his handwriting becomes a matter of highest moment. By means of it we may fill intervals in his biography, establish doubtful dates, and discover the source whence he imbibed, if not his actual first inspiration, at least that confirmation which fixed his purpose and led him to its full accomplishment. The reputation of a hero is like an astral parallax,—we cannot always place ourselves where we can determine his true position, and we know he cannot occupy the place assigned him by some observers. A part of the world praises a man inordinately, another part tears from him the honours he has justly won, so that the fame of a man is the conservation between these two forces. There has been a disposition lately to withhold from Christopher Columbus credit where plainly it is his. Columbus speaks knowingly of the five zones and men deny him personal knowledge. They deny that he ever saw the mine of S. Jorge or that he ever touched the Arctic Circle. He formed the purpose of reaching across a Western Ocean and some men say he simply followed a path laid down for him by Toscanelli; and others that he stole his ideas from a dying Pilot whom the winds had driven to the islands of the West. And here is a curious conflict between detractors. Those who hold to the Pilot story must get rid of the Florentine philosopher. Hence they deny that any correspondence ever took place between Toscanelli and Colum-

bus, and here again the hostile band divides into two camps,—the one holding that the two alleged letters of Toscanelli were fabricated by Columbus himself, the other asserting that they were written by Bartholomew, his brother, as a result of a conspiracy between the latter, his nephew Ferdinand, and Las Casas. We have already quoted that familiar anecdote of the Court Fool of Charles V., Francesillo de Zuñiga, who, in a letter to the Marquis de Pescara, said:

"I pray God that Gutierrez may never come short of paper, for he writes more than Ptolemy or than that Columbus who discovered the Indies." [1]

Besides being a scribbler in the sense of a letter-writer, our hero was indeed a confirmed annotator, as may be seen from the innumerable *postillæ* with which he decorated his books. We have many writings attributed to his own hand, among them references to the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope by Diaz and his personal association with the event, and, of still greater importance, a manuscript copy of Toscanelli's letter. A critical and scientific study of his handwriting, then, is necessary to determine what manuscripts are holograph and what are written by Bartholomew, his brother, or by the hand of others.

There are extant to-day forty-two undisputed autographs of Christopher Columbus, independent of the manuscript notes on the leaves or margins of leaves in several printed books, which will be considered later.

Thirty of these are holograph letters signed.

Two are holograph documents signed.

Eight are holograph documents.

One is a letter signed.

One is a holograph letter.

Of these forty-two pieces, three are addressed to the Catholic Sovereigns, eleven to his son Diego, eleven to Father Don Gaspar Gorricio, three to Francisco Morillo, two to Nicolò de Oderigo, one to the Governor of the Bank of St. George at Genoa, one to the Treasurer Alonzo de Morales; ten pieces are unaddressed, being in the nature of memoranda or memorials. One, while

[1] "Á. Gutierrez vuestro solicitador, ruego á Dios que nunca le falte papel, porque escribe mas que Tolomeo y que Colon, el que halló las Indias."—Chronicle of Don Francesillo de Zuñiga in the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, by Rivadeneyra, *Curiosidades Bibliograficas*.

technically a holograph document signed, is really only his signature to a scriptural quotation.

These forty-two pieces are to-day lodged in five different repositories, three of which are public and two are private archives, as follows :

Fifteen are in the archives of the Duke of Veragua at Madrid.

Twenty are in the archives of the House of Berwick and Alba at Madrid.

Three are in the archives of the Municipal Palace at Genoa.

Two are in the National Archives at Madrid.

Two are in the Royal Academy of History at Madrid.

Twenty-five of these pieces appear in perfect fac-simile in *Autografi di Cristoforo Colombo,* issued under the auspices of the Minister of Public Instruction of Italy, and we reproduce them here, giving them a proper enumeration and chronological order in relation to others which we reproduce for the first time.

The reader will remember that for many generations, up to the year 1790, the estates and titles of Columbus were in the Berwick-Alba family, and this will account for the large number of papers still remaining in the archives of that house.

NO. I. HOLOGRAPH MAP OF THE NORTHERN COAST OF ESPAÑOLA. DRAWN BY CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

The earliest bit of handwriting known of Columbus—after the Toscanelli letter and notes on the margins of certain printed books—is the sketch made by him giving the northern coast of the island of Española, the present Hayti or Santo Domingo. We have already related the circumstances under which the Duchess of Alba secured the precious manuscript volume containing the piece.[1] The manuscripts seem genuine. Subjected to such an analysis as we have attempted to apply to the writing of Columbus in chapter cxxiii., they emerge without suspicion. The letter *r*, peculiar to his hand, is found in the name Monte Cristi. It is true that in the letter to the Bank of St. George, the Christian name of Señor Oderigo is spelled with a *y* instead of an *i*, as in the name given the westerly end of the island, but the separation of the syllables and the peculiar use of the final sibilant will be found common to both.

[1] See vol. i., p. 477, note 1.

No. I. Holograph Map of the Northern Coast of Española. Drawn by Christopher Columbus. [*Archives, House of Alba, Madrid.*]

The map was evidently made in the month of January, 1493. It bears six names. The reader will remember that on December 5, 1492, the Admiral, who had been beating on and off the extreme easterly end of Juana, or Cuba, beheld land over toward the south-east, and this proved to be an island called by the Indians *Bohio*. On Sunday, December 9, 1492, Columbus formally baptised this island, because on it he had found "the most beautiful plains in the world and which are almost like the lands of Castile only these are better, and on this account he named the said island the *Isla Española*." On Thursday, December 6, 1492, the sailors noted an island which, because of its peculiar shape, the Admiral named the *Isla de la Tortuga*, and it is possible to discover the name from the contour given the island by the hand of the draughtsman. The same day, after having noted and passed a most capacious and attractive harbour, Columbus returned to it at the hour of vespers, and because that day was dedicated to Saint Nicholas he called the harbour *Puerto de San Nicolas*. On Monday, December 24, 1492, some Indians told the Admiral of a place a great distance to the east, called *Civao*, and which the latter for the moment thought might be Cipango. On the second day following, in again speaking of the land called *Civao*, it appeared that the Indians intended to distinguish a province of the same island of Española farther to the eastward. This land to the eastward was designated upon the map by the name Civao and was so inscribed, not then, but later, probably after January 10, 1493. On that fateful Christmas eve, just as midnight brought in the Day of the Nativity,—Tuesday, December 25, 1492,—the *Santa Maria*—the gallant ship of the Admiral—went ashore on the island of Española. The loss of the ship, the absence of the *Pinta*, and the small accommodations left on the *Niña* necessitated the abandonment of a portion of the expedition and a fortress was hastily constructed at the site of the accident and forty-three men left in it to await the Admiral's return from Spain. Under the entry for Thursday, December 27, 1492, Las Casas says the fortress was begun and finished in ten days, which would be Sunday, January 6, 1493,—when the Admiral baptised it *La Villa de la Navidad*, from the day on which occurred the unfortunate shipwreck. However this may be, in the *Journal* under date of Friday, January 4, 1493, we find the first use of

the name, and observe once more the curious association of this day of the week with important events in the life of Columbus. On this same day, January 4, 1493, we read in the *Journal:*

"He navigated thus to the east toward a very high mountain, which appears like an island but is not, because it connects with some very low land, which is shaped like a very beautiful pavillion [tent]. He named this mountain *Monte-Cristi.*"

We have thus endeavoured to fix the several dates when their names were bestowed upon these six places,—*Española, Tortuga, San Nicolas, Civao, La Navidad,* and *Monte Cristi.* The symbol pictured at the top of the map may be intended to represent the place in the Puerto de la Concepcion, where, on Wednesday, December 12, 1492, the Admiral erected at the entrance to the harbour a large cross "as a sign," writes the Admiral, "that your Highnesses hold the land for your own and principally as a sign of Jesus Christ, our Lord, and in honour of Christianity." The Admiral at this time named many places on this island between *San Nicolas* and *Civao*, and we can only account for their failure to appear on this map on the theory that it was a hasty cartographical memorandum, which at a more leisure moment he contemplated filling in with much detail. Reaching the island as he did from Cuba, the Admiral could not have seen the great south-west arm of the island stretching from Cape Tiburon to the Gulf Gonaive. The northern contour of the island is fairly well outlined. The map must ever have an interest for us as the only recorded representation by the Admiral of the land he had discovered. It is also the first map made of any portion of the New World.[1]

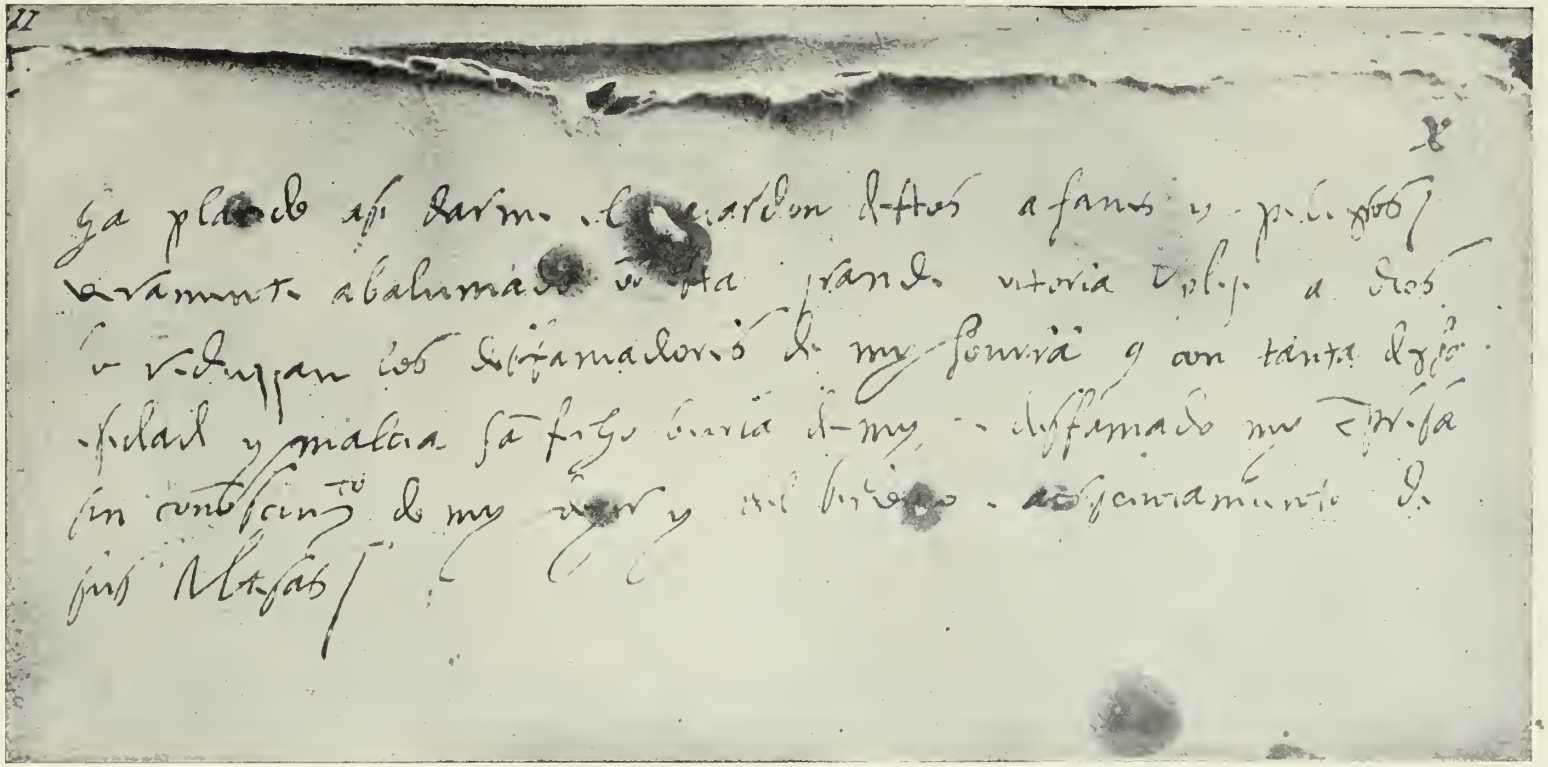
[1] The first attempt to picture in a printed book any portion of the New World is in the undated [Bâle] imprint of the Cosco-Columbus Letter—a unique example of which is in the Lenox Library—and in the Verardus-Columbus Edition dated Bâle, 1494—examples of which, while exceedingly scarce, are not unattainable.

NO. II. FRAGMENT OF A MEMORANDUM BY CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

On the third or following leaf of the manuscript book (as it now exists) in the possession of the Duchess of Alba, is the memorandum here given in exact fac-simile. It once occupied the tenth folio in the book, and thus we assume that the intermediate matter is gone. From the text we place the writing in the month of January, or February, 1493, immediately after the great discovery, and when the *Niña* was making her perilous way back to Spain. Taken by itself, it speaks somewhat unpleasantly to us. Magnanimity is becoming in the victor. Columbus had triumphed. His triumph might be relied upon to rebuke those who derided his project. The spectacle of sunburned men in the streets of Barcelona, natives of a New World, the sight of gold, of unknown birds, of new and pleasant fruits, must have been bitter punishment to the men who called him foolish and a visionary. Notwithstanding, we find ourselves wishing the Admiral had not committed to paper the thoughts of his heart.

"Ha placido así darme el galardon destos afanes y peligros veramente abaumado con esta grande vitoria pleje a dios se redusgan los disfamadores de my honrra q con tanta deshoesidad y malcia hã fecho burla de my e disfamado my empresa sin conoscimiento de my dezir y del servicio e acrescentamiento de sus Altesas."

"He has pleased to thus give me the reward for these truly crushing anxieties and dangers by this great victory. God grant that the defamers of my honour may be humbled, who with so much dishonesty and malice have ridiculed me and defamed my undertaking without knowledge of my projects and of the service and aggrandisement of their Highnesses."



No. II. Fragment of a Holograph Memorandum by Christopher Columbus. [*Archives, House of Alba, Madrid.*]

NO. III. LETTER WRITTEN BY CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS TO THE SPANISH SOVEREIGNS

The following letter bears no date, but its internal evidence points to the time when the Admiral was preparing to return to Española upon his second voyage and therefore between March 30, 1493—when the Sovereigns sent him instructions to prepare for his return—and September 25, 1493, the actual date of his departure. We think it possible to arrive at a closer date. The reference to the necessity for building a church and for the engagement of priests makes it plain that the letter alludes to the first colonising expedition and therefore to his second voyage. It will be remembered that Columbus dropped his anchor in the river before Palos on March 15, 1493. Whether properly to perform the vows which by lot fell to him on February 15, and subsequently when the storms threatened the *Niña*, or whether to avail himself of that immediate rest his body must have demanded, the Admiral did not leave Palos for two weeks. The Curate of Los Palacios is authority for the date of his arrival at Seville as Sunday, March 31, 1493:

"Entró en Sevilla con mucha honra á treinta y un dias del mes de Marzo, Domingo de Ramos": "He entered Seville with great honour on the thirty-first day of March, Palm Sunday."

It is probable that five days more passed before Columbus received the letter of the Sovereigns. The distance between Barcelona and Seville is not far from five hundred miles, and the season was not propitious. The feet of a king's messenger are winged, but the powers of a man have their limitations. This messenger bore the letter alone, and he was obliged to return at once with a reply. Six days was little enough time in which to make his outward journey, and something of his strength must have been husbanded for his return. We do not know the day of the Admiral's arrival at Barcelona. Las Casas affirms it was about the middle of the month of April, 1493. The letter of the Sovereigns must have puzzled him. It required haste on his part that he might follow speedily the messenger. It required immediate investigation on his part at Seville or elsewhere gathering information, by which the Sovereigns might know with what celerity a new expedition could be equipped to

return to the New World. If the letter of the Sovereigns reached him on April 5, or, say, six days after its writing, he might have reached Barcelona himself on the thirteenth or fourteenth day of April. We assume that this letter was not written until after the Admiral had been received by the Sovereigns, which event occurred on or about April 15. It reads like a memorandum which the Sovereigns requested Columbus to make, formulating on paper his fears and suggestions. In the twelfth item of this letter the Admiral suggests that a treasurer be appointed and sent to Española, whose duty it should be to receive all the gold belonging to their Highnesses. The Sovereigns, on May 7, 1493, issued the following cedula to Gomez Tello, appointing him to this office:

"El Rey é la Reina: Gomez Tello, Contino de nuestra Casa: conosciendo vuestra suficiencia é fidelidad, y el aficion que siempre habeis tenido é teneis á las cosas de nuestro servicio, habemos acordado que vos hayades de ir á las islas é tierras que se han descubierto, y estan por descubrir, donde agora enviamos al Almirante D. Cristóbal Colon, para que rescibais en nuestro nombre todo lo que allá hobiere en cualquier manera que pertenezca á Nos, para que lo envieis acá, segun é de la forma que vos lo dirá D. Juan de Fonseca, Arcediano de Sevilla, del nuestro Consejo, que allá enviamos, el cual vos fablará largamente sobre ello. Nos vos mandamos y encargamos que por servicio nuestro vos dispongais á ir este viage, en que seremos de vos mucho servidos, y si se vos ficiere grave estar allá algunos dias, podreis volver vos con los primeros navíos que vinieren, como el dicho D. Juan de Fonseca vos fablará, el cual vos dirá el asiento que se vos fará, y otras cosas: dadle entera fe é creencia, en lo cual mucho servicio nos fareis. De Barcelona á siete de Mayo de noventa y tres años."

"The King and the Queen: Gomez Tello, Contino of our household: knowing your ability and faithfulness and the zeal which you have always manifested and do manifest in the matters relating to our service, we have resolved that you shall go to the islands and lands which have been discovered and are to be discovered, where we are now sending the Admiral Don Christopher Columbus, in order that you may receive in our name all that shall in any manner be obtained there which belongs to us, that you may send it here, according to, and in such manner as you shall be directed by Don Juan de Fonseca Archdeacon of Seville, member of our Council, whom we are sending there, and who will instruct you at length in the matter. We command you and charge you that for our service you shall prepare to go on this voyage, in which you will render us great service, and if it shall cause you annoyance to remain there some time, you can return by the first ships which shall come, as the said Don Juan de Fonseca will tell you, who will instruct you in the business you will transact for us and other

matters: render him complete faith and credence, by which you will render us great service. From Barcelona May 7, '93."

We may therefore fix the period in which his letter was composed by Columbus as between April 15 and May 7, 1493.

When we consider this document, it discloses a vast scheme of colonisation. There is no proposition to equip a fleet to go in quest of the Great Khan and to conquer his dominions. Armies are not to be gathered. Soldiers are not to be conscripted. The regions sought have been found. And these regions were not the lands of Asia. If Columbus believed he was on the eastern coast of Asia, where were the people of the Great Khan? Where were the shores alive with commerce? Where were the countless cities with marble temples and roofs of gold? If the lands discovered by Columbus belonged to the Great Khan, why were his subjects not there in vast numbers digging gold and picking pearls? Whatever Columbus may have thought, or pretended he thought, as to the contiguity of the newly found lands to Asia, he knew at least that no Asiatic potentate claimed authority over them or ever had knowledge of the least of the islands.

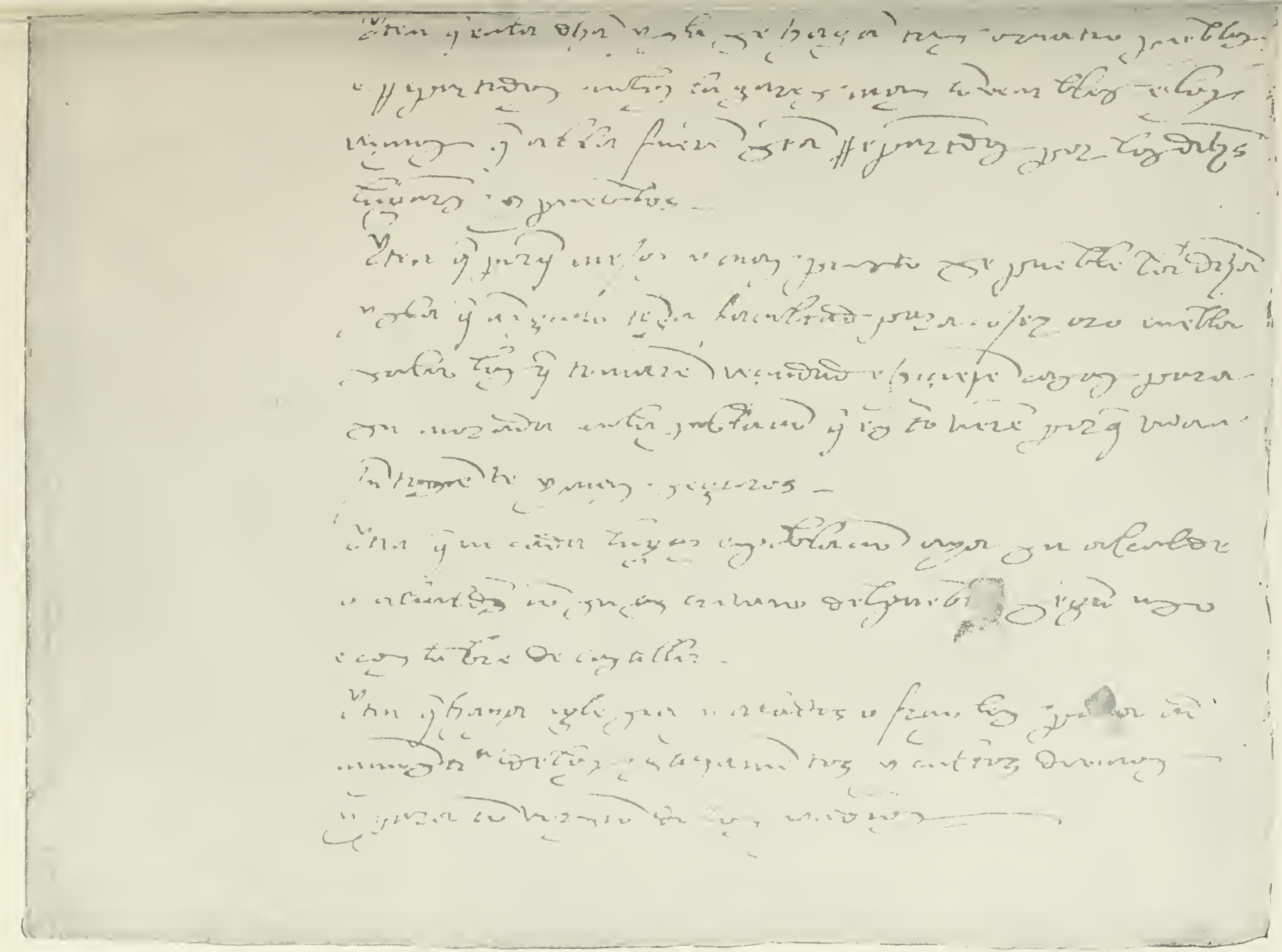
The question now with Columbus is one of settling the new lands with two thousand Spaniards, of building domiciles, erecting churches, of establishing towns, of tilling the soil, of searching for gold during certain appointed seasons when the ordinary avocations may for a time be neglected. A permanent occupation is contemplated. The new lands are to be enduring homes for the Spaniards of the Old World. There is to be a new Castile with softer skies. There is to be another Andalusia with more fertile fields.

We can imagine the pictures drawn by Columbus himself, and the still more fanciful and hopeful descriptions given by the officers and men of the *Pinta* and *Niña*. Whereas on the first voyage the ships bore unwilling sailors, now, wherever the Admiral went, the adventurous Spaniards begged of him the privilege of going to the New World. The Admiral recommended that the first settlers be two thousand in number. Accommodations were found for only twelve hundred, and we know not how many were disappointed.

This letter reveals Columbus in a new light. Suddenly, with-

out preparation, without having handled in all his life either golden ducats or silver castellanos, this sailor-man—this visionary, this man with a strange geographical theory—develops into a trained financier, equipped with plans for conducting large operations in gathering, smelting, coining gold and silver into money of the realm and for peopling a new land with a safe yeomanry and with skilled mechanics. And further, this letter presents to us the generous soul of the Admiral. He welcomes the proscribed Jew to the New World. He saw the people of Israel driven from Spain, going out in sorrow, beating their breasts in woe and agony, and he saw this as he was unfurling his sails in the great adventure of his life. He was a man of vows. Perhaps he silently registered a promise that if ever there was vouchsafed him an answer to his prayers and the sought-for lands were given him, he would share their peaceful shores with this homeless and persecuted people. And this generosity of soul extended to permitting all men—all adventurers who desired—to embark on the discovery and exploring of new lands. The New World was to be free. It was a privilege which might be abused. Its acceptance, indeed, led in an indirect way to robbing him of the great glory attaching his name for ever to the New World. But no man and no circumstance could rob him of his generous impulses or cheapen his liberality.

III



No. III. Holograph Letter,[1] *Signed by Columbus, to the Spanish Sovereigns, Supposed to have been Written between April 15, 1493, and May 7, 1493, before Departing on his Second Voyage.* [*National Archives at Madrid.*]

[1] The folios on which this letter is written have been cut in two for purposes of convenience in reproduction, and this present page is the lower half of the first folio.

NO. III.

Transliteration

"Muy altos y poderosos señores//
"Obedesçiendo lo que vuestras alteças me mandaron//dire lo que me ocure para la poblaçion y negoçia-//çion asy de la ysla española como de las// otras asy halladas como por hallar some-//tiendome a mejor parasçer.//[1]

"Primeramente para en lo de la ysla española que// vayan hasta en numero de dos mill veçinos los// que quisieren yr porque la tierra este mas segura// y se pueda mejor grangear e tratar y servira pa-//ra que se puedan rebolver y traten las yslas comar-//canas.//

Translation

III.

"Most High and Powerful Lords:

"In obedience to your Highnesses' commands, I will state what occurs to me for the settlement and management of the island of Española, as well as of the other islands, whether already discovered or to be discovered, submitting myself to any better opinion.

"In the first place, in the matter of the island of Española I would suggest that two thousand settlers who are willing, should go there, that the country may be more secure and that it may be more easily won and managed: and it will aid in intercourse and traffic with the neighbouring islands.

[1] The end of the lines in the original will be indicated by the marks //.

IIIa.

"Iten que en la dicha ysla se hagan tres o cuatro pueblos// e rrepartidos en los lugares mas convemibles e los// veçinos que alla fueren sean rrepartidos por los dichos// lugares y pueblos.//

"Yten que porque mejor y mas presto se pueble la dicha// ysla que ninguno tenga facultad para cojer oro en ella// salvo los que tomaren veçindad e hiçieren casas para// su morada en la poblacion que estovieren porque vivan// juntamente y mas seguros.//

"Yten que en cada lugar e poblacion aya su alcalde// o alcaldes con su escrivano del pueblo segun uso// e costumbre de castilla //

"Yten que haya iglesia y abades o frayles para ad-//minystracion de los sagramentos y cultos divinos// y para conversion de los yndios.//

"Also, I suggest that three or four towns be founded and located in the most convenient places and that the settlers who go there be divided among the said places and towns.

"Also, in order that the said island may be more quickly settled, I would suggest that no one be allowed the privilege of getting gold there except those who settle there and build houses for their dwelling-place in the town, which will cause them all to live near each other and be more secure.

"Also, that each place and town have its Mayor or Mayors and his clerk, according to the law and custom in Castile.

"Also, that there be a church and priests or friars for the administration of the sacraments, the observance of divine worship and the conversion of the Indians.

IIIc.

"Iten que ninguno de los veçinos pueda yr a coger oro sal-//vo con liçencia del gobernador o alcalde del lugar donde// biviere y que primero haga juramento de volver al mys-// mo lugar de do saliere a rregysatrar fielmente to-//do el oro que oviere cogydo y avido y devolver una// vez en el mes o en la semana segun el tiempo le fuere// asygnado adar quenta & manifestar la cantidad del// dicho oro & que se escriba por el escrivano del pueblo// por ante el alcalde y sy paresçiere que aya asy mesmo// un frayle o abad deputado para ello.//

"Yten que todo el oro que asy se traxere se aya luego de fundir// y marcar de alguna marca que cada pueblo señalare// y qye se pese y se de y entregue a cada alcalde ensu lu-//gar la parte que pertenesçiere a vuestras altezas y se escriva// por el dicho escrivano & por el abad o frayle de manera// que no pase por una sola mano y asy no se pueda çelar//

IIIb.

"Also, that none of the settlers be allowed to go and gather gold save with the permission of the Governor or Mayor of the place in which he lives and that in the first place he shall swear to return to the same place from whence he goes out and faithfully report all the gold he gathers and possesses; and to return once a month or once a week, according to the time assigned to him, to give account and declare the quantity of the said gold: and that this be registered by the clerk of the town before the Mayor and if it appears best, that a friar or priest be also deputed to be present.

"Also, that all the gold which is thus brought be melted immediately and stamped with some stamp which is fixed by each town, and that it be weighed and the part belonging to your Highnesses be given and delivered to each Mayor in his town: and that it be recorded by the said clerk and by the priest or friar so that it does not pass through the hands of one person alone, and so the truth

III c.

la verdad.//

"Yten que todo el oro que se hallare syn la marca de los// dichos pueblos en poder de los que ovieren una vez regis-//trado por la orden susodicha le sea tomado por per-// dido & aya una parte el acusador y lo al para vuestras alteças.//

"Yten que todo el oro que oviere se saque uno por çiento para// la fabrica de las yglesias y ornamentos dellas &// para sustentamiento de los abades o frayles dellas y// sy paresciere que a los alcaldes y escrivanos se de// algo por su trabajo y porque agan fielmente sus oficios// que se remita al governador y thesorero que alla fueren// por vuestras altezas.//

"Yten quanto toca a la division deloro & de la parte que// ovieren// de aver vuestras alteças esto a my ver deve ser remitido// a los dichos gobernador y thesorero porque avera ser// mas o menos segun la cantidad del oro que se hallare//

cannot be concealed.

"Also, that all the gold which may be found without the stamp of the said towns in the possession of those who shall have already reported in the aforesaid manner, shall be forfeited and the informer shall have one part and your Highnesses shall have the other part.

"Also, that one per cent. of all the gold obtained be taken for the building of the churches and their ornamentation and for the maintenance of the priests or friars who have them in charge, and if it seems advisable, that something be given to the Mayors and clerks for their services and because they fulfil their duties faithfully: and that the balance be delivered to the Governor and Treasurer sent there by your Highnesses.

"Also, in regard to the division of the gold and the part which your Highnesses will receive, it is my opinion that it should be intrusted to the said Governors and Treasurer, because it will be more or less, according to the quantity of gold which is found

IIId.

IIIe.

y sy paresciere que por tiempo de un año ayan vuestras alteças// la mytad y los cojedores la otra mytad ca despues// podra mejor determinar se cerca del dicho repartimiento.//

"Yten que sy los dichos alcaldes y escrivanos hicieren o con-//sintieren algun fraude se le ponga pena y asçimesmo// a los veçinos que por entero non manifestaren todo el// oro que ovieren.//

"Yten que en la dicha ysla haya thesorero que reciva todo// el oro pertenesciente a vuestras alteças y tenga su escrivano// que lo asçiente & losalcaldes y escrivanos de los otros// pueblos cadauno tome conoscimiento de lo que entregaren// al dicho thesorero.//

"Yten porque segun la codiçia del oro cada uno querra mas// ocuparse en ello que en haçer otras grangerias paresceme// que alguna temporada delaño se le deva defender de yr// a buscar oro para que aya lugar que se hagan en la dicha// ysla otras grangerias a ellas pertenescientes.//

IIId.

and if it seems advisable, that for the space of one year your Highnesses have one half and the gatherers the other half; and afterwards the said apportionment can be better arranged.

"Also, that if the said Mayors and Clerks commit or consent to any fraud, that they be properly punished and that a like penalty be imposed upon the settlers who do not report the entire quantity of gold in their possession.

"Also, that there be a Treasurer on the said island, who shall receive all the gold belonging to your Highnesses, and who shall have his clerk to make a record of it, and that the Mayors and clerks of the other towns shall each one take a receipt for what they deliver to the said Treasurer.

"Also, as each one, through eagerness to obtain gold, will be more desirous of occupying himself in getting it than in performing other profitable labours, it appears advisable to me that the search for gold should be forbidden during some period of the year so that an opportunity be given for the performance of other necessary and profitable labours.

"Yten para en lo de descobrir de nuevas tierras paresceme// se deva dar liçencia a todos los que quisieren yr y alargar// la mano en lo del quinto moderandolo en alguna buena ma-//nera afyn de que muchos se dispongan ayr.//

"Agora dire my parescer para la yda de los navios a la// dicha ysla española & la orden que se deva guardar ques la// syguiente. Que no puedan yr los dichos navios a descargar salvo// en uno o dos puertos para ello señalados y ende rregistren// todo lo que llevaren & descargaren y cuando ovieren de partir// sea de los mismos puertos & rregistren todo lo que cargaren// por que no se encubra cosa alguna.//

"Yten que cerca deloro que se oviere de traer de las yslas para// castilla que todo lo que se oviere de cargar asy lo que fuere// de vuestras alteças como de cualesquier personas todo// ello se ponga en una arca que tengan dos con sus llaves// y quel maestro tenga la una y otra presona quel// gobernador y thesorero escogeren la otra & venga por//

III e.

"Also, in the matter of making discoveries of new lands, it seems advisable to me that permission should be given to all who wish to go, and that the fifth to be given as tribute be reduced somewhat, in order that many persons may be disposed to go.

"Now, I will state my opinion in regard to the departure of the vessels for the said island of Española and the method which must be observed, and which is as follows: That the said vessels must not go to unload in any ports except one or two established for that purpose: and they must there register all that they carry and unload, and when they are obliged to depart from the island it must be from the same ports and they must register all that they have loaded, in order that nothing may be concealed.

"Also, in regard to the gold to be brought from the islands to Castile, that all which is loaded, whether for your Highnesses or for any other persons, be placed in a chest which has two keys, and that the Master of the vessel shall have one key and another person selected by the Governor and Treasurer shall have the other, and shall come to

III g.

testy-
monio la relacion de todo lo que se pusiere en la dicha// arca & señalado para que cada uno aya lo suyo y que sy// otro oro alguno se hallare fuera de la dicha arca en// cualquier manera poco o mucho sea perdido afin que se// haga fielmente y sea para vuestras alteças.//

"Yten que todos los navios que vinieren de la dicha ysla vengan// a haçer su dicha descarga al puerto de cadiz y no sal-//ga presona dellos ny entren otros hasta que vayan a los// dichos navios la presona o presonas que para ello por vuestras al-// teças fueren deputadas en la dicha cibdad a quien los maes-//tros manifysten todo lo que traen y muestren la fe de lo que ovie-//ren cargado para que se pueda ver & rrequerir sy los dichos// navios traen cosa alguna encubierta & non manifestada// al tiempo del cargar.//

"Yten que enpresençia de la justicia de la dicha cibdad de ca-// diz & de quien fuere para ello deputado por vuestras alteças se//

IIId.

witness the report of all that is placed in the said chest and recorded, so that each one may have his own: and that if any gold be found outside of the said chest in any manner whatever, whether a large or small quantity, that it be forfeited for the benefit of your Highnesses, in order that the transaction may be faithfully carried out.

"Also, that all the ships which come from the said island shall come to unload at the port of Cadiz, and that no person shall leave them or be allowed to board them, until the person or persons selected for that purpose by your Highnesses in the said city, shall go on board the said ships; to whom the Masters of the vessels shall declare everything they bring and shall show the statement of everything they have loaded in order that it may be made known and proved whether the said Masters have brought anything concealed and not manifested at the time of shipment.

"Also, that in the presence of the Justice of the said City of Cadiz and of whomever your Highnesses may select for that purpose,

aya
de abrir la dicha arca en que se traxere el dicho oro y// dar a cada uno lo suyo. Vuestras alteças me ayan por enco-//mendado y quedo rrogando a nuestro señor dios por las vi-//das de vuestras alteças y acrescentamiento de muy mayores estados.//

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y

:Xp̃o Ferens ./

"por departida del almyrante."

IIId.

the said
chest in which the said gold is brought, shall be opened, and each one shall be given the part belonging to him.

"May your Highnesses keep me in mind, while I remain, praying our Lord God for the lives of your Highnesses, and the acquisition of very great possessions.

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y

:Xp̃o. Ferens ./

"Sent by the Admiral."

NO. IIII. HOLOGRAPH LETTER (DEFECTIVE) WRITTEN BY CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS TO THE SOVEREIGNS PROBABLY IN 1497

The reader will find in Navarrete, among the *Documentos Diplomaticos*,[1] a number of Royal cedulas issued by the Sovereigns during the year 1497, relating for the most part to the third voyage and defining the privileges of the Admiral. A study of these will enable us to approximate a date to which we may assign this letter, which is incomplete and is perhaps but a rough draft of the one actually sent. It presupposes a long negotiation, in which propositions and interpretations were proffered, rejected, or modified. The interests of the Crown, of the colonists and of Columbus were not always identical, and there was much debate over their adjustment. But of all the differences none was so difficult to determine as the exact meaning of the partnership between the Sovereigns and the Admiral. The agreement was made in the uncertain hopefulness attending the equipment of the first expedition and confirmed in the natural excitement following its success. As we have before suggested, there is a certain equitable seemliness to be observed even in a royal gift. A king may not give away a third, an eighth, a tenth of his kingdom's prospective fortune to an individual, to the head of a single family, however great his services, however unwavering his devotion. Here we find Columbus sounding that note of solicitous greed upon which he harped until his voice died away in a begging murmur at Valladolid. We have explained that his apparent rapacity was not a miserly and miserable sentiment, but was actuated by his dedication of himself, his heirs, his fortune, to the project of a New Crusade and the recovery of the Holy Land from the hand of the Moslem. Until we comprehend the purpose of Columbus we do not know the real man. Until we know the real man we cannot interpret his words.

In the two cedulas dated at Medina del Campo, June 2, 1497, the Sovereigns undertake to reconcile their views concerning the proportion of profits due Columbus with that held by the Admiral himself. The latter demanded that he should be assigned his eighths from the gross receipts; the Sovereigns interpreted

[1] *Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos*, vol. ii. Some of these will also be found in Columbus's *Book of Privileges*.

this clause in their partnership to mean that the expenses should first be deducted from the gross receipts, and that then—before they themselves touched a maravedi—Columbus should receive his eighth. Manifestly this was a fair, if not a literal interpretation. However, in the second cedula of June 2, 1497, the Sovereigns yield for a time to his construction of the contract, and declare that for the term of three years he shall have his eighth of the gross receipts and before a single expense charge shall be deducted. Reference to this concession is found in the opening passage of this letter, and therefore we know it must have been written subsequently to June 2, 1497.

When Miguel Diaz returned to the city of Isabella from the mouth of the Ozama on the opposite side of the island of Española, the Adelantado, Bartholomew Columbus, hastened to visit the site and then and there determined to build a new city,—the city of San Domingo,—a city which was destined to become the capital of the island. Not only was the site itself more attractive than that of Isabella Vecchia, but there were promising mines of gold in its neighbourhood. In the Royal Cedula, dated from Medina del Campo, June 15, 1497, the Sovereigns authorise Columbus to take with him on his third expedition an old ship, so worn that its battered sides, if ever it arrived at Española, might be utilised for building purposes. As the Admiral in this present letter refers to this direction concerning the old vessel and the subsequent abandonment of the plan under changed conditions, it seems to indicate that the letter was written some considerable time after June 15, 1497.

Columbus is evidently preparing for his third voyage at this time, and one of the serious difficulties presenting itself is equipping his ships and purchasing provisions, not only for his present expedition, but for the colonists in Española. The exigencies of the people going to Española and of those already there are noted by the Spanish purveyors, and the prices are raised to an exorbitant degree. Columbus suggests in this letter that some one person should have the power to buy food and provender of public dealers and at the market price ruling three days prior to the time of purchase. On December 23, 1497, the Sovereigns issued a cedula authorising the appointment of some one person to see to purchasing supplies at a reasonable price. This letter, then, was written prior to the adoption of the suggestion, and

therefore previous to December 23, 1497. Somewhere between June 15 and December 23 in the year 1497 this letter was sent to the Sovereigns, and inasmuch as the question of unfair prices fixed by the dealers in food-stuff was likely to occur as the time approached for the departure of the expedition, we are inclined to move the date toward the end of that year.

NO. IIII. HOLOGRAPH LETTER (DEFECTIVE) WRITTEN BY CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS TO THE SOVEREIGNS PROBABLY IN 1497
[Archives, House of Alba, Madrid.]

Transliteration

"Al primero capítulo, Su Alteza, porque yo dezia que habia de haber el . . . ochavo primero que se saquase custa alguna, como más largo respondi por el memorial, mandó tomar buen medio y diso que yo oviese el dicho ochavo por espaçio de . . . tiempo, y después si non me perteneçiese de sacar primero el ochavo, que el diezmo y las custas que non lo lebase dende adelante; y d'esto soy contento.

"Al segundo capítulo, que diz que anonbre lo que yo quero mudar, respondo que, por quanto me limitaron que yo lebase .300 personas, y anombraron la calidad d'ellas y de los officiales, y asimesmo ferramienta y otras cosas, podrá ser que non se fallerá así todo por entero, y non por lebar menos personas de .300., y asimesmo de las otras cosas que en tal caso se non pudiere haber, verbi graçia, .40 labradores, que pueda yo tomar en lugar de lo que faltare tantos peones ó otra soerte de gente, non acrecentando el número de las .300 personas, i asimesmo de las otras cosas, como más largo va en el memorial que yo dí, en el qual me afirmo, así también como se acordó que yo lebase una nao vieja, y agora pareçe que non es de lebar, porque entonces era um tiempo y agora es otro. y digo que todo lo que yo

Translation

IIII.

"To the first chapter, your Highness, because I said that I was to have the . . . eighth before any costs should be deducted, as I replied more at length in the memorandum, you ordered good measures taken and said that I should have the said eighth for the space of . . . time, and then, if it should not belong to me to first deduct the eighth, then the tenth, and the costs, that I should not demand it from then henceforward: and with this I am satisfied.

"To the second chapter, which instructs me to name what I wish to change, I reply that inasmuch as they limited me to the taking of 300 persons, and named their station and the station of the officials, and likewise the tools and other things, it may be that everything will not be found entirely thus: and in order not to take less than the 300 persons, and likewise less of the other things, that in such event there cannot be taken, verbi graçia, 40 labourers whom I can take in place of those who shall be lacking, some day-labourers and other kinds of people, not increasing the number of the 300, and likewise in the matter of the other things, as contained more at length in the memorandum which I gave, in which I confirm myself: in the same manner also, as it was agreed that I was to take an old vessel, and now it appears that it is not to be taken, because circumstances have changed. And I say that all that I demand was agreed to by the

demando lo acordaron las personas que Sus Altezas mandaron á ente[n]der en ello, porque de todo se le dió razón á qué fin se demandaba cada cosa y creo que así harían las personas que esto apontan, si oyeran la plática y razón d'ello.

"[A]l tercero capítulo, de la persona que no haya de entender en las cosas de la hazienda por la parte que me cabe, Su Alteza sabe como yo he sido tratado en el pasado. si Su Alteza manda que non se entienda en esta negoçiaçion sin my ó persona por my, me hará grande merçed, y, si non, yo crería, de non haber un maravedis de renta de quanto yo enbiase, y cierto non sería su serviçio.

"Al quarto capítulo, nunca demandé que se pusiese preçio tasado en nada, salvo que si algunas personas, por ver que por fuerça le havemos de comprar algo que él tubiere, y demandara preçios descomunales ó se escusara de la dar, porque les den lo que él quisere, que en tal caso la justicia le constringa que le dé por precio razonable y como suele valer ó se vendía tres días antes.

"Al quinto, yo non demando tanto esto de las capitanías para poner capitanes, antes es al contrario, que yo voy por quitarlos, porque dan custa y daño y non pequeño, como se puede amostrar por el pasado, y ja lo escrivy a Sus Altezas de quanta custa y daño han

IIII.

persons whom their Highnesses sent to arrange the matter because I gave the reasons for everything and for what purpose each thing was demanded and I believe the persons who pass upon this will do likewise if they hear the exposition and reasons for it.

"To the third chapter, regarding the person who is not to take part in the matters relating to the revenue in representation of the part which belongs to me, your Highness knows how I have been treated in the past. If your Highness orders that this affair shall not be arranged without me or a person representing me, you will do me a great favour, and if you do not order thus, I should not expect to receive a maravedi of revenue from whatever I might send, and certainly it would not be serving you.

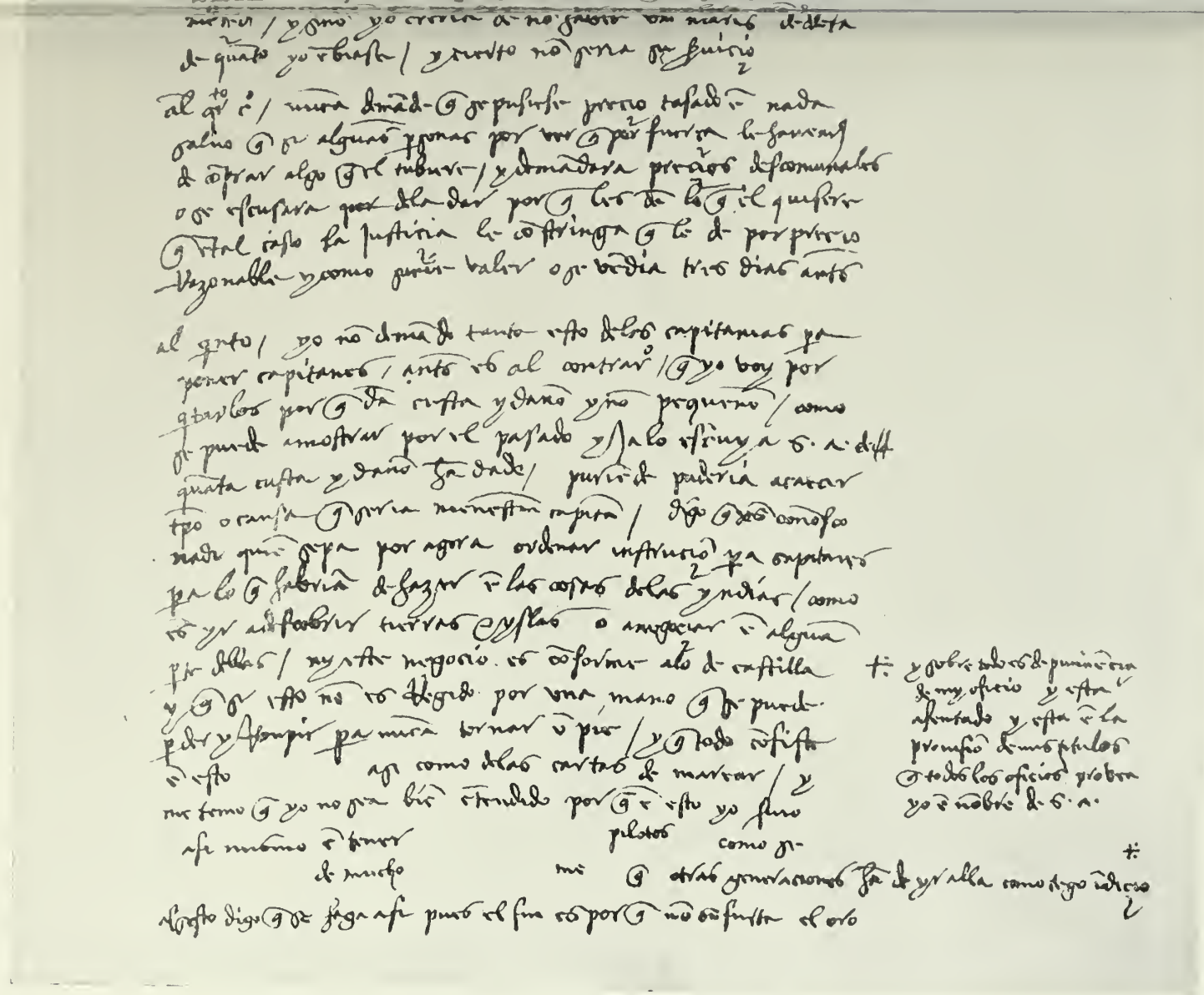
"To the fourth chapter, I never demanded that a price should be fixed on anything, except if some persons because of seeing that we would be forced to buy something in their possession, should demand exorbitant prices or excuse themselves from selling in order that we should give them what they desired, then in such case that justice should constrain them to give their goods for a reasonable price and at the current value or selling price three days previously.

"To the fifth, I do not demand so much in this matter of the captainships in order to appoint Captains, rather it is to the contrary because I am going to do away with them, as they occasion no small expense and damage as can be shown by the past: and I had already written to their Highnesses how much expense

al p° c° S. a. por Gyo dyga G fabra de faber el dicho ofiçio p(ar)a yr
costa alguna como mas largo despoder por el memorial / tomar
buen medio G yo obusco el dicho ofiçio por vtil y
y despues q(ue) no me entremetti de gouer p(ar)a el ofiçio G el buen
y las costas G no lo labre dentro / y dicho soy contento

al 80 c° dize G ante lo Gyo quiero mudar / G por quanto me
limitaron cierto tiempo de oficiales G yo labre 300 pomas
y ante bra de la ciudad dellos y dellos offiçios / y asi mismo frutas
y otras cosas / podra ser G no se falle ya asi todo por entero / y
por no labrar menos pomas de 300 y asi mismo de las otras
cosas / G tal caso si no pudiere fabrir verbi gracia 90 labradores
G pueda yr tomar el lugar dellos G faltare entos proueer o
otra persona despues / no entendiendo el n° dellos yo pomas
y asi mismo dellas otras cosas como mas largo va en
el memorial G yo di el qual me afirmo / afirmo
como quando G yo labre una nao buena / y agora puesto G
no no de labrar / por G estoy ya muy viejo y agora ni oy
y digo G todo lo Gyo dicho lo acordado las pomas
G S. a. mandado a tener en ello / por G de todo este dicho trato
ni en que se dubda cada cosa / y creo G no faria
las pomas G este aposta si oviera explotica y trato dello

e c° dize q° de cayuela G no sea de tener en labrar de lagrezida
por lapa G me fabre / S. a. saber como yo fe quido
tratado en el pasado / si S. a. mandare G no se vse de en



No. IIII. Holograph Letter of Christopher Columbus to the Sovereigns.

IIII.

dado, puriende pudería acaecer tienpo ó causa que sería menester capitán, digo que desconosco nadí quien sepa por agora ordenar instruçion para capitanes para lo que habrían de hazer en las cosas de las Yndias, como es yr á descobrir tierras y yslas ó á negoçiar en alguna parte d'ellas, ny este negocio es conforme á lo de Castilla, y que si esto non es regido por una mano, que se puede perder y ronpir para nunca tornar en pie. y que todo consiste en esto . . . así como de las cartas de marear, y me temo que yo no sea bien entendido, porque en esto yo sirve, asimismo en tener . . . pilotos . . . como se . . . de mucho . . . me . . . que . . . otras generaciones han de ir allá, como tengo indiçio, y sobre todo es de p[re]minencia de my oficio y está asentado y está en la provisión de mis títulos, que todos los oficios provea yo en nombre de Sus Altezas.

"Al sesto, digo que se haga así, pues el fin as porque non se furte el oro. . . ."

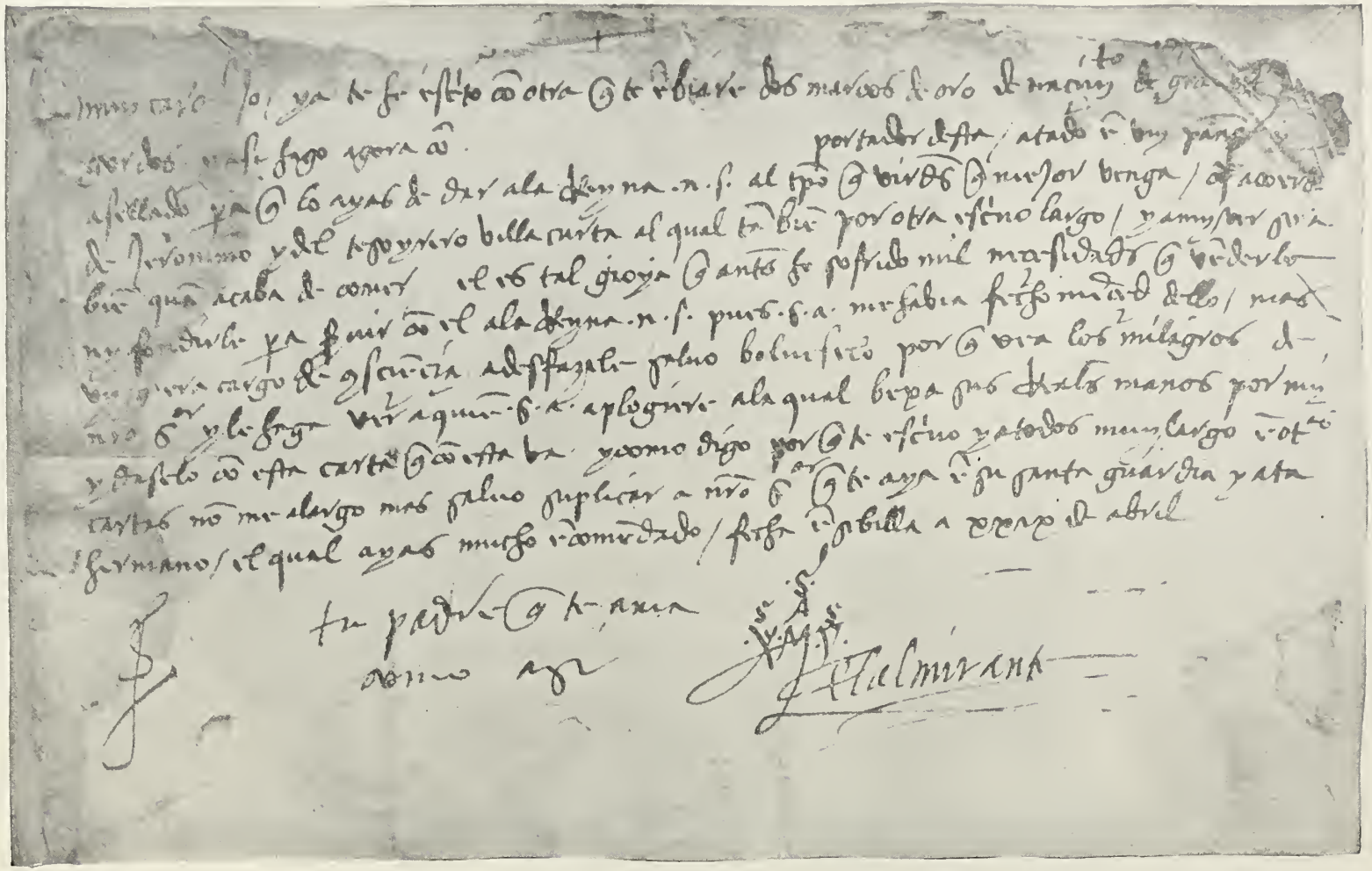
and damage they have occasioned. Therefore as the time might come or there might be a cause when a Captain would be needed, I say that I do not know any one who can formulate instructions for Captains regarding what they would have to do in the affairs of the Indies, such as to go and discover lands and islands or to negotiate in any part of them, neither is this affair consistent with the affairs of Castile, and that if this is not regulated by one hand, that the affair may be lost and ruined never to come back again rightly. And that everything consists in this . . . as well as of the sailing charts, and I fear that I may not be well understood, because in this I serve, likewise in having . . . pilots . . . as if . . . of much . . . me . . . that . . . other generations are to go there, as I have indication, and above all it belongs to the pre-eminence of my office and is agreed and is in the provision of my titles, that I shall provide all the offices in the name of their Highnesses.

"To the sixth, I say let it be done so, since the object is that the gold shall not be stolen. . . ."

NO. V. LETTER WRITTEN BY CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS TO HIS SON, DON DIEGO

It is extremely difficult to assign this letter to its proper period. The Queen was alive, therefore it was prior to December, 1504, when the Admiral first learned of her demise. It was written in the month of April from Seville, between April 1, 1497, and May 1, 1498, or between April 1, 1501, and May 1, 1502. When Columbus returned from his third voyage in September, 1500, he came in chains, in great despondency, without much if any gold. His voyage had been into the Gulf of Paria, and there he had gathered scarcely any of the shining metal. Indeed, in his letter to the Nurse, written as he was returning from his third voyage, he complains that Bobadilla had taken from him the nuggets of gold he contemplated carrying home to the Queen. We may eliminate the month of April, 1502, because Don Diego is urged to look well after his younger brother, and at that time Ferdinand was with his father in Seville, preparing to accompany the Admiral on his fourth and last voyage. We also eliminate the date of April 29, 1501. Don Diego was with the Court, and at that time the Court was at Granada, only about one hundred miles distant from Seville, where the Admiral was. The letter seems to indicate the passing of much important correspondence between father and son and between Columbus and the Court functionaries. If the Court was as near as Granada, it seems to us the Admiral, who so far as appears was in robust health, would have himself gone thither carrying his precious nuggets. By this process of exclusion we come to the two dates, April 29, 1497, and April 29, 1498. Don Diego is required in this letter to watch for a favourable opportunity, preferably some day after dinner, to present to the Queen the nuggets of gold. This presupposes circumstances under which the young lad might frequently see the Queen. As early as May 8, 1492, Diego received an appointment at the Court, but it is doubtful if he ever appeared there until his uncle Bartholomew, in passing through Spain on his way to join his elder brother in the New World, brought him to Valladolid, and at which time he was assigned to the duty of attending the young Prince Don Juan. This promising youth died at Salamanca, October 4, 1497, and on February 19, 1498, the Queen took

Diego into her own service as a page. Here was a situation in which Don Diego might approach Queen Isabella in almost any moment, and all that is now required of him as he attends her Highness in the Court now at Alcala de Henares is to await a time when she shall be disengaged and in a pleasant mood. The letter also suggests some feeling of disappointment in the breast of the Queen toward Columbus. It was at this time that the Sovereigns found themselves somewhat discouraged at the failure of the New World to produce for them that untold wealth promised them by the Admiral. Niño and others had made expeditions on their own, or on the mutual accounts of themselves and Spain, but their ships brought comparatively little gold. It is a consciousness of a slight cloud between him and the face of the Queen that prompts him to put into her hands solid pieces of the yellow metal, to remind her that it was only a sample of that which surely would one day flow into the coffers of Castile. We are then disposed to fix April 29, 1498, as the date when Columbus wrote this letter.



No. V. Holograph Letter, Signed by Christopher Columbus, to his Son, Don Diego. April 29. [*Archives, House of Alba, Madrid.*]

NO. V.

Transliteration

"Muy caro fijo.—Ya te he escrito con otra que te enbiaré dos marcos de oro de naçimiento de granos muy gordos, y asi fago agora con . . . portador desta, atado en vm paño y asellado, para que lo ayas de dar á la Reyna n. s. al tiempo que virdes que mejor venga, con acoerdo de Jeronimo y del tesoyrero Villacurta al qual tan bien por otra escriuo largo, y a my ver sera bien quan acaba de comer. el es tal gioya que antes he sofrido mil necesidades que venderlo ni fondirle para seruir con el a la Reyna n. s. pues s. a. me habia fecho merced dello, mas vy que era cargo de consciencia, a desfazerle, salvo boluerselo por que vea los milagros de nro.Sor.y le haga ver a quien s. a. aplogiere, a la qual bexa sus reales manos por my y daselo con esta carta que con esta va, y como digo por que te escriuo y a todos muy largo en otras cartas non me alargo mas saluo suplicar a nro. Sor. que te aya en su santa guardia y a tu hermano, el qual ayas mucho encomendado fecha en sebilla a xxix de Abril.

"tu padre que te ama como a si.

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
el Almirante.

[Sobre]
"a my muy caro fijo don diego colon en la [corte?]."

Translation

V.

"Very dear son:—

"I have written you by another courier that I will send you two marks of virgin gold in very large nuggets and thus I do now, by . . ., the bearer of this letter, fastened in a cloth and sealed, in order that you may give them to the Queen, our Lady, at such time as you see to be best, with the consent of Jeronimo and of the Treasurer Villacorta, to whom I am also writing at length by another courier: and in my opinion the best time will be just after dinner. This is a treasure of such value that I have hitherto suffered a thousand necessities rather than to sell it or melt it in order to serve the Queen, our Lady, with it, as her Highness had granted it to me. Further, I saw that it was charged upon my conscience not to destroy it but to return it to her that she may see the miracles of our Lord and that it may make her see to whom her Highness will apologise. Kiss her Royal hands for me and give it to her with this letter which goes with it. And as I tell why I write to you and to all greatly at length in other letters, I do not enlarge more than to supplicate our Lord to have you in His holy keeping, and thy brother, whom, may you have greatly in your charge. Done in Seville April 29.

"Your father, who loves you as himself.

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
el Almirante.

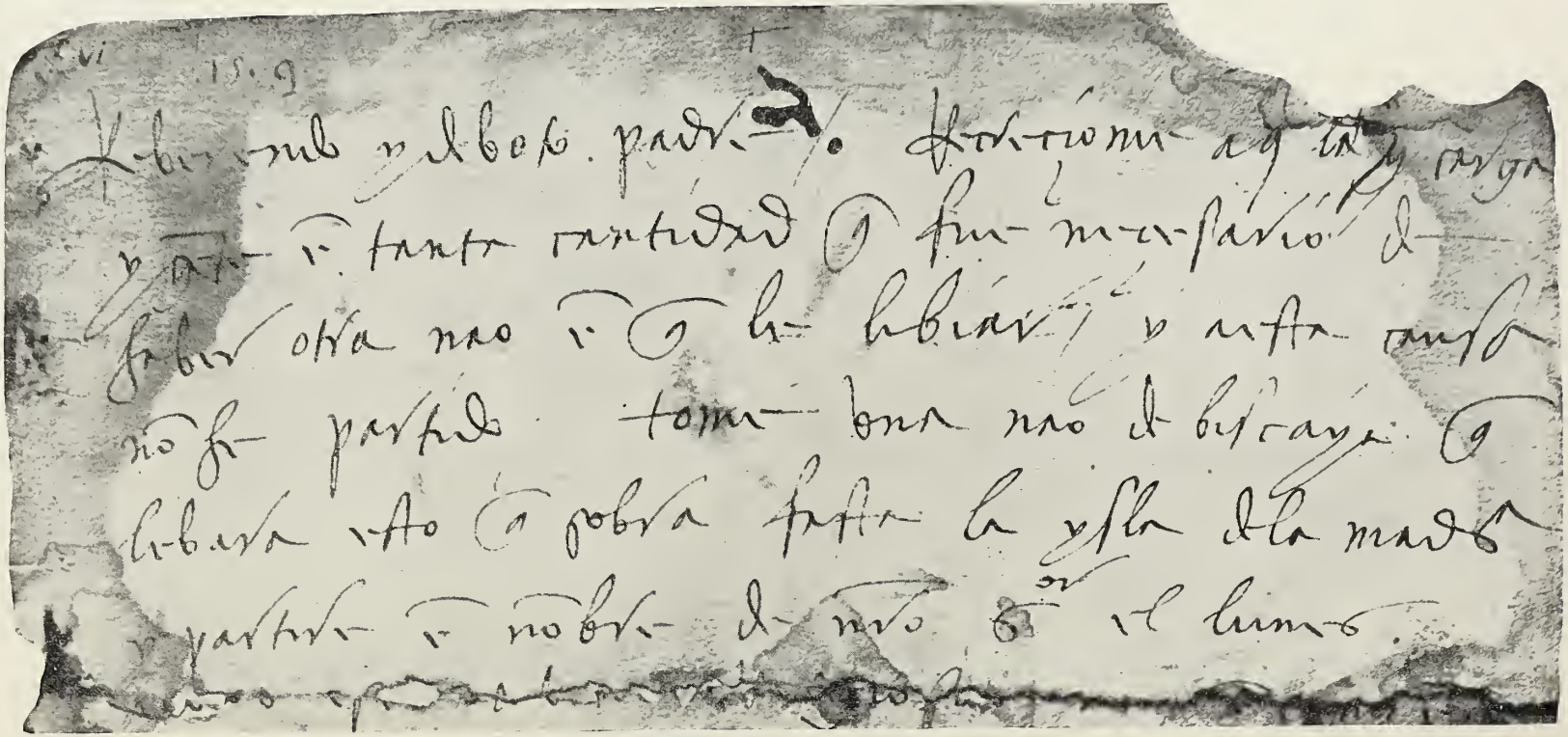
[Address]
"To my very dear son Don Diego at [Court]."

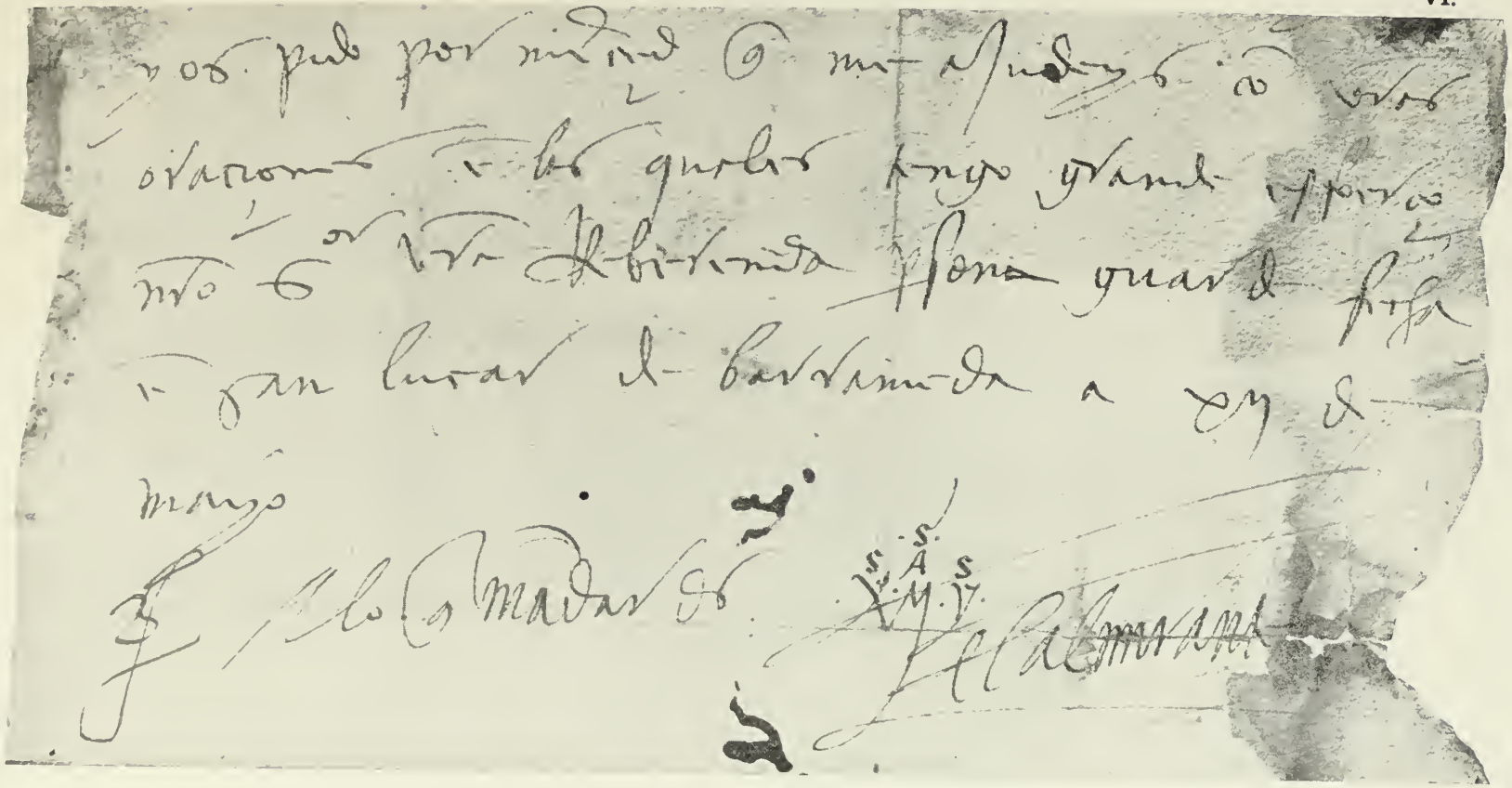
NO. VI. LETTER WRITTEN BY CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS TO FATHER DON GASPAR GORRICIO

There is no doubt respecting the day and year in which this was written. It was May 12 of 1498, and the Admiral was at San Lucar de Barrameda, where his fleet was preparing for the third voyage. This is the first reference to Father Gaspar Gorricio in any of the letters of Columbus. In considering a subsequent letter we have written at length in regard to this interesting character.[1]

As we shall see, Columbus did not sail on the following Monday, delay after delay holding him in port. Which of his six ships the Admiral diverted from its Biscayan traffic we do not know. Peter Martyr, in the sixth book of his *First Decade*, says that Columbus sailed with eight ships from San Lucar and went to the island of Madeira to avoid certain French corsairs lying in wait for him and his fleet. We know from Las Casas that when the Admiral arrived at the Canaries he divided his fleet of six ships, sending three directly to Española and sailing with the other three for the Cape Verde Islands. It may be that the statement of Peter Martyr and that of Las Casas will be reconciled by assuming that while Columbus sailed out of San Lucar de Barrameda with eight ships, he left at the island of Madeira two ships, one of which was the Biscayan vessel mentioned in this letter.

[1] See No. XX.—the letter written April 4, 1502.





No. VI. Holograph Letter, Signed by Christopher Columbus, to Father Don Gaspar Gorricio.
[*Archives, House of Alba, Madrid.*]

NO. VI.

Transliteration

"Reberendo y deboto padre, recreciome aqui la carga y gente en tanta cantidad que fué necesario de haber otra nao en que la libiar, y a esta causa non he partido. tome una nao de viscaya que lebara esto que sobra fasta la ysla de la madera y partire en nombre de nro.Sor. el lunes . . . esos debotos religiosos me encomiendo

Translation

VI.

"REVEREND AND DEVOUT FATHER:

"The cargo and the people increase here so greatly that it was necessary to have another vessel in which to carry them, and on this account I have not started. I got a ship from Biscay which will take those who are in excess as far as the island of Madeira, and I shall start in the name of our Lord Monday. . . . I commend myself to those devout monks

y os pido por merced que me ayudeis con vuestras oraciones en las quales tengo grande esfoerço. Nro. Sor. vuestra reberenda persona guarde fecha en san lucar de barrameda a xij de Mayo

"A lo que mandardes
.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
el Almirante.

[Sobre]

"Al reberendo y deboto padre don gaspar en el monasterio de las cuebas en sebilla (1498). [Lleva la carta al principio estas cifras: .15. q.]"

VIa.

and beg you as a favour to aid me with your prayers, from which I derive great strength. May our Lord guard your Reverend person. Done at San Lucar de Barrameda May 12.

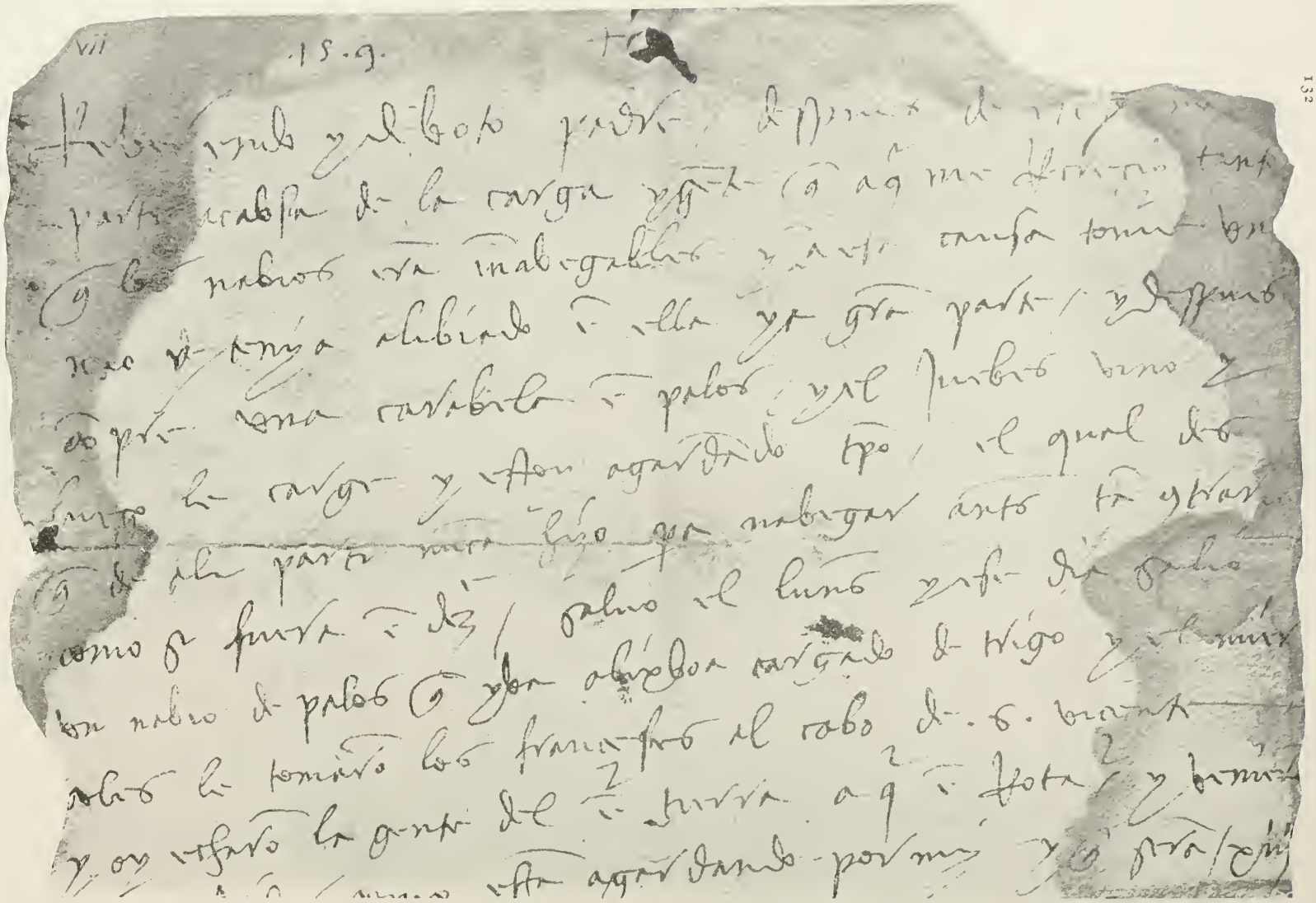
"Yours to command.
.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
el Almirante.

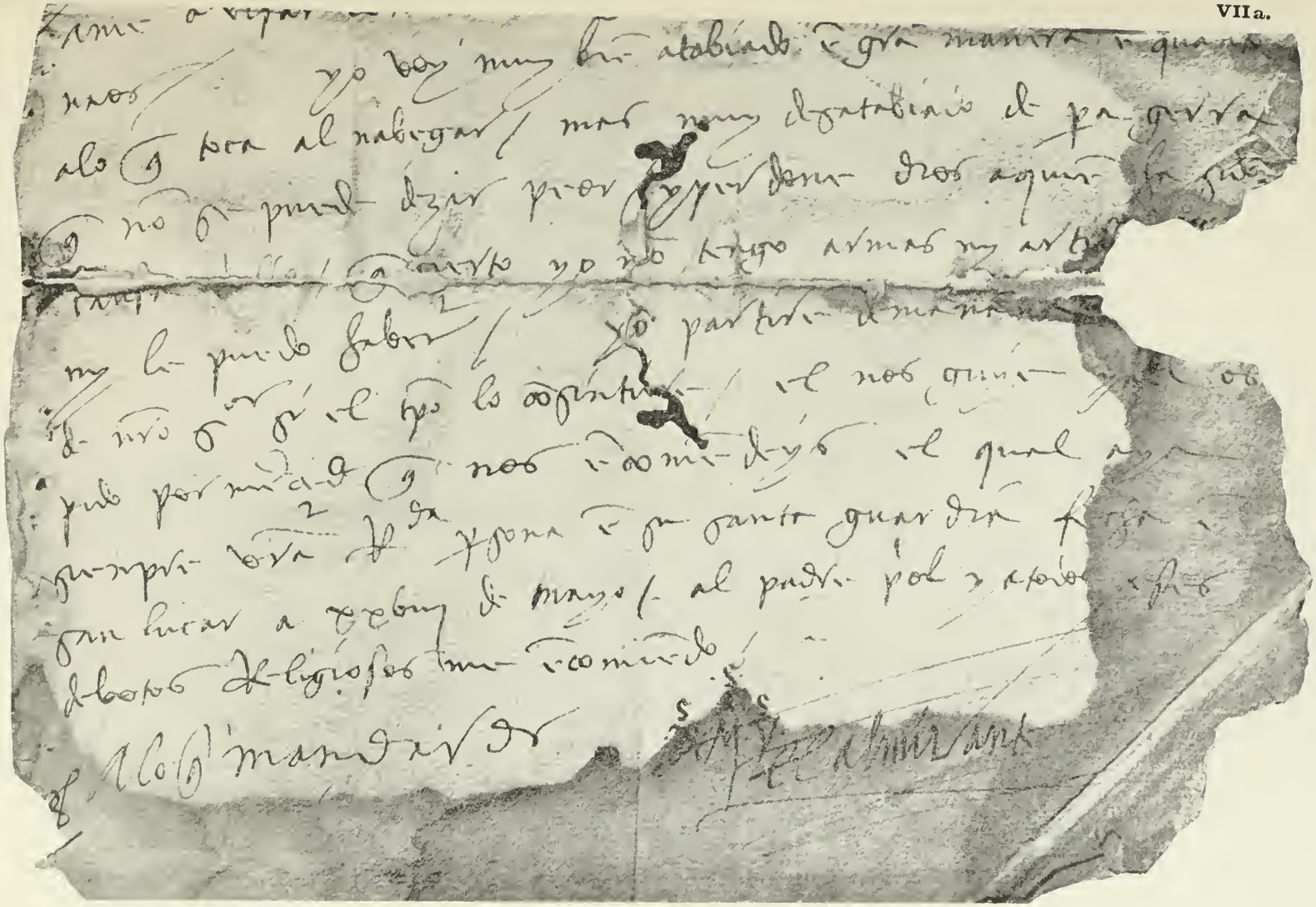
[Address]

"To the Reverend and Devout father Don Gaspar in the monastery of Las Cuevas at Seville (1498). [The letter bears at the beginning this contraction: .15. q.]"

NO. VII. LETTER WRITTEN BY CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS TO FATHER DON GASPAR GORRICIO

Both Bartolomé de las Casas and Peter Martyr are agreed that the day of departure for this little fleet was May 30, 1498. Thus the purpose of the Admiral of leaving San Lucar on the morrow, May 29, was modified by some unexpected circumstance. The Admiral expresses himself as well equipped in the matter of ships and provender, but sadly deficient in arms and defences. Off the Cape of Saint Vincent, or within the Mediterranean side of the Straits, at no great distance away, he knew a vigilant and powerful enemy awaited him, and he does not fail to condemn those who have sent him off unprotected. Thirteen sail comprise the French fleet, while on board the six or eight ships of his own fleet are neither artillery nor protecting arms. However, the leader of this latter is a born sailor,—a trained captain. While the enemy is cruising around to the southward to prevent his reaching the Canaries, to which they knew all Spanish vessels bound for Española first turned their prows, the Admiral slipped out due westward and made for the island of Madeira. Strategy carries farther and straighter than a Lombard, or even an Armstrong gun. And so Columbus arrived safely at the Madeiras, and from there made his way with at least six of the ships to the Canaries.





No. VII. Holograph Letter, Signed by Christopher Columbus, to Father Don Gaspar Gorricio.
[*Archives, House of Alba, Madrid.*]

NO. VII.

Transliteration

"Reberendo y deboto padre— Despues de escrito? no parti a cabsa de la carga y gente que aqui me recrecio tanto que los nabios eran innabegables y a esa causa tomé una nao y tenia alibiado en ella ya gran parte y despues compre vna carabela en palos y el juebes vino y luego la carge y estoy agardando tiempo el qual desque de ali parti nunca hizo para nabegar antes tan contrario como si fuera en deciembre saluo el lunes y ese dia salio vn nabio de palos que yba a lixboa cargado de trigo y el miercoles le tomaron los franceses al cabo de san vicente y oy echaron la gente del en tierra aqui en Rota y venieron ame avisar como estan agardando por my y que seran xiij naos.

Translation

VII.

"Reverend and devout father:—

"Since writing you I have not started on account of the cargo and people which have increased to such an extent here that the vessels were unnavigable. On that account I took a vessel and had already loaded a great part upon it and then bought a caravel in Palos. It came Thursday and I loaded it immediately and now I am awaiting the weather, which since I left there [Palos] was never so unfavourable for navigation, as if it were in December, except Monday, and on that day a vessel started from Palos, which was going to Lisbon laden with wheat and Wednesday the French captured it off the end of Cape San Vincent and to-day they put the people from this vessel on land here in Rota, and they came to me to advise me that they [the French] were waiting for me and that there would be thirteen vessels.

"yo voy muy bien atabiado en gran manera en quanto a lo que toca al nabegar, mas muy desatabiado de para gerra que non se puede dezir peor y perdone Dios a quien ha sido causa dello que cierto yo non tengo armas ny artilleria . . . ni le puedo haber.

"yo partire de mañana [con ayuda] de nro. Sor. si el tiempo lo consintiera el nos guie y a el os pido por merced que nos encomendeis el qual aya siempre vuestra reberenda persona en su santa guardia. fecha en san lucar a xxviii de Mayo. al padre priol y a todos estos debotos religiosos me encomiendo. A lo que mandardes.

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
el Almirante.

[Sobre]

"Al reberendo y muy deboto padre don gaspar en el monasterio de las cuebas sebilla (1498.)

"[En el principio, la cifra .15. q.]"

VII a.

"I am going very well prepared to a great extent in regard to what concerns navigation, but very poorly prepared for war, so that it cannot be said to be worse, and may God pardon those who have been the cause of it, for certainly I have no arms or artillery . . . nor can I have them.

"I shall start to-morrow [with the aid] of our Lord if the weather permits it. May He guide us and I beg you as a favour to commend us to Him. May He continually have your reverend person in His holy keeping. Done in San Lucar May 28. To the father Prior and to all those devout monks I commend myself.

"Yours to command.

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
el Almirante.

[Address]

"To the reverend and very devout father Don Gaspar in the monastery of Las Cuevas, Seville (1498.)

[At the beginning, the contraction: .15. q.]"

NO. VIII. HOLOGRAPH DOCUMENT WRITTEN BY COLUMBUS

This document also is without date. It apparently was written by Columbus while in Spain, and as it speaks of four ships being at the island of Española, it must be subsequent to the second outward voyage. But here again the date can be more closely fixed. It will be recalled that on the occasion of this exploration of Cuba in the spring of 1494, the Admiral had a caravel called *La Niña.* This vessel was also sometimes called the *Santa Clara.* On the third voyage, in the summer of 1498, Columbus sailed into the Gulf of Paria with three ships, one of the two caravels having the name *La Vacchina*, as given by Ferdinand Columbus in the *Historie.* We imagine the name of this ship in Spanish was *La Vaqueños*, and that it was this very vessel mentioned by the Admiral in this letter as being then in Española. The Sovereigns and the Admiral owned the *Niña* in common. The *Vaqueños* belonged to a widow in Palos. When Columbus went to San Domingo after his exploration of the Gulf of Paria, we hear no more of the *Vacchina.* It will be remembered that when the Admiral was taken home in chains he was on board the caravel *Gorda*, of which Andres Martin de la Gorda was master. We may assume that the *Vacchina* was left at Española for the service of the colonists, and, if this is so, we may at least fix the date of this letter as between November 20 or 25, 1500,—when the Admiral arrived at Cadiz,—and May 9, 1502, when he set out on his fourth and last voyage. We think it possible still further to narrow the period within which it was written. The reference to the furnishings for horses, without suggesting the exportation of the animals themselves, indicates a condition of colonisation in which those beasts, so terrifying to the natives, had long been on the island. They had outworn their trappings, and hence we may assume they had already been some years in the New World.

The Father Fray Juan, mentioned in the letter, we imagine to be Fray Juan de Trasierra, a religioso of the Order of San Francisco. This priest, it will be remembered, carried a communication to the Admiral from the Sovereigns, dated Madrid, May 26, 1499. As Columbus was much interested in the Order of San Francisco, it is likely he was on terms of friendship with this particular priest. A Fray Juan Frances, el Bermejo,—

Rubicundus, to distinguish him, perhaps, from a brother of the same name darker in complexion,—was authorised by a cedula, dated at Madrid, May 21, 1499, to go to the New World accompanied by the other Fray Juan Frances and several other priests. Perhaps this second—or the dark-complexioned Fray Juan Frances—is identical with Fray Juan de Trasierra mentioned above.

The strongest proof as to the approximate date of the writing lies in the tone of the letter itself. It is the letter of a man of affairs, bound to give intelligent aid to his Sovereigns in their management of their new possessions. But it is the letter of an official who has been discharged, a deputy ruler who has been deposed. He says:

> "Likewise a conscientious person is necessary to see that justice is done to every one and that all are treated as they should be: for if *those who are now in power* continue in authority henceforward, I say that not only the Christians but likewise the Indians will leave the country, because both are treated more in accordance with the dictates of cruelty than according to reason and justice."

It would seem that the Admiral was alluding to Francisco de Bobadilla and to those holding office under him. The allusion could hardly be to Ovando, as the letter only reached Española on April 15, 1502, and the Admiral started on his last expedition on May 9, 1502, thus not leaving any time either to hear news of the new Governor or for the latter to make any record favourable or unfavourable, although the title of Governor was formally conferred upon him only on September 3, 1501. Las Casas tells us the appointment of Don Nicolas de Ovando, Commander of Lares, of the Order of Alcantara, was determined upon at some time during the year 1500. As this appointment would have been known to the Admiral by rumour, if not actually communicated to him by the Sovereigns, we must fix the date of this letter as previous to the appointment of Ovando. We may then assign the year 1500 as the period within which this letter was written to the Sovereigns of Spain,—a letter written in a spirit of great magnanimity by a faithful servitor who had been most shamefully requited.

There is one characteristic of greatness which is revealed in this letter as possessed by Columbus in common with other

great men of history. This is the capacity to consider a multitude of trivial details in the midst of matters of vastly larger importance. The skilful juggler tosses into the air at one and the same time a bit of paper, a sharpened dagger, a heavy iron ball, and controls their movements with ease and accuracy. So some minds will deal at one and the same moment with weighty affairs, with dangerous complications, and with trifles light as the thoughts of youth. Delicacy of touch relieves the heavier muscles and strengthens them against employment. We have before us at this moment a holograph document of George Washington, written the night before his inauguration as first President of the United States,—a most momentous event, when the air was surcharged with ceremonial excitement, when the world was to behold a new government try its earliest wings, and in which document this greatest of Americans carefully notes in a lengthy list what shirts, what hose, what kerchiefs are to find their way to the cleansing bath. And so with the First Admiral of the Indies. In the midst of most exciting and interesting events, no detail was so small as to escape his eye. Until the end of his days this grasp of the *minutiæ* was one of the most prominent characteristics of Christopher Columbus, that individual who planned and carried to successful issue the vastest project ever known to man.

VIII

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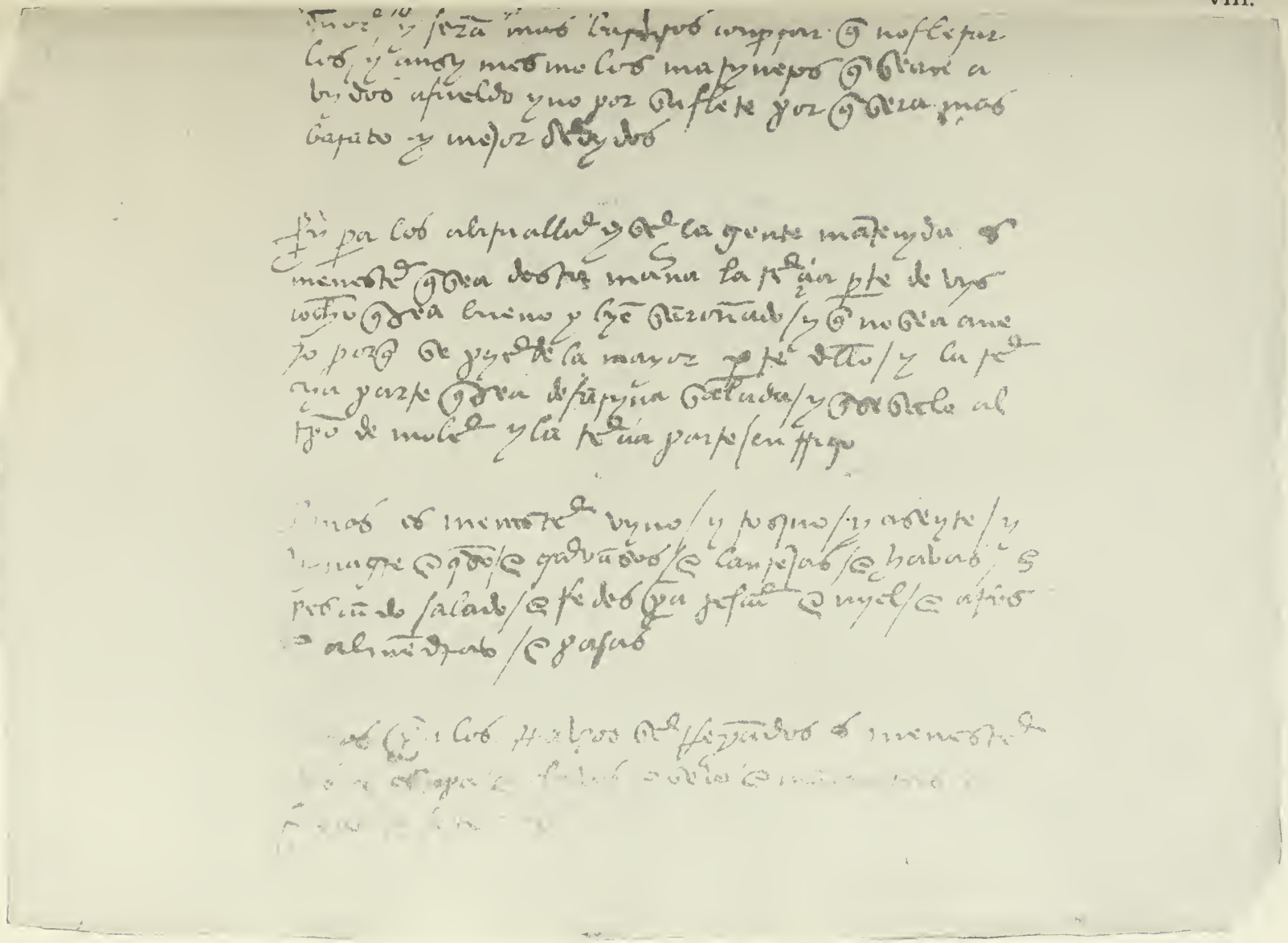


No. VIII. Holograph Document of Columbus, Signed. Memorandum of Things to be Taken to the Indies.
[*Archives of the Royal Academy of History at Madrid.*]

NO. VIII.

Transliteration

"Vuestras alteças mandaron que se fysiese memorial delas co-//sas que eran menester para ser bastesidas las yndias y// segund my parescer es menester lo syguiente//

primeramente//

seys navios para quatroçientos o quinientos hombres que son// menester para sojudgar la ysla española se-//gund my parescer. y destos ay en la dicha ysla quatro// navyos los dos son de vuestras alteças. y elluno// que se llama la niña es la meytad de vuestras al-//teças y la meytad mio. el otro que se llama la// vaqueños es la meytad de vuestras alteças & la otra la// meytad de vna byuda vesyna de palos//

"y destos dos navios que faltan para ser seys es me-//nester sean de çiento & veytte toneles cada vno// por suplir la falta delos otros que son mas pe-

Translation

VIII.

"Your Highnesses ordered that a statement should be made of all the things necessary for the provisioning of the Indies, and in my opinion the following is necessary:

in the first place

six vessels for four hundred or five hundred men, which in my opinion are necessary for the subjugation of the island of Española. And of this number, there are in the said island four ships, of which two belong to your Highnesses: and of one, which is called the *Niña*, one half belongs to your Highnesses and one half belongs to me: half of the other, which is called the *Vaqueños*, belongs to your Highnesses and the other half to a widow residing in Palos.

"And it is necessary that the two ships which are lacking to complete the number of six should be each of one hundred and twenty tons burden, to make up for the deficiency of the others, which are smaller:

//quenos. y seran mas baratos conprar que no fletar-//los. y ansy mesmo los maryneros que sean a-//vydos asueldo y no por su flete porque sera mas// barato y mejor servydos.//

"y para los abituallar y ser la gente mantenida es// menester que sea desta manera la tercia parte de vys-//cocho que sea bueno y byen sazonnado. y que no sea ane-//jo porque se pyerde la mayor parte dello. y la ter-//cya parte que sea de faryna salada. y que se sale al// tiempo de moler y la tercia parte en trigo.//

"mas es menester vyno. y tosino. y aseyte. y// vynagre & queso. & garvansos. & lantejas. & havas. &// pescado salada. & redes para pescar. & miel. & aros.// & almendras. & pasas.//

"mas para los navios ser reparados es menester// pes. & estopa. & clavos. & sevo. & manquetas. &// fyerro. & ferreros.//

VIII.

and it will be cheaper to buy them than to charter them: and in the same manner the sailors should be engaged at fixed wages and not otherwise, because it will be cheaper and secure better service.

"And for the victualling and maintenance of the people it is necessary that the third part be biscuit, which should be good and well seasoned: and it must not be old because the greater part of it will be lost. And a third part must be of salted flour, which must be salted at the time of grinding: and a third part must be wheat.

"Furthermore, wine is necessary, and bacon and oil, and vinegar and cheese and peas and lentils and beans and salted fish, and nets for fishing, and honey, and iron hoops and almonds and raisins.

"Furthermore, for the repairing of the ships pitch is necessary and tow and nails and tallow and iron and hardware.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] ...

Iten, mesmo dias e logo e ante mi e ante los
testigos abaxo escriptos, Johan Fernandez de Vera
alcayde de la dicha fortaleza

Por quanto agora nuevamente se obligó de dar por fiador
en mi escripto una fanega de cevada
o dende arriba cada uno año fasta en cantidad
nada de que fue requerido / y por mí requerido
por fiador en mi escripto / y por mí aceptado y no dio
por fiador en mi escripto / les haga allá alguna
prenda de su bienes / y mi poder cumplido para lo ayan de
aprehender

Iten, mesmo dias e mes e año de suso dicho
fue requerido Juan de Vera de
vecino de Jerez caballero que diese fiador
y fiadores abonados cada uno en justicia
y la cual dicha cosa, visto en mi escripto por mí y los
testigos abaxo escriptos no lo quiso hacer ni dio fiador

"mas entre la gente que fuere en los navios son me-//nester estos. ofyciales que son calafates. & carpynte-//ros. & toneleros. & asserradores & ferrador. & syherras// e se llevar es mas barato.//

"y mas es menester que los navios que fueren que lleven// ganado ansy ovejuno como vacuno & cabruno. y// esto que sea nuevo. y pueden lo tomar de las yslas// de canaria porque se abra mas barato. & es mas// çerca//

"es mas menester que se lleve para su vistuario lienço// & paño & calçado. filo. agujas. fusta. cañamaso// bonetes. & para los cavallos syllas & frenos. & es-//puelas.//

"es mas menester para los nayvos que fueren como// para la gente que alla resydiere ansy armas lon-//

VIIIb.

"Furthermore among the people who go on the ships, the following are necessary: artisans who are calkers, and carpenters and coopers and sawyers and blacksmiths: and it is cheaper to carry saws.

"And furthermore it is necessary that the ships which go shall carry domestic animals, ewes as well as black cattle and goats, and these must be young: and they can be taken from the Canary Islands because they are cheaper there and those islands are nearer.

"And it is furthermore necessary that for the clothing of the people, linen should be taken and cloth and foot-gear: thread, needles, woollen cloth, canvas and caps: and for the horses saddles and bridles and spurs.

"And furthermore, it is necessary for the ships which go there as well as for the people who reside there to take arms: Lombardy guns

bardas para los navios. & lanças. & espadas. & pu-//ñales. & vallestas. & madexuelas para las valles-// tas. & almacen para las vallestas//

"ansy mesmo delas cosas que son menester para curar// los enfermos el padre fray Juan enformara a vuestras// alteças de lo que sera menester//

"sy estas cosas suso dichas se ovieren de dar por raçion// es menester que sea puesta vna persona de buena// conciençia para que de a cada vno su derecho no quitandole// nada que le pertenesçe. & sy se acordare que no sea// por racion es menester que les haga alla alguna// pagua de su sueldo en dineros para que lo aya de// comprar//

"ansy mesmo es menester vna persona que sea de// buena conszienzia y guarde a cada uno su justizia// y que los trate ansy como es menester por que sy los// que oy lo tienen lo poseen de aqui adelante no digo los//

VIII b.

for the ships: and lances and swords and daggers and crossbows and their appurtenances and ammunition for the men.

"Likewise in regard to the things which are necessary to cure the sick, the father friar Juan will inform your Highnesses of what is needed.

"If these things aforesaid are to be given out as rations, a conscientious person will be necessary for the distribution so that each one may be given his own and not be deprived of what belongs to him: and if it is decided not to give them out as rations it is necessary that payment shall be made to each person in money from their wages, that they may be able to buy the said articles.

"Likewise a conscientious person is necessary to see that justice is done to every one and that all are treated as they should be; for if those who are now in power continue in authority henceforward, I say that not only the

VIII c

Sanct mas los vnchos dexarā la pena por
son pretuhs mas los mos arma los otros mas
ygnorā la crueldad o la plazon y justizia y por
q ay muchos de los q alla gran q guerra ablen
den de menester q tal cargo dlbare lle
ve poder para los plaze ygual partido y dar li
cencia segun viere les menester

.S.

.S. A. S.

H y

: Xpo FERENS./

christianos mas los yndios dexaran la tierra porque// son tratados ansy los unos como los otros mas// syguiendo la crueldad que la razon y justizia y por// que ay muchos de los que alla estan que querran abezyn-//dar es menester quel quel tal cargo llevare lle-//ve poder para los façer aquel partido y dar li-//bertad segun viere es menester.//

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
:Xp̃o Ferens.//

VIII c.

Christians but likewise the Indians will leave the country, because both are treated more in accordance with the dictates of cruelty than according to reason and justice: and as many of those who are on the island would like to settle there it is necessary that the person exercising such authority be provided with the power to make arrangements to that effect and give exemption, according as he may see that it is advisable.

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
:Xp̃o Ferens.//

VIIId.

"memorial del almirante a sus alteças:

"vino a Valladolid año de . . ."

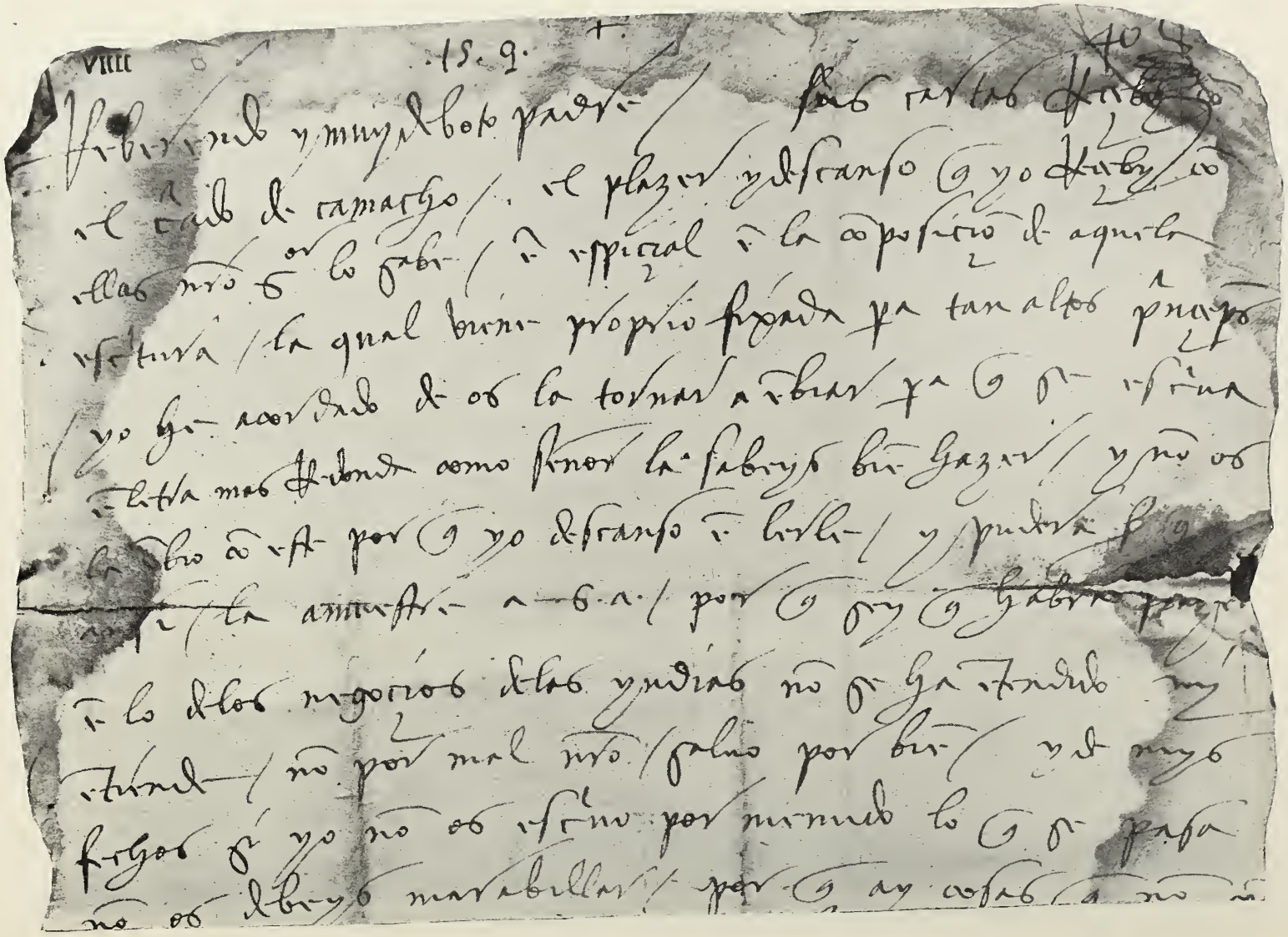
"Memorandum of the Admiral to their Highnesses:

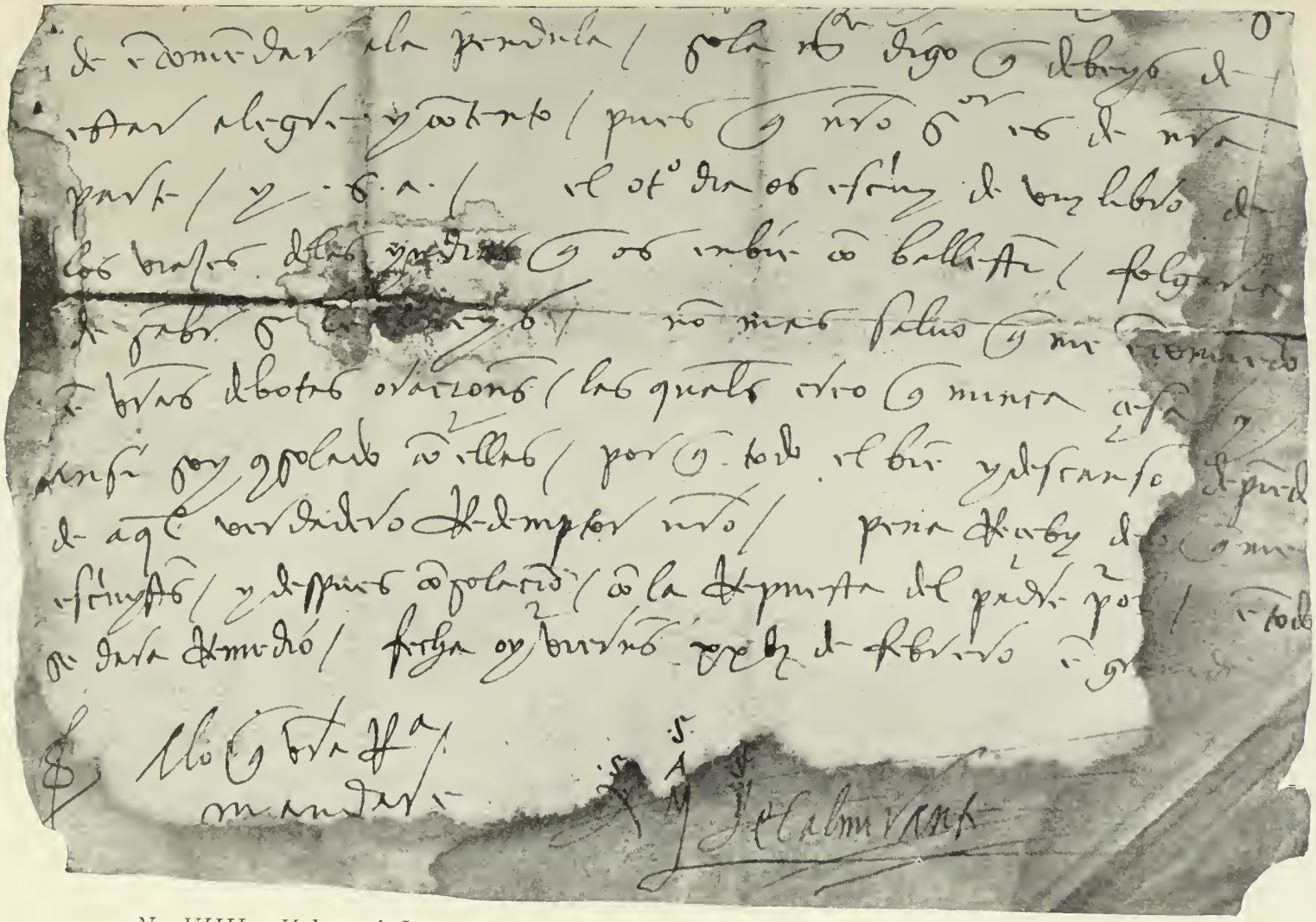
"He came to Valladolid the year of . . ."

NO. VIIII. LETTER WRITTEN BY CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS TO FATHER DON GASPAR GORRICIO

The Admiral is with the Court at Granada and in the presence of the Sovereigns. There has been a reaction of the feeling against him. The sight of the great Discoverer brought home in chains a few months back had revived, especially with the Queen, sentiments of gratitude and affection. After all, he it was who gave the New World to Castile. Absent, the Sovereigns might forget him. But present, with the rough marks of the irons still upon his wrists, his marvellous services move the King and Queen to kindly and grateful remembrance.

From the first paragraph of this letter, and from the fact that Father Don Gaspar Gorricio was trained in ecclesiastical and civil law, we imagine the allusion may be to the celebrated legal opinion as to his rights, of which Columbus often spoke and which a year later he had copied and inserted in his *Book of Privileges*. This document, whatever it may be, is important and is to be copied in a fair round hand. In a letter of later date we will see that Camacho is himself a copyist, and is recommended as competent to transcribe a certain valuable paper.





No. VIIII. Holograph Letter, Signed by Christopher Columbus, to Father Don Gaspar Gorricio.
[*Archives, House of Alba, Madrid.*]

NO. VIIII.

Transliteration

"Reberendo y muy deboto padre. sus cartas receby con el criado de camacho. el plazer y descanso que yo receby con ellas nro. Sor. lo sabe, en espicial en la composicion de aquela escritura, la qual viene proprio fixada para tan altos principes, yo he acordado de os la tornar a enbiar para que se escriua en letra mas redonda como señor la sabeys bien hazer, y non os la enbio con este por que yo descanso en lerle y pudera ser que ansi la amuestre a s.a. por que sey que habla plazer.

"el lo de los negocios de las yndias non se ha entendido ni entiende, non por mal nuestro, saluo por bien. y de mys fechos si yo non os escriuo por menudo lo que se pasa non os debeys marabillar por que ay cosas que non son

Translation

VIIII.

"Reverend and very devout father:

"I received your letters by the servant of Camacho. Our Lord knows the pleasure and relief which I received by their coming, especially from the composition of that document which came drawn up in a manner proper for such exalted princes. I have decided to send it back to you again that it may be written in a more rounded hand, as a gentleman well knows how to do. I do not send it with this letter because I am relieved by reading it and it might be that I can show it to her Highness thus, because I know that she will be pleased.

"The affair of the Indies has not been agreed upon nor is it agreed upon, not to our detriment but rather to our benefit. If I do not write you frequently in regard to what takes place in my affairs, you must not wonder at it, because there are matters which are not

de encomendar a la pendula, solamente digo que debeys de estar alegre y contento pues que nro. Sor. es de nuestra parte y S.A. el otro dia os escriuy de vm libro de los viajes de las yndias que os enbie con ballester. folgaria de saber si le teneis. non mas saluo que me encomiendo a vuestras debotas oraciones las quales creo que munca cesan y ansi soy consolado con ellas por que todo el bien y descanso depiende de aquel verdadero redemptor nuestro. pena receby de lo que me escriuistes y despues consolacion con la repuesta del padre priol. en todo se dara remedio. fecha oy viernes xxvi de febrero en Granada.

"A lo que vuestra reverencia mandare.

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
el Almirante.

[Sobre]

"Al reberendo y muy deboto padre fray don gaspar en las cuebas en sebilla.

[En las espaldas]: "Recebida en iiij de março de 1501. [Al principio lleva la cifra .15. q.]"

VIIII.

to be delayed. I only say to you that you must be joyful and contented since our Lord is on our side and her Highness wrote you the other day about a book of the voyages of the Indies, which I sent you by Ballester. She would be pleased to know if you have it. No more, save to commend myself to your devout prayers, which I believe never cease, and so I am consoled by them, for all good and tranquillity is dependent upon our true Redeemer. I was pained by what you wrote me and afterwards consoled by the reply of the father Prior. Reparation will be made for everything. Done to-day, Friday, the 26th of February in Granada.

"At the command of your Reverence.

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
el Almirante.

[Address]

"To the reverend and very devout father Friar Don Gaspar at Las Cuevas of Seville.

[On the back]: "Received March 4, 1501. [At the beginning it bears the contraction: .15. q.]"

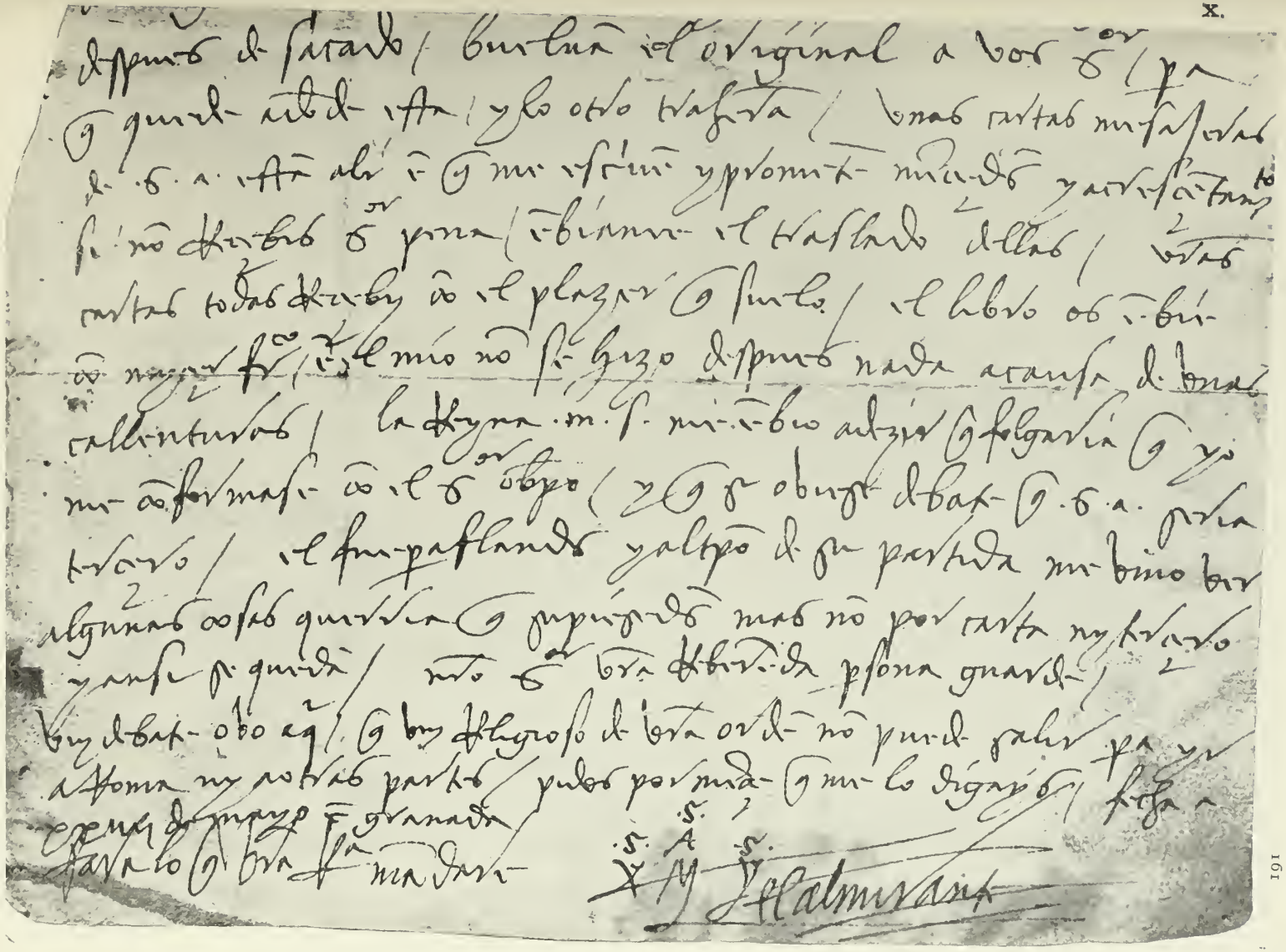
NO. X. LETTER WRITTEN BY CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS TO FATHER DON GASPAR GORRICIO

This letter, hitherto unknown to historians, might be cited as confirming their views by those who impute a bitter enmity between the Admiral and the Bishop of Palencia, Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca. We confess we do not see its evidence here. That there were differences may readily be admitted. By any fair reading of the Capitulation, the Admiral was *de jure* Viceroy of the New World. Yet no thread of actual management remained in his hands. It is probable there arose many questions of policy relative to executive work in Española on which these two men took opposing sides. But that Fonseca hated and persecuted Columbus seems unlikely. The assertion rests upon the word of Ferdinand Columbus, then too young to have at best more than an impression. The language here used shows that the two men had been on good terms, and we will see in subsequent letters that they were still friends. The trouble here calling out the Queen's desire for a reconciliation between the Admiral and the head of the Indian Department was doubtless temporary and not of a vital character.

The Sovereigns, at the city of Burgos, on April 23, 1497, authorised Christopher Columbus to institute a Majorat, or line of descent for his titles, rights, privileges, powers, and estates. This he accordingly did at Seville on February 22, 1498. Three years passed and, being with the Court at Granada, the Admiral has need of a copy of this important instrument, which is filed in the monastery of Las Cuevas. Father Gaspar Gorricio was quick to act, and we find that in four days from the date of this letter—May 28, 1501—a legalised copy was made by the public writers, Alonzo Lucas, Juan Fernandez, and Martin Rodriguez.[1]

The interesting question raised by Columbus as to the propriety or right of a monk of the order to which Father Gaspar belonged to leave his monastery must have been answered in the affirmative, as we find the latter not long after at Court and on the business of the Admiral.

[1] The original is in the archives of the Duke of Veragua. Navarrete (vol. ii., p. 221) quotes this document in full.



No. X. Holograph Letter, Signed by Christopher Columbus, to Father Don Gaspar Gorricio.
[Archives, House of Alba, Madrid.]

NO X.

Transliteration

"Reberendo y muy deboto padre. aca nunca falta vm negocio que sospende los otros. la señora princepsa partio en nombre de nro. Sor. crehese que agora se entendera en las yndias, s. a. son las mas sabios princepes que jamas obo. sus grandes ocupacione ocupaciones han sido causa que yo non sea agora en gran renta y este negocio en grande prosperidad y la españa ya rica. al rebes se ha proveydo todo fasta aqui y agora mas que nunca. algun pecado nuestro es causa dello.

"Mucho he menester un traslado abtorizado de escriuano publico de vna provision que ala esta por que pueda yo hazer mayorazgo y querria que fuese en pergamino marco de bargali portador desta lo hara o gonzalo camacho, y

Translation

X.

"Reverend and very devout father:

"An affair which suspends all others is never lacking here. The Lady Princess departed in the name of our Lord. It is to be believed that now the affair of the Indies will be heard. Their Highnesses are the wisest Princes that ever existed. It has been because of their numerous occupations that I am not now in receipt of a great rent and that this affair is not extremely prosperous and Spain already rich. Everything has resulted to the contrary up to the present, and now more than ever. Some sin of ours is the cause of it.

"I am greatly in need of an authorised copy made by a notary public of a provision which is there [in Las Cuevas] authorising me to establish a majorat, and I would like to have it on parchment. Marco de Bargali, the bearer of this letter, will do it, or Gonzalo Camacho, and

despues de sacado, bueluan el original a vos Señor, para que quede adonde esta y lo otro traheran. Vnas cartas mensajeras de s. a. estan ali en que me escriuan y prometen mercedes y acrescentamiento. si non recibis Señor pena esbiame el traslado dellas. vuestras cartas todas recebi con el plazer que suelo. el libro os enbie con mycer Francisco. en el mio non se hizo despues nada a causa de vnas callenturas. la Reyna m. s. enbio a dezir que folgaria que yo me conformase con el señor obispo y que si obiese debate que s. a. seria tercero. el fue para flandes y al tiempo de su partida me vino ver. algunas cosas querria que supiesdes mas non por carta ny tercero y ansi se quedan. nro. Sor. vuestra reberenda persona guarde.

"vm debate obo aqui que vna religioso de vuestra orden non puede salir para yr a Roma ny a otras partes pidos por merce que me lo digais. fecha a xxiiij de Mayo en Granada.

"Para lo que vuestra reverencia mandare.

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
el Almirante.

[Sobre]

"Al reberendo y muy deboto padre fray don gaspar en las cuebas.

[En las espaldas]: "Recibida en Sevilla en 28 del dicho mes e año 1501. [Al principio lleva la cifra. .6. f.]"

X.

after having drawn it up they will return the original to you, Sir, that it may remain where it now is and they will bring the other. There are some letters of her Highness there in which she wrote me promising favours and reward. If you, Sir, are not troubled thereby, send me the copy of them. I received all your letters with my accustomed pleasure. I sent you the book by Messer Francisco. Nothing has since been done in mine [his book?] on account of some attacks of fever.

"The Queen, my Lady, sent to me to say that she would be pleased to have me reconcile myself with the Lord Bishop and that if there should be a discussion, her Highness would be the intermediary. He went to Flanders and at the time of his departure, he came to see me. There are some things of which I would like to have you know more but not by letter or intermediary, and so they remain. May our Lord guard your Reverend person.

"I had an argument here to the effect that a monk of your Order cannot leave the monastery to go to Rome or to other places. I beg you as a favour to tell me about it. Done May 24 at Granada.

"At the command of your Reverence.

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
el Almirante.

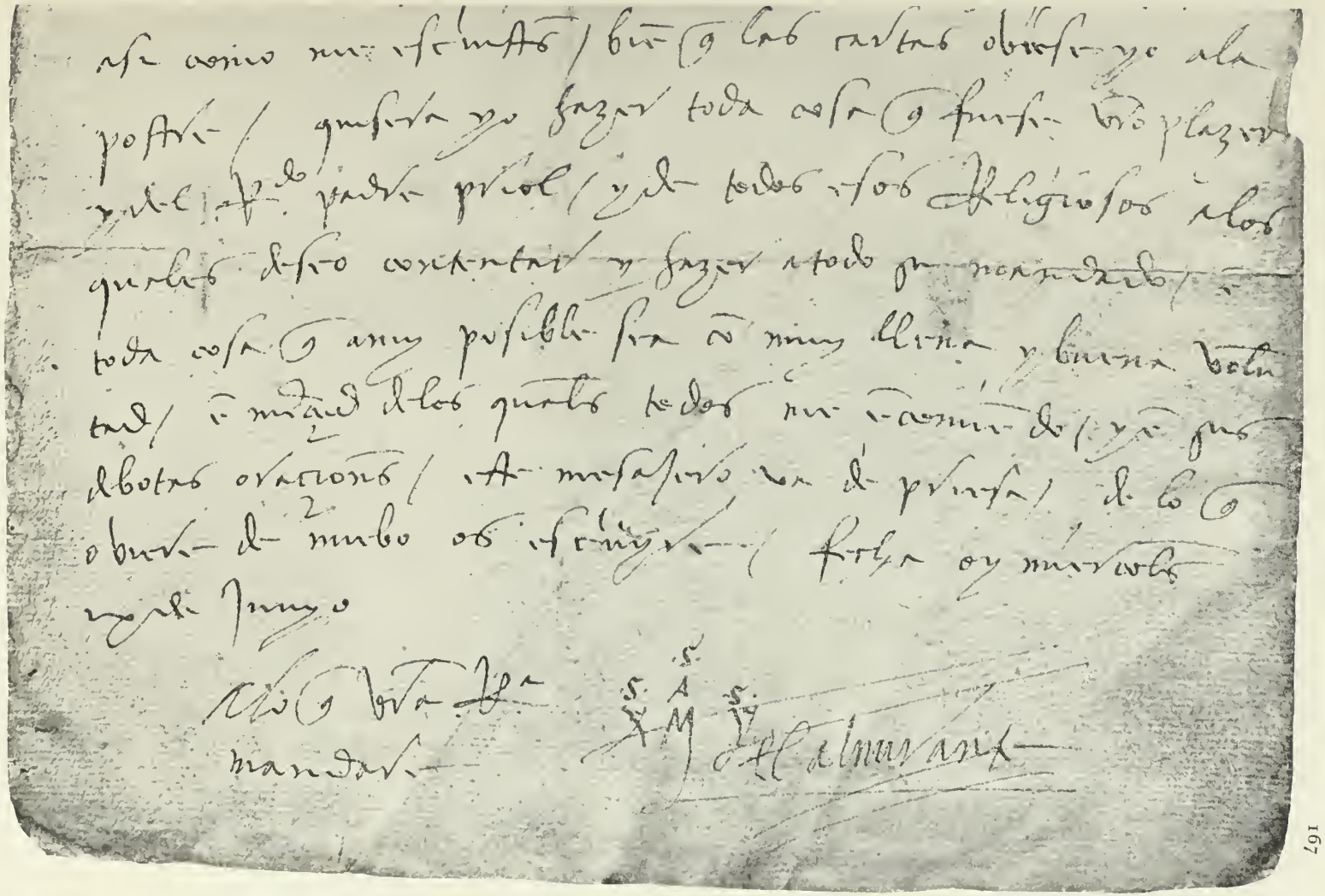
[Address]

"To the reverend and very devout father Friar Don Gaspar at Las Cuevas.

[On the back]: "Received at Seville the 28th of the said month and year 1501. [At the beginning it bears the contraction: .6. f.]"

NO. XI. LETTER WRITTEN BY CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS TO FATHER DON GASPAR GORRICIO

As this letter indicates, the commission intrusted to this good priest by Columbus was speedily executed and, probably at some date about a week previous, the Admiral received the copy of his Majorat. We imagine the document mentioned as composed by Father Gaspar is none other than his opinion as to the rights of Columbus. The Queen is, as ever, favourable to the Admiral and gives him assurance that his titles and prerogatives will be maintained.



No. XI. Holograph Letter, Signed by Christopher Columbus, to Father Don Gaspar Gorricio.
[*Archives, House of Alba, Madrid.*]

NO. XI.

Transliteration

"Reberendo y muy deboto padre. Receby todas vuestras cartas y el traslado del mayorazgo. la Reyna n. s. me diso que queria ver de espacio vuestra escritura la qual es muy buena y bien consolatiba. en las cosas de las indyas se intende mas non hay fasta oy niguna determinacion para que yo os pueda dezir cosa cierta, saluo que s. a. me diseron que non me seria tocado de my hazienda ny oficios, es muy cierta que merced esperaba y espero. en mi escritura non entendi despues, y por esto non os la enbio. fray pedro estubo aqui y se fue. en no me dar el carta vuestra me parecio cosa nueba y quede sospenso

Translation

XI.

"Reverend and very devout father:

"I received all your letters and the copy of the majorat. The Queen, our Lady, told me that she would like to see your document at leisure, which is very good and exceedingly consoling. The affairs of the Indies are more in agreement. Up to the present no determination has been reached in order that I can tell you anything certain, except that her Highness told me that my property and titles would not be touched. It is very sure that I expected and expect favours. I did not occupy myself with my document afterwards, and on that account did not send it to you. Father Pedro was here and went away. It appeared to me something new when he did not give me your letter and I thus remained in suspense

asi como me escriuistes, bien que las cartas obiese yo a la postre. quisera yo hazer toda cosa que fuese vuestro plazer y del reberendo padre priol y de todos esos religiosos a los quales deseo çontentar y hazer a todo su mandado. en toda cosa que amy posible sea con muy llena y buena voluntad en merced de los quales todos me encomiendo y en sus debotas oraciones. este mensajero va de priesa de lo que oviere de nuebo os escriuyre. fecha oy miercoles ix de Junyo a lo que vuestra r. a mandare.

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
el Almirante.

[Sobre]

"Al reberendo y deboto padre fray don gaspar en las cuebas en sebilla.

[En las espaldas]: "Fecha en Granada en ix de Junio 1501. Recibida en 21 del dicho mes. [Al principio lleva la cifra. .s. e.]"

XI.

until you wrote me, although I had the letters at last. I would wish to do everything that might be for your pleasure and that of the reverend father Prior and of all those monks whom I desire to please and to do their will in everything which may be possible for me with most entire good-will. I commend myself to the favour of them all and to their devout prayers. This messenger goes in haste on account of what I shall have new to write you. Done to-day, Wednesday, June 9. At the command of your Reverence.

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
el Almirante.

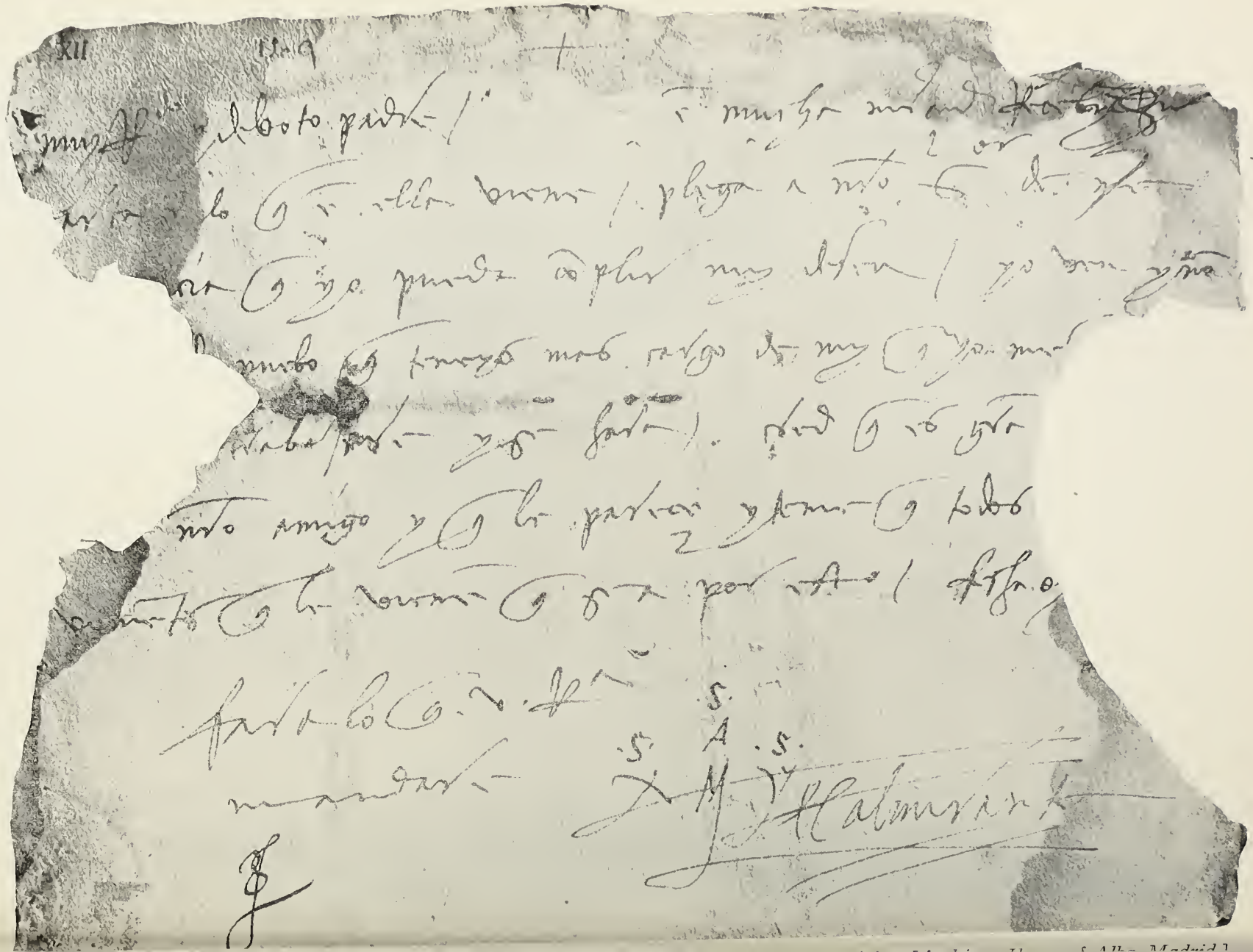
[Address]

"To the reverend and devout father Friar Don Gaspar at Las Cuevas at Seville.

[On the back]: "Done in Granada, June 9, 1501. Received the 21st of the said month. [At the beginning it bears the contraction: .s.e.]"

NO. XII. LETTER WRITTEN BY CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS TO FATHER DON GASPAR GORRICIO

This letter is so mutilated that its continuity is broken beyond our ability to reconstruct it. We simply assign it to the period in which the preceding letters were written, while Columbus was with the Court at Granada in the spring or early summer of 1501, and while he was in frequent correspondence with Father Gaspar in Seville.



NO. XII.

Transliteration

"Muy re.^{do} y deboto padre. En mucha merced receby . . . carta y lo que en ella viene, plega a n. s. de me . . . acia que yo pueda complir my deseo. yo veo y non . . . nuebo que teneis mas cargo de mi que yo mi[smo] . . . trabajare y se hara. cred que es gran . . . nuestro amigo y que le parece que todos . . . venientes que le vienen que sea por esto. fecha oy. . . . para lo que V. R. mandare.

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
el Almirante.

[Sobre]

"Al rev.^{do} y muy deboto padre fray don gaspar.

[Maltrada por ambas márgenes. Al principio la cifra .15. q. Falta la fecha (1501?).]"

Translation

XII.

"Very reverend and devout father:

"As a great favour I received . . . letter and that which is contained therein, may it please our Lord to . . . me . . . until I can fulfil my desire. I see and not . . . . new that you have more charge of me than I my[self]. . . . I will work and it will be done. Believe that it is great . . . our friend and that it appears to him that all . . . comers that come to him that it may be for that. Done today. . . . At the command of your Reverence.

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
el Almirante.

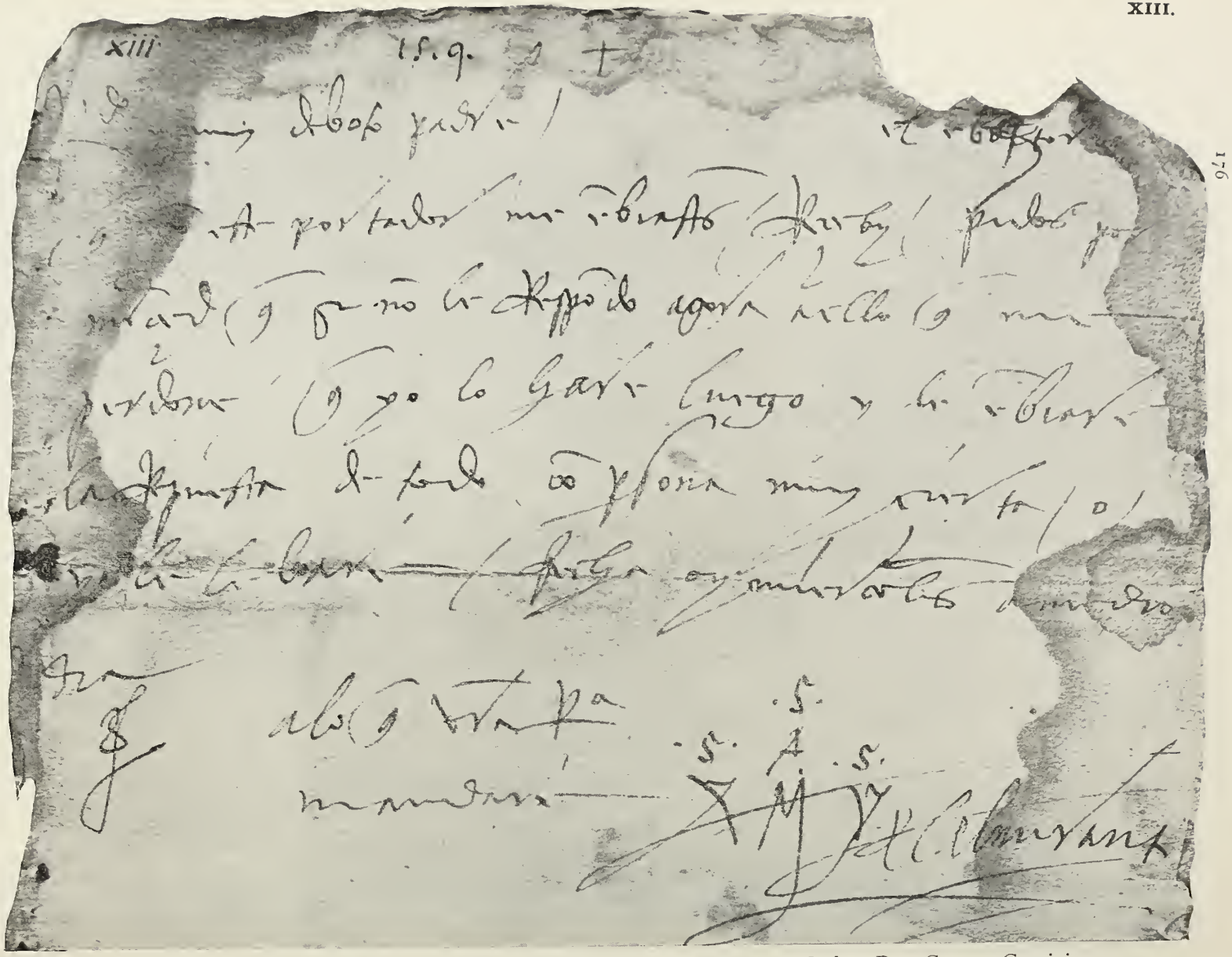
[Address]

"To the reverend and very devout father Friar Don Gaspar.

[Mutilated on both margins. At the beginning is the contraction: .15.q. The date is lacking (1501?).]"

NO. XIII.

This letter also we assign to the period included in the last five. It is endorsed on the back *from Seville*, which is difficult to understand, since there would be small need of epistolary correspondence if both the Admiral and Father Gaspar were in Seville. However, the letter has no importance.



No. XIII. Holograph Letter, Signed by Christopher Columbus, to Father Don Gaspar Gorricio.
[*Archives. House of Alba, Madrid.*]

NO. XIII.

Transliteration

"Reverendo y muy devoto padre. El emboltorio que con este portador me enviastes recebí pidos por merced que si non le respondo agora a ello que me perdone que yo lo hare luego y le enviaré la respuesta de todo con persona muy cierta o yo la lebare. fecha oy miercoles a medio dia.

"a lo que vuestra reverencia mandare.

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
el Almirante.

[Sobre]

"Al reverendo y muy deboto padre fray don gaspar en las cuebas.

[En las espaldas]: "De seuilla 14 [tachado] 1501. [Al principio, la cifra .15. q.]"

Translation

XIII.

"Reverend and very devout father:

"I received the enclosure that you sent me by this bearer. I beg you as a favour to pardon me if I do not reply to it now, as I will do so presently and will send a reply to everything by a very safe person or I will take it. Done to-day, Wednesday, at noon.

"At the command of your Reverence.

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
el Almirante.

[Address]

"To the reverend and very devout father friar Don Gaspar at Las Cuevas.

[On the back]: "From Seville 14th [blotted] 1501. [At the beginning, the contraction .15. q.]"

NO. XIIII. LETTER WRITTEN BY CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS TO THE TREASURER MORALES

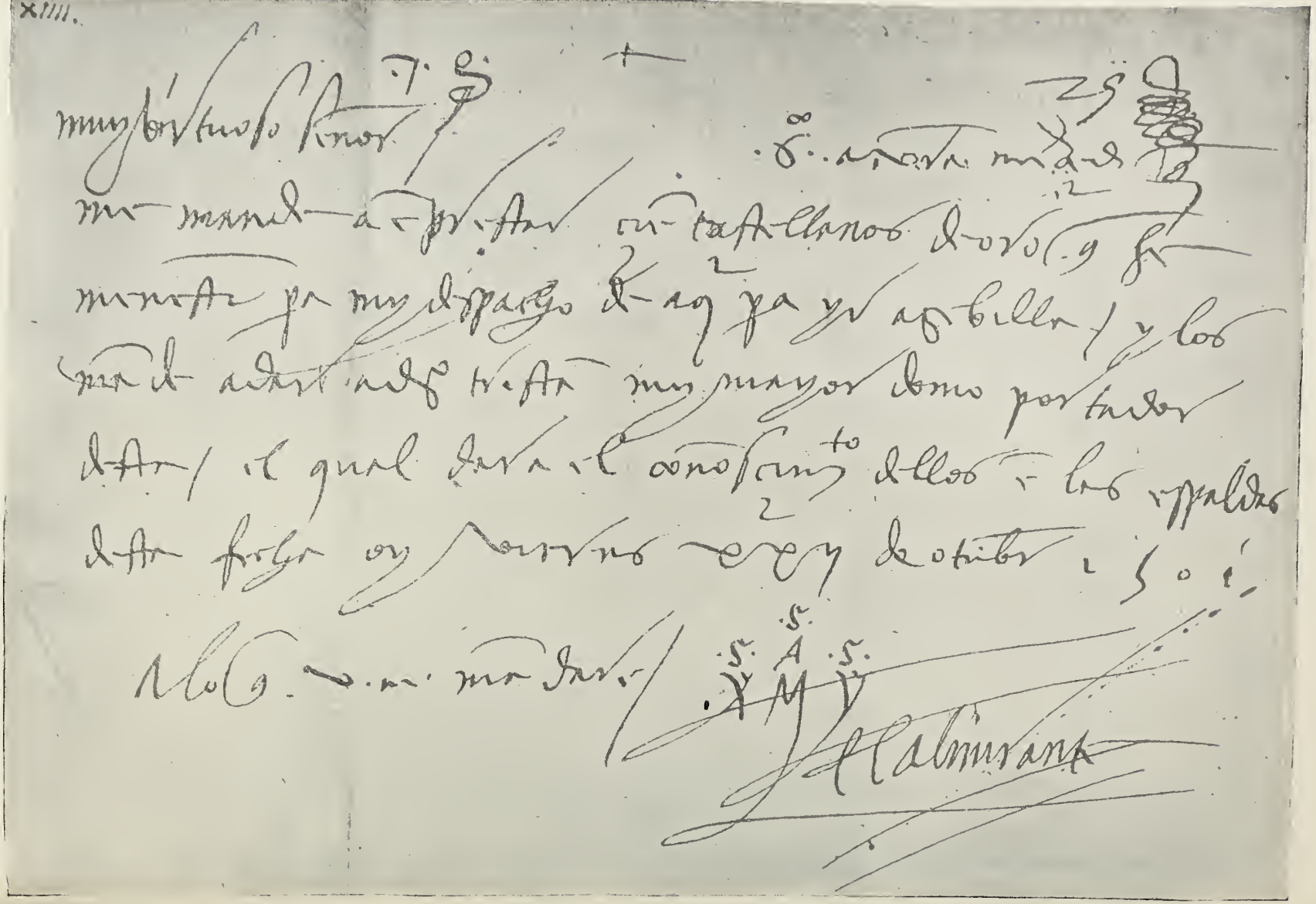
The Admiral writes this letter in all probability from Granada. The Court had long been there. On the following day the Treasurer Morales advanced the money, and, as the Treasurer usually followed the Court, the prompt answer indicates that the several parties to the transaction were in the same city.

Diego Tristan was captain of the ship *Capitana* on the fourth voyage. In his interesting relation, Diego Mendez narrates how this brave captain met his death in the fulfilment of his orders. The Admiral, on April 6, 1503, was preparing to depart with the two ships remaining of the fleet from the river Belem. Diego Mendez and twenty of his men were encamped on the shore, guarding the effects of the expedition, when Diego Tristan, with two small boats and twelve men, came from the ships for the purpose of getting water. There had occurred on that very day a severe fight between the men ashore and the Indians, and Mendez used every effort to dissuade Tristan from ascending the river. The ships were greatly in need of water, and the latter decided to make the attempt. The Indians at once attacked them and Tristan and his devoted little band were massacred, save one alone, who escaped to the ships.

It was only on the fourth voyage that Columbus ever lost a single man of his many expeditions. While some were killed on the shores of Veragua, they were not in immediate charge of the Admiral himself. On this particular occasion he was on board his ship, preparing the three remaining vessels for escape from the unfriendly shores.

The memorandum made by the Admiral at the bottom of the letter shows that when, later, he receipted to the Treasurer for 150,000 maravedis, there were taken out therefrom the one hundred castellanos here advanced by Morales in answer to the letter.

XIIII.



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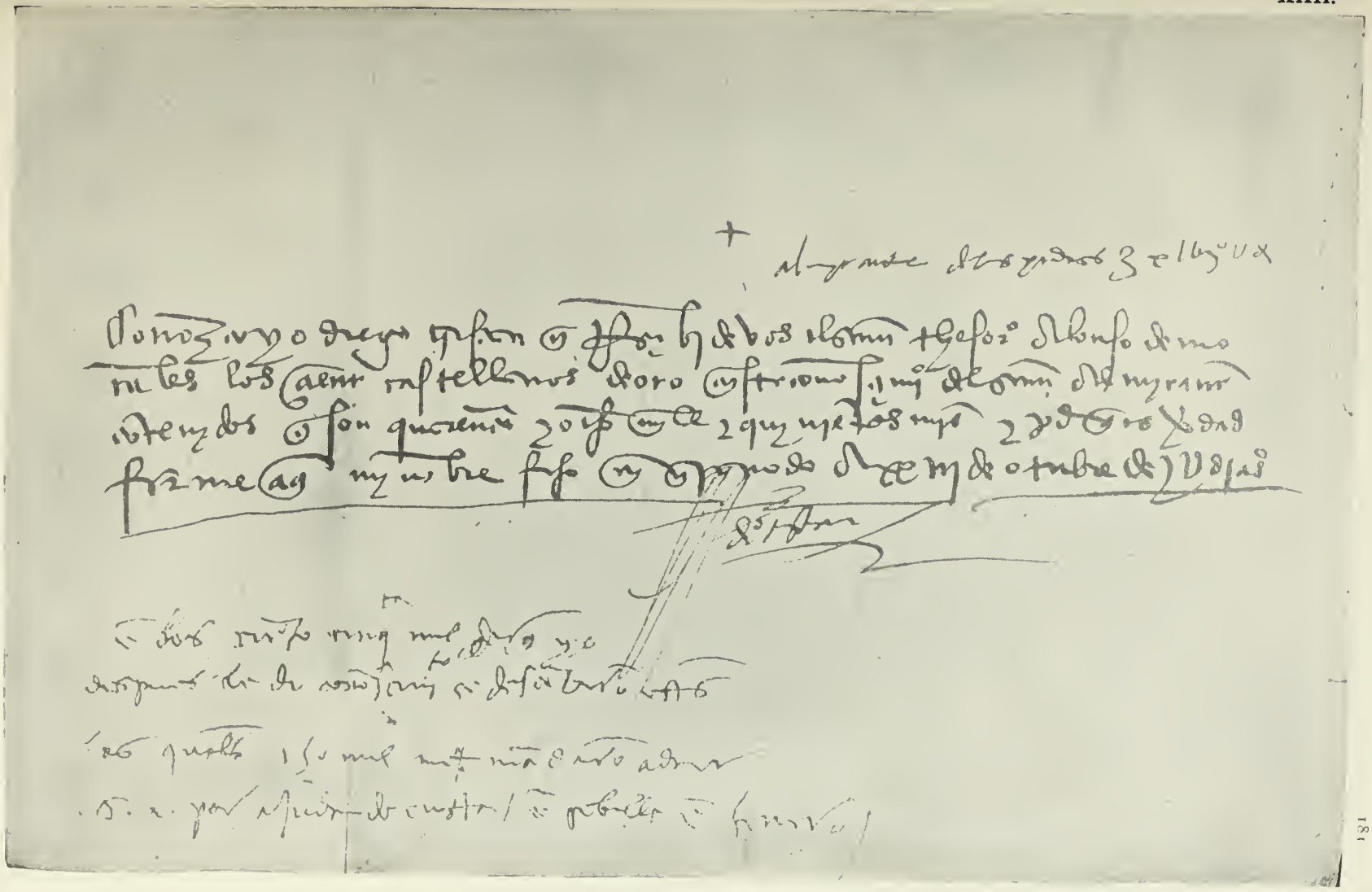


No. XIIII. Holograph Letter of Columbus Signed **The Admiral,** *Addressed to the Treasurer Alonzo de Morales, as Appears from the Endorsement by Diego Tristan, Dated October 22, 1501. A Holograph Document Accompanies this Letter Explaining the Disposition of Certain Money.* [*Archives, House of Alba, Madrid.*]

NO. XIIII.

Transliteration

"Muy virtuoso señor: suplico á Vuestra Merçed que me mande á esprestar cien castellanos de oro que he menester para my despacho de aquí para yr á Sebilla, y los mande á dar á Diego Tristán, my mayordomo, portador d' esta, el qual dará el conosçimiento d'ellos en las espaldas d'esta.

"Fecha oy viernes .xxii. de otubre. 1501.

"Á lo que Vuestra Merced mandare.

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
El Almirante.

Translation

XIIII.

"Very Virtuous sir: "I entreat Your Worship to send me the loan of 100 gold castellanos which I need here to prepare myself to go to Seville, and to send them by Diego Tristán, my majordomo, the bearer of this, who will give you the receipt for them on the back of this.

"Done to-day, Friday, October 22, 1501.

"At the command of Your Worship.

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
The Admiral.

"En los ciento cinquenta mil de que yo después le dí conoscimiento, se descontaron estos, los quales .150. mil me mandaron á dar Sus Altezas por aiuda de custa en Sebilla en henero."

XIIII a.

"From the 150,000, for which I afterwards gave him a receipt, these were deducted, which 150,000 their Highnesses sent to give me, to help pay expenses in Seville in January."

NO. XV. HOLOGRAPH DOCUMENT COPIED BY CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS FROM AN OPINION RESPECTING HIS LEGAL RIGHTS

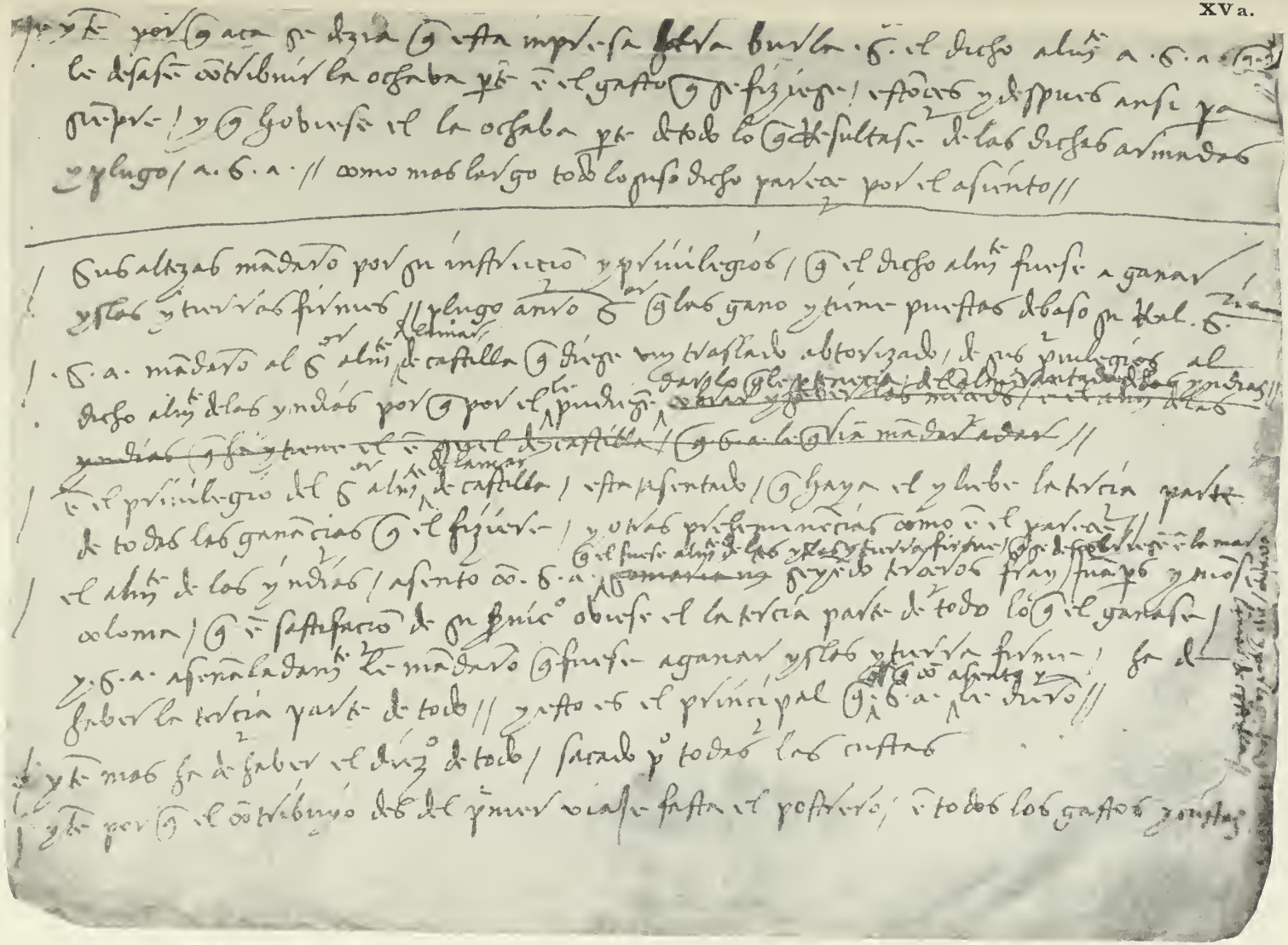
We have three separate written opinions respecting the legal rights, powers, and privileges of the Admiral. These differ in matter and treatment. The present we are inclined to regard as the opinion of Father Don Gaspar Gorricio, who, while a priest, is believed to have been trained in the law, and to have performed the functions pertaining to a certain semi-legal and semi-ecclesiastical office in the Order to which he belonged. In some of his letters, Columbus urges him to send him a copy of his privileges. In a letter dated from Granada, February 26 (1501), and written to Father Don Gaspar Gorricio, the Admiral acknowledges the receipt of an important document, for the composition of which he thanks the Father. This document was intended to be transmitted to the Sovereigns, or at least to the Queen; and because it was not in quite as rounded and clerical a hand as the Admiral thought desirable, he returned it to be reinscribed. He made a copy in his own hand, and we imagine this is the paper we now have before us. Manifestly it is not as strong or forceful an exposition as the document which Columbus finally incorporated in his *Book of Privileges* and which defined his legal rights.

It is not the clear, cold exposition made by a lawyer on an abstract question of law. The personal, friendly, familiar element is present. The author is moved to record the perils to which Columbus and his brothers were subjected as entitling him to consideration. He recites the injury the Admiral has had to his pride, to his humiliation at seeing the administration of the office in the hands of another. Sentiment is to interpret his rights. Altogether, it seems to us the kind of opinion likely to emanate from a friendly counsellor not very learned in the law, and yet not totally ignorant of its great principles. It, of course, preceded the making of the *Book of Privileges* and the undertaking of the fourth voyage. After January, 1502, when Columbus incorporated into his *Book* the formal legal opinion there expressed, the opinion of Father Gaspar, or of the author of this document, would have no value. Moreover, if the fourth voyage had already taken place, the perils to which Columbus and his brothers had been subjected would have been made to include the younger son Ferdinand, who was with his father on his final expedition.

XV

ẽ nobre del almt de los yndios

Diego Caltpo Cel vino a. C. a. ẽ la imprisa de los yndios / C el dicho dixo
por vn memorial / mucha cosas / y fray Juã pz / y mosẽ colom / los
quales ẽtendra ẽ esto por mãdado d. C. a. // E. ẽ cõtrario C el fiscal ẽ su almt
de~~sqzcas y muerta~~ ~~ẽ C el~~ ~~ẽ~~ ~~de la mar~~ ~~C~~ ~~de~~ ~~ẽ~~
~~del mar oceano / el qual mediante~~ ~~C~~ ~~de~~ ~~ẽ~~
~~de los yslas del cabo verde a guinea / de polo a polo /// cõ todas~~
los mandó / C Diego tiene el C almt de castilla el dicho oficio ẽ su distrito
yt. C el dicho almt fiscal pide y requiere / general de todas las yslas
y tierra firme C ẽ ~~el nombre de la dicha tierra~~ / y C protesta de todos
los oficios ẽ la mar y ẽ la tierra /
yt por el dicho almt dixo / C lo C. C. a. daba el C almt de castilla / C era
~~dicho~~ C el ha ayudado persona cierta / y gastado sus bienes y daba las indias y islas mismas
poder C. C el dicho mdo el dicho de todo / y pidio. a. C. a. sacado p los cuatro
yt C. C. a. C. E. dixo ẽ ~~ẽ~~ poner vn juez ẽ ~~ẽ~~ / ya ẽtendido ẽ los casos de los yndios
respondido C si C tenencia el tal oficio de almt y fiscal justo



No. XV. Holograph Document Copied by Columbus from an Opinion Regarding his Legal Rights, not Signed.
[*Archives, House of Alba, Madrid.*]

NO. XV.

XV.

Transliteration

"En nombre del almirante de las yndias:

"digo que al tiempo que el vino a s.a. con la impresa de las yndias, que el demandaba por vm memorial muchas cosas y fray juan perez y mosen coloma, los quales entendian en esto por mandado de s.a. le concertaron que le fiziesen su almirante de las yslas y tierra firme que descobriesen en la mar oceana, y non de la mar, saluo de la tierra [del mar oceano el qual marcaron por una linea que pasa de septentrion en abstro de las yslas del cabo verde aquelas de los açores de polo a polo] con todas las mercedes, e segun tiene el señor almirante de la mar de castilla el dicho oficio en su distrito.

"ytem que el dicho almirante fuese visorrey y gobernador general de todas las islas y tieras firmes que son [al poniente de la dicha linea] en el mar oceano, y que proveyese de todos los oficios en la mar y en la tierra.

"ytem porque el dicho almirante decia que lo que s.a. daban al señor almirante de castilla, que era poco, diziendo que el yba a poner su persona a ventura y gastaba sus dineros y daba las yndias a s.a. que dellas mesmas demandaba satisfacion, que le diesen mas el diezmo de todo, y plugo a s.a. sacan do pero las custas.

"ytem suplico a s.a. que le desasen poner juez aca para entender en las cosas de las yndias: respondieron que sí, si pertenecia al tal oficio de almirante y si fuese justo.

Translation

"In the name of the Admiral of the Indies:

"I say that at the time he came to your Highness with the undertaking of the Indies, that he demanded many things by a memorandum and Friar Juan Perez and Mosen Coloma, who by command of your Highness were employed in this matter, agreed with him that they would make him your Admiral of the islands and mainland which he might discover in the Ocean-sea, and not of the sea, save of the land [of the Ocean-sea which they marked by a line which passes from north to south from the Cape Verde islands [to ?] those of the Azores from pole to pole], with all the privileges, and according as the Lord Admiral of Castile possesses the said office in his territory.

"Item, that the said Admiral should be Viceroy and Governor General of all the islands and mainlands which are [to the west of the said line] in the Ocean-sea, and that he should profit by all the offices on sea and on land.

"Item, as the said Admiral said that what was given to the Lord Admiral of Castile was of small account, stating that he was going to put his life in danger and was spending his moneys and giving the Indies to your Highness, he demanded in satisfaction for this that furthermore the tenth of everything should be given to him, and it pleased your Highness, first deducting the costs however.

"Item, he entreated your Highness to allow him to place a judge there to arrange the affairs of the Indies: they replied yes, if it belonged to the said office of Admiral and if it was just.

"ytem porque aca se decia que esta impresa hera burla, suplico el dicho almirante a s.a. que le desasen contribuir la ochava parte en el gasto que se fiziese entonces, y despues ansi para siempre y que, oviese el la ochava parte de todo lo que resultase de las dichas armadas, y plugo a s.a. como mas largo todo lo susodicho parece por el asiento.

"sus altezas mandaron por su instruccion y priuilegios que el dicho almirante fuese a ganar yslas y tierras firmes. plugo a nro. señor que las gano y tiene puestas debaso su real señorio.

"S.a. mandaron al sor. almirante de mar de castilla que diese un traslado abtorizado de sus priuilegios al dicho almirante de las yndias por que por el le pudiesen dar lo que le pertenecia del almirantado de las yndias [cobrar y haber las mercedes en el almirantado de las yndias que ha tiene el en el de castilla] que s.a. le queria mandar a dar.

"en el privilegio del sor. almirante de castilla esta asentado que haya el y liebe la tercia parte de todas las ganancias que el ficiere y otras preheminencias, como en el parece.

"el almirante de las yndias asento con s.a. que el fuese almirante de las yslas y tierra firme que se descobriesen en la mar

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"Item, because it was said here that this undertaking would be a hoax, the said Admiral entreated your Highness to allow him to contribute the eighth part of the expense which should be then incurred, and in the same manner afterward forever, and that he should have the eighth part of all that should result from the said fleets, and it pleased your Highness, as all the aforesaid appears more at length by the contract.

"Their Highnesses ordered by their instructions and privileges that the said Admiral should go to gain islands and mainlands. It pleased our Lord that he gained them and he has placed them under your Royal dominion.

"Her Highness ordered the Lord Admiral of the sea of Castile that he should give an authorised copy of his privileges to the said Admiral of the Indies in order that by means of that they could give him what pertained to him from the Admiralship of the Indies [to recover and possess the prerogatives in the Admiralship of the Indies which the Admiral of Castile has and possesses in that of Castile], which Her Highness desires to order to be given him.

"In the privilege of the Lord Admiral of Castile it is agreed that he is to have and enjoy the third part of all the gains which he shall make and other pre-eminences, as appears in the privilege.

"The Admiral of the Indies agreed with her Highness that he should be Admiral of the islands and mainland which should be discovered in

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oceana, así y por la guisa que es . . . la mar de castilla. seyendo terceros fray juan perez y mosen coloma, que en satisfacion de su servicio oviese el la tercia parte de todo lo que el ganase, y s.a. aseñaladmente le mandaron que fuese a ganar yslas y tierra firme: ha de haber la tercia parte de todo y esto es el principal que s.a. asento y le dieron.

" ytem mas ha de haber el diezmo de todo, sacado pero las custas.

"ytem porque el contribuyo desdel primer viaje fasta el postrero en todos los gastos y custas

the Ocean-sea in the same manner and form as is . . . the sea of Castile, Friar Juan Perez and Mosen Coloma being the intermediaries: that in satisfaction for his service he should have the third part of all that he gained and their Highnesses signally ordered him to go and gain islands and mainland: he is to have the third part of everything and this is the principal thing that their Highnesses agreed and that they gave him.

"Item, further he is to have the tenth of everything, after the expenses are deducted.

"Item, as he contributed from the first voyage until the last, to all the costs and expenses

Q̃ fue fecho dos del año de 92 / ~~fasta~~ Q̃ el descobrio las dichas yslas y tierra firme
fasta agora Q̃ los acabo de poner debaxo su dicha S̃a // e fleto de nabios e gruesa de
mar muertos / e todos los mas aduersos Q̃ se ha habido y gastado / y en gruesa de la gente
de guerra Q̃ se ha estado en la dicha conquista / e todo se contribuydo / y puesto su persona tan
to en todos pegos / y de sus fres // es verdad Q̃ d. q. a. la se fecho mida y gasta en la
dicha contribuyçion // por Q̃ fasta oy no se dexado ninguna cosa de renta ny de
probecho / por Q̃ yo del dicho tercio ny otro bo ny duz // tiene y se de saber el ogano
de todo lo Q̃ se y sabra en las dichas yslas y tierra firme / lo qual con el dicho arlado d. q. a. en burgos / por
intrusion de don de portugal / y el otro el talauera / y el de la parra // no en dicho en el tre / por Q̃ no tenia el pue de
dicho Q̃ el dicho almi descobrio y gano / a. d. q. a. las yslas y tierra firme Q̃ son allende de
linea sobre dicha en la mar oceano / y las se sabido por su mano e industria / y de
sinores dellas / de las quales no se era anto // por Q̃ en su mano estaba del dicho
almi / de mas de dos mill q̃ / de las dar a qual quier persona con quien el se con
tase / y quien ya se ganadas / y el aventuro su persona y de sus fres / y bino de
en hijos e sirvio d. q. a. / y se gastado / doby / anos los mejores de su vida en ello
sin ningun probecho fasta agora // en primero se de saber la tercia pte y la ogabo
pte y la decima pte de todo ello y del quento / se en las dichas yslas y tierra firme
por Q̃ ellos ya estan ganadas / y todo lo Q̃ de aq en adelante se fiziere / ya no
es ya las ganar / solamente es ya las agradar y saber probecho dellas
en todos los gastos Q̃ se fiziere el contribuyra / y protesta de contribuir / etc.

q̃ fuere obligado / ya dspues q̃ estouiere lo q̃ esta ganado / y fuere su parte
/ y le digo q̃ segũ el aguerto del derecho abra de dexar de q̃ el fa de dexir y gouernar las
dichas yslas y tierras como dicho es / y la mar como dicho es / ynũ otra ysona / y q̃
si algo obiere q̃ probar ẽ la justicia ofrezida / q̃ el fa de fazer vn memorial
dello / y le dspachar ẽ. q̃. a. como fasta aq̃ fa fecho / y. cõplir la instruccõ
q̃ dello le mandara dar. q̃. a. / y nõ otra ysona / por q̃ allẽ de estar ansi
por aguerto / es justo q̃ el lo faga por la parte q̃ esta negociacio tiene
y el qual nõ acabara de tomar esta empresa si el nõ la obiere de dexir
gouernar / por q̃ nõ esperara de saber dello nada / ny q̃ nadi tubiese
posesiõ del nego. aberiguara ahallegar al cabo / como esta esperimentado q̃ en syete años q̃ la
estouo por fuerza cõ mucho peligo de su ysona alla y mucha despensa non
por q̃ alla y aca todos dizen q̃ era burla // ansi q̃ nõ gouernãdo el derecho
agrabio y dano ẽ sus oficios y fazienda / ynũ se lleba la forma del capitulado //

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que se han fecho desdel año de 92 que el descobrio las dichas yslas y tierra firme fasta agora que las acabo de poner debaso su real señorio, en fletes de nabios, en sueldo de marinerose, en todas las mercadurias que se han lebado y gastado y en el sueldo de la gente de gerra que han estado en la dicha conquista, en todo ha contribuydo y puesto su persona tanto tiempo en tantos perigos y de sus hermanos. es verdad que s.a. le han fecho merced y ajuda en la dicha contribucion, porque fasta oy non ha recibido ninguna cosa de renta ny de provecho por razon del dicho tercio ny ochavo ni diezmo: tiene y ha de haber el ochavo de todo lo que hay y habra en las dichas yslas y tierra firme, lo cual con el diezmo aclaro s.a. en Burgos por intercesion de don Aluaro de portugal y el dotor de talauera y juan de la parra. non entendieron en el tercio porque non tenian el priuilegio del señor almirante de castilla, por lo qual le enbiaron a mandar que lo diese.

"digo que el dicho almirante descobrio y gano a s.a. las yslas y tiera firme que son allen de la linea sobredicha en la mar oceano y las han habido por su mano e industria y son señores dellas, de las quales non lo eran antes, por que en su mano estaba del dicho almirante, despues de dios nro. Sor. de las dar a qualquier princepe con quien el se

which have been incurred from the year '92 when he discovered the said islands and mainland until now when he has finished placing them beneath your Royal dominion, for fleets of vessels, for wages of sailors, for all the merchandise which has been carried and expended and for the payment of soldiers who have taken part in the said conquest, as he has contributed to everything and has so many times placed his person in so many dangers, as well as the persons of his brothers—it is true that their Highnesses have granted him favour and aid in the said contribution—and as up to the present he has not received anything in rent or profit on account of the said third or eighth or tenth, he has and is to have the eighth of everything which there is and will be in the said islands and mainland in regard to which [together with the tenth] he explained to their Highnesses in Burgos by means of Don Alvaro de Portugal and the Doctor Talavera and Juan de la Parra. They did not understand about the third as they did not recall the Privileges of the Lord Admiral of Castile, on which account they sent to him to order that it should be given to him.

"I say that the said Admiral discovered and gained for their Highnesses the islands and mainland which are beyond the aforesaid line in the Ocean-sea and they have possessed them by reason of his hand and industry and are Lords over them, which they were not previously, for it was in the power of the said Admiral, after God, our

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concertase, y pues ya son ganadas y el abenturo su persona y de sus hermanos y vino de tan leysos a seruir s.a. y ha gastado xvij años los mejores de su vida, en ello, sin ningun probecho fasta agora, le pertenece y ha de haber la tercia parte y la ochava parte y la decima parte de todo ello y de cuanto ha en las dichas yslas y tierra firme, porque ellas ya estan ganadas, y todo lo que de aqui en adelante se ficiere ya non es para las ganar, solamente es para las grangear y haber provecho dellas.

Lord, to give them to any Prince with whom he might come to an agreement, and since they are already gained and he has risked his person and the persons of his brothers and since he came from such a distance to serve their Highnesses and has spent seventeen years, the best of his life, in this affair without any profit up to the present time, it belongs to him and he is to have the third part and the eighth part and the tenth part of everything and of whatever there is in the said islands and mainland, for they are already acquired, and all that is to be done from now henceforth will not be for the purpose of acquiring them, but is only to obtain profits and benefits from them.

"y en todos los gastos que se ficieren el contribuyra y protesta de contribuir en lo

"And in all the expenses which shall be incurred he will contribute and gives assurance that he will contribute

que fuere obligado para sostener lo que esta ganado y hauer su parte.

"ytem digo que, segun el asiento del dicho almirante de las yndias, se intende que el ha de regir y governar las dichas yslas y tierras como almirante visorrey y governador, y non otra persona, y que si algo oviese que prover en la justicia o hazienda, que el ha de hazer un memorial dello y le despachar con s.a. como fasta aqui ha fecho, y complir la instrucion que dello le mandaran a dar s.a., y no otra persona, porque allen de estar ansi por asiento, es justo que el lo haga, por la parte que en esta negociacion tiene, y el qual non acebtara de tomar esta inpresa si el non la oviera de regir governar, porque non esperara de haber della nada, ny que nadi tubiera sofrimiento, ny se abenturara a le llegar al cabo como se ha yspirimentado, que ha seys años que la sostiene por fuerça con mucho perigo de su persona alla y mucha desajuda aca, porque alla y aca todos dezian que era burla, ansi que non governando el recibe agrabio y daño en sus oficios y hazienda y non se lieba la forma del capitulado.

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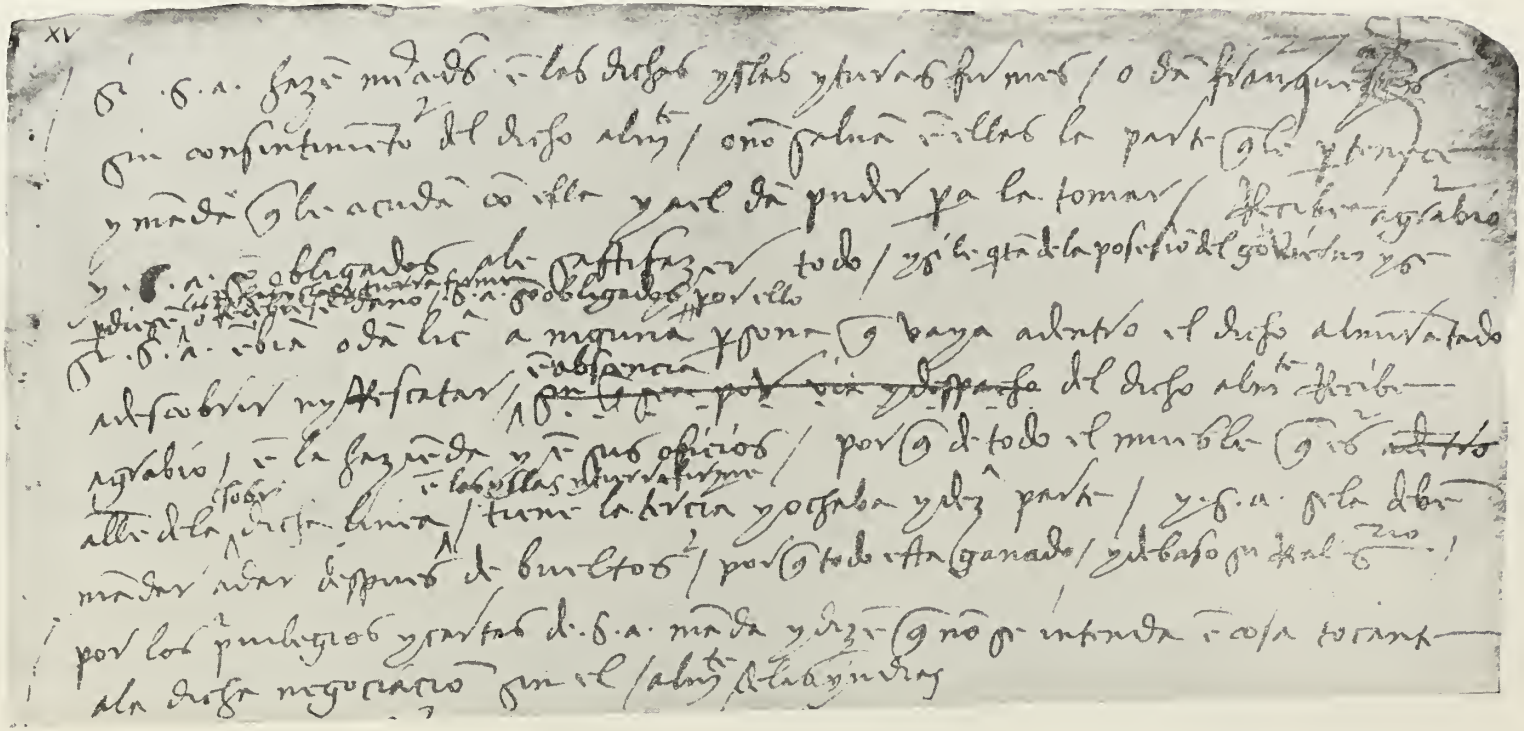
whatever shall be necessary to sustain what is acquired and to have his part.

"Item, I say that according to the contract of the said Admiral of the Indies, it is understood that he is to rule and govern the said islands and lands as Admiral, Viceroy and Governor and no other person, and that if he has to prove anything in the matter of justice or of property, he must make a memorandum of it and despatch it to their Highnesses as he has done up to the present time and fulfil the instructions which their Highnesses shall send and give to him in regard to it, and no other person; for, besides having been thus agreed upon it is just that he should do this on account of the part which he has in this affair and as he would not have agreed to undertake this enterprise if he was not to rule and govern because he would not otherwise expect to receive anything from it or that any one should have tolerance nor would he have ventured to carry it to an end as has been done. He has continued in this condition for six years with much danger to his person there and much hindrance here, because both yonder and here every one said that it was a hoax, so that in not acting as governor he is injured and damaged in his offices and property and the form of the capitulation is not carried out.



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"Si s.a. hazen mercedes en las dichas yslas y tierras firmes o dan franquezas sin consentimiento del dicho almirante, o non saluan en ellas la parte que le pertenece y manda que le acudan con ella, y a el dan puder para la tomar, recibe agravio y s.a. son obligados a le satisfazer todo; ysi le quitan de la posesion del gobierno y se perdiesen las dichas yslas y tierra firme o recibiese daño, s.a. son obligados por ello.

"Si s.a. enbian o dan licencia a niguna persona que vaya adentro el dicho almirantado a descobrir ny rescatar en absencia del dicho almirante, recibe agrabio en la hacienda y en sus oficios, porque de todo el mueble que es allen de la sobredicha linea en las yslas y tierra firme tiene la tercia y ochava y dezena parte, y s.a. se la deben mandar a dar despues de bueltos, porque todo esta ganado y debaso su real señorio.

"por los priuilegios y cartas de s.a. manda y dizen que non se intenda en cosa tocante a la dicha negociacion sin el almirante de las yndias.

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"If their Highnesses grant privileges in the said islands and mainlands or give franchises without the consent of the said Admiral, or do not reserve the part which belongs to him and order that it shall be bestowed upon him and give him power to take it, he receives injury and their Highnesses are obliged to satisfy him for everything: and if they take from him the possession of the governorship and the said islands and mainland should be lost or he should be damaged, their Highnesses are under obligation for it.

"If their Highnesses send or give licence to any person to go into the said Admiralship to make discoveries or barter in the absence of the said Admiral he is damaged in his property and in his offices because of all the properties which are beyond the aforesaid line on the islands and mainland he has the third and eighth and tenth part and their Highnesses must order that it shall be given to him after the return of such persons, because everything is gained and under their royal dominion.

"By the privileges and letters of their Highnesses they order and say that no subject respecting the said business shall be agreed upon without the consent of the Admiral of the Indies.

"s.a. agora que son descobiertas las yndias y pasado el peligro, fizieron merced a algunas personas que fuesen a tratar en ellas y que fuese suyo de seys parte las cinco, y la sexta parte quedase para s.a. y mas le dieron gobernacion de las tierras. Recibe el almirante en ello grande agravio.

"s. a. no dieron al almirante de las yndias saluo la tercia parte, y la decena a el que fue a le ganar y descobrir las yndias contra la opinion de todo el mundo, y el cual fizo la meytad del gasto y puso su persona, porque s. a. para este negocio no le quisieron dar mas de vm cuento, y a el fue necesario de prouer de medio, porque non abastaba para tal fecho; ansi que recibe agrabio y le debe de ser acudido con su parte, y de aqui en adelante le deben de ser guardadas sus preheminencias, porque, como dicho es, en todo el mueble de las yslas y tierra firme tiene el tercio, ochaba y diezmo ya ganado.

XV c.

"Now that the Indies are discovered and the danger is passed, their Highnesses granted permission to some persons to go and trade in the Indies and that out of six parts, five should belong to them and the sixth part should belong to their Highnesses and furthermore they gave them government over the lands. By this, the Admiral received a very great injury.

"Their Highnesses only gave the third and the tenth part to the Admiral of the Indies,—he who went to acquire and discover the Indies against the opinion of all the world, and who advanced half of the costs and risked his person, for their Highnesses would not give over a million for this affair and he was obliged to provide a half million, as a million was not enough for the undertaking. Thus he is injured and his part ought to be bestowed upon him and from now henceforth his pre-eminencies ought to be guarded, because, as has been said, out of all the riches of the islands and mainlands he has the third, eighth and tenth, already acquired.

XV

Traslado del cogneco q̃ fizero Frey Juã p[or] [illegible] sobre las cosa q̃
demandaua el S[eñ]or almy[rant]e al cõde q̃ vino a sub al[illegible] co vna petiçiõ ẽ
ellos sobre los agrauios q̃ le fezieron &

"s. a. dan a hojeda y a vicente eañes y a otros de seys partes de lo que ovieren en las yndias las cinco, y la governacion de las tierras. grande diferencia va en esto que agora que las yndias estan descobiertas y nabegadas y pasado los perigos a quando fue el almirante a las descobrir, de que dezia todo el mundo que era burla y emposible, y non le dieron saluo la tercera parte y el diezmo, que por el ochavo fue como compañia.

[On the back:]

"Traslado del concierto que fizieron frey juan peres e monsen coloma sobre las cosas que demandaua el señor almirante al tiempo que vino a sus al. con una petitio para ellos sobre los agrauios que recibio &"

XV d.

"Their Highnesses give to Hojeda and to Vincente Yañez and to others five parts out of six of what they shall obtain in the Indies and the government over the lands. There is a great difference in this now that the Indies are discovered and navigated and the dangers are passed from the time when the Admiral went to discover them when all the world said that it was a hoax and impossible and they only gave him the third and the tenth part, because the eighth was a matter of partnership.

"Copy of the agreement which father Juan Perez and Mosen Coloma made in regard to the things which the Lord Admiral demanded at the time when he came to their Highnesses with a petition for them about the injuries that he received and"

NO. XVI. HOLOGRAPH DOCUMENT OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, BEING A COPY OF AN OPINION RELATIVE TO HIS RIGHTS, POWERS, AND PRIVILEGES

This document—for although it has the form of a letter, it is simply a copy of a letter and therefore a document—begins with a contracted form of the invocation so often employed by Columbus—*Ihesus cum Maria sit nobis in via*—May Jesus with Mary be with us on the way! The remainder of the document seems to be a copy of a letter sent the Admiral by some lawyer whose opinion had been desired relative to his rights and privileges under the Capitulation and supplementary grants made him by the Sovereigns. It is interesting to note that whoever wrote this opinion had before him the originals or attested copies of the several Royal Cedulas, and, moreover, had an intimate knowledge of Columbus and his accomplished work. He had before him a copy of the Pope's Bull, and he interpreted it to mean that the Spanish rights, and therefore the rights of Columbus, began, not one hundred leagues west of the Azores, but directly after leaving the Azores, and that the line, or the pair of lines, were drawn from the islands of the Cape Verde group to those of the Azores. The points of his case are admirably set forth by the lawyer: Columbus was to be Admiral of the Ocean-sea, with all the rights, titles, privileges, and emoluments attaching to the office of High Admiral of Castile, the principal feature of which was the right to one third of all that should be found, discovered, or acquired: he was to be Viceroy of the New World, with power to govern and to fill all offices: he was to have the right to administer civil, military, and criminal justice with sovereign power: he was to have one tenth of all that was acquired in the regions over which he had control, after the expenses had been deducted: he was to have one eighth of everything obtained from any fleet going to the New World, provided he had contributed one eighth of the cost. These were his rights, and their strict enforcement was what he demanded of the Sovereigns. The lawyer then undertakes to show how this partnership is to be construed and the shares of the Admiral determined. He informs Columbus that he is entitled to his several proportions of the gains as if each were independent of the other: that is to say,

if the whole profits are represented by twelve hundred pieces of money, one third goes to him under the clause respecting the privileges of the High Admiral, thus giving him four hundred pieces: one tenth goes to him under the provisions of the Capitulation, thus bringing to him in this instance one hundred and twenty pieces: one eighth goes to him, assuming he contributed one eighth of the original expense, thus making his third source of revenue contribute one hundred and fifty pieces: the sum total, then, of this supposititious transaction would give the one partner—Columbus—670 pieces, and the Spanish Crown—the other partner—530 pieces. Apparently, when the Sovereigns granted Columbus the privileges and the emoluments of the office of High Admiral, they were not cognisant of the provision relative to the one third part of the profit, or else they construed this one third as confined to gains on the sea. The legal advisers of the Crown, even if they had to admit the legality of the claim of Columbus as to the one third share, insisted that of the net profits one tenth should first be deducted, and from the sum remaining the eighth should be subtracted, while from the result thus obtained the one third should be taken. In this way the somewhat larger share would go to the Crown.

The reader will find in the *Book of Privileges* a very elaborate legal opinion as to the rights and privileges of the Admiral. It may be a finished argument of which this was the first draft. It deals in legal terms and pronounces legal aphorisms. Among these latter and as *à propos* of the method to be employed in dividing the profits, he quotes the sentiment dear to the heart of the courtier,—*beneficia Principum sunt latissime interpretanda* —the favours of Princes are to be most liberally interpreted. That the Sovereigns were most liberally disposed is evident from their releasing the Admiral for three years from furnishing his eighth of the cost, while still permitting him one eighth of the profits. After all, however careless or prodigal the King and Queen had been, and however great the services rendered by the Sovereigns, a Royal partnership with a naturalised subject, in which the latter secures a larger share of profit than the former, seems incongruous and unfair.

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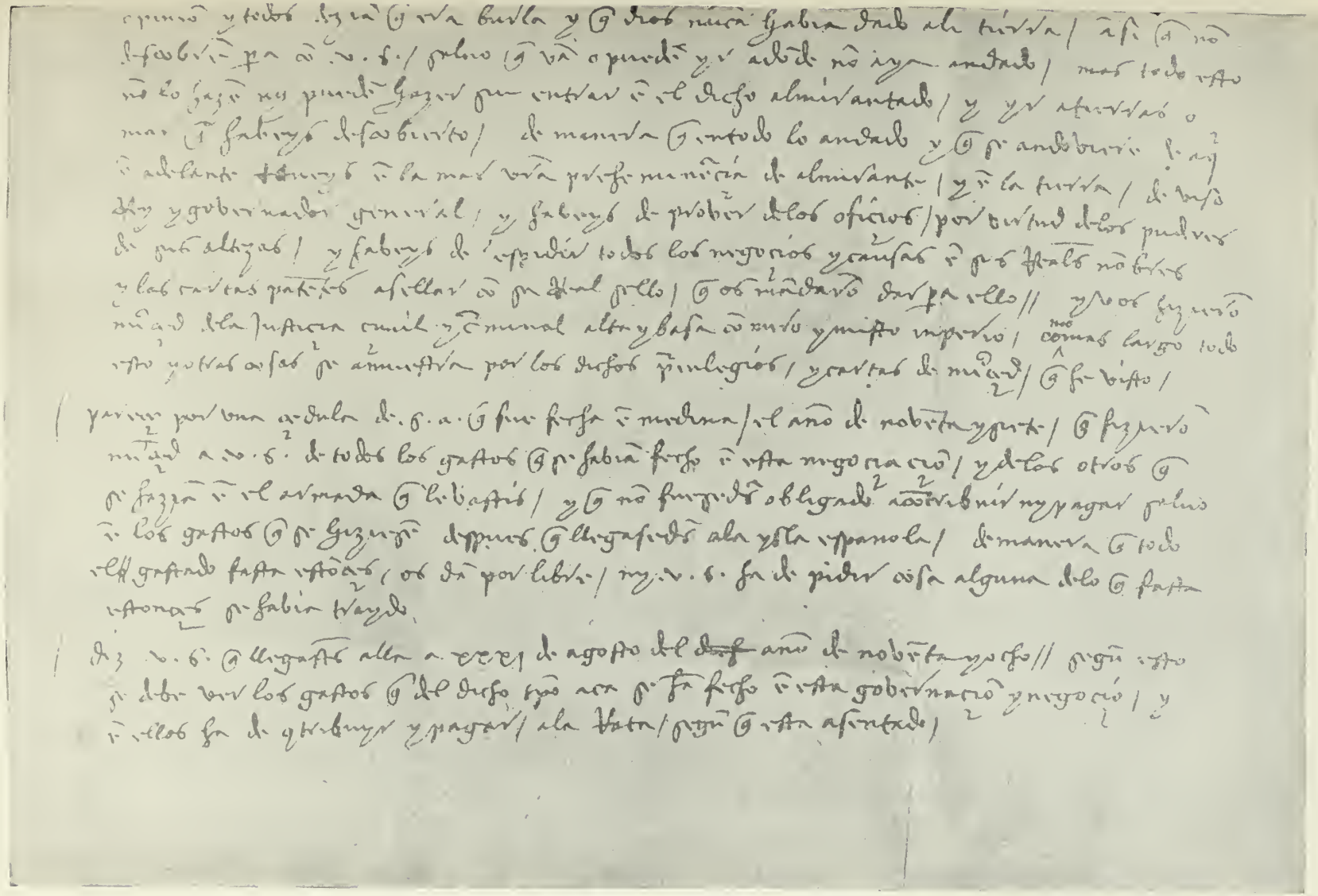
+ ẽ̃s cõ mõ ẽ̃ste no

magestad señor

por. vro ſpiritoſo y corpetulacõ pariz / q. e. a. os ſyguẽ q̃ en alm̃ de mar o arano / el qual
ſyguẽ marear por via Haya q̃ para dhas yſlas de cabo verde / aquellas dhos rõrio / de
polo apolo a todas las. mitades y Hõrias q̃ha y truẽ / el q̃ alm̃ de caſt̃a ẽ q̃ eſtuuo //
y q̃ ſyguẽ mudad a. v. e. de beſo Hy y gouernador gnral de todas las yſlas y tierra
firme q̃ q̃aya deſcubierto y q̃ deſcubrir allẽ dla dha Haya / y q̃ ſyguẽ mudad
de todos los oficios de gouernacõ dhas dhas yſlas y tierra firme
y q̃ la ſayuela mudad de diezmo de todo lo q̃ ſe obiere ẽ el dho almirantado / ſacado
primero las coſtas
y q̃ la ſyguẽ mudad de la octaba parte de todo lo q̃ reſultare de qualquiera armada
q̃ ſe hiziere ſyguiẽdo a. v. e. atribuyda la octaba parte del gaſto /

para que por las afirmaciones de dhos pilotos q̃ ſabeys deſcubierto las yſlas y tierra firme
dhas yndias / y q̃ ſe algo ſe deſcubre q̃ por esta yndustria / no ſe pueda pa a. v. e.
clamar deſcubrir / por q̃ vos deſcubristes las yndias ſobre q̃ esta la profia / ſobre la qual
anſi ſabios de letras ẽ tierra / como la gente de la mar / todos fueſſe cõformes a esta



No. XVI. Holograph Document of Columbus, being a Copy of an Opinion Relative to his Rights, Powers, and Privileges. About End of 1501. [*Archives, House of Alba, Madrid.*]

NO. XVI.

Transliteration

"Ihesus cum Maria sit nobis in via.

"Magnífico señor: por vuestro privilegio y capitulaçión parece que Sus Altezas os fizieron su almirante del mar Oçéano, el qual fizieron marcar por una raya que pasa de las yslas del Cabo Verde, aquelas de los Açores, de polo á polo, con todas las merçedes y honrras que ha y tiene el señor almirante de Castilla en su distrito.

"Yten, fizieron merçed á Vuestra Señoria de visorey y governador general de todas las yslas y tierra firme que se aya descobierto y se descobriere allende la dicha raya, y le fizieron merçed de todos los ofiçios de governaçion de las dichas yslas y tierra firme.

"Yten, le hizieron merçed del diezmo de todo lo que se oviere en el dicho almirantado, sacado primero las custas.

"Yten, le hizieron merçed de la ochaba parte de todo lo que resultase de qualquera armada que par' allá se fiziese, habiendo Vuestra Señoría contribuído la ochaba parte del gasto.

"Pareçe por las confirmaciones de vuestros privilegios que habéys descobierto las yslas y tierra firme de las Yndias, y que, si algo se descobre, que es por vuestra yndustria, ny se puede para con Vuestra Señoría llamar descobrir, porque vos descobristes las Yndias sobre que era la profía, sobre la qual ansí sabios de letras en tierra, como la gente de la mar, todos fueron contrarios á vuestra

Translation

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"Ihesus cum Maria sit nobis in via.

"Magnificent Lord: it appears by your privilege and capitulation that their Highnesses made you their Admiral of the Ocean-sea, which they caused to be marked by a line which passes from the islands of Cape Verde to those of the Azores, from pole to pole, with all the favours and honours which the Lord Admiral of Castile has and possesses in his territory.

"Item, they made your Lordship Viceroy and Governor-General of all the islands and mainland which may have been discovered and shall be discovered beyond the said line, and they granted you the privilege of all the offices of government of the said islands and mainland.

"Item, they granted you the privilege of the tenth of all that shall be acquired in the said Admiralship, the expenses first having been deducted.

"Item, they granted you the privilege of the eighth part of everything that shall be obtained from any fleet which shall be fitted out to go there, your Lordship having contributed the eighth part of the cost.

"It appears by the confirmation of your privileges that you have discovered the islands and mainland of the Indies, and that if anything shall be discovered it is through your efforts, neither can it be called discovery in comparison with your Lordship because you discovered the Indies, upon which question there was dispute and upon which question the learned men on land as well as the seamen were all opposed to your

opinión, y todos dezian que era burla, y que Dios nunca había dado alí tierra; ansí que non descobren para con Vuestra Señoría, salvo que van ó pueden yr adonde non aya andado; mas todo esto non lo hazen ny pueden hazer sin entrar en el dicho almirantado, y yr á tierras ó mar que habéys descobierto; de manera que en todo lo andado y que se andoviere de aquí en adelante tenéys en la mar vuestra prehemenençia de almirante, y en la tierra de visorey y governador general, y habéys de prover de los ofiçios por virtud de los puderes de Sus Altezas, y habéys de espidir todos los negoçios y causas en sus reales nombres, y las cartas patentes á sellar con su real sello que os mandaron dar para ello, y vos hizieron merçed de la justiçia çivil y criminal, alta y basa, con mero y misto imperio, como más largo todo esto y otras cosas se amuestra por los dichos privilegios y cartas de merçed que he visto.

"Pareçe por una çédula de Sus Altezas, que fué fecha en Medina, el año de noventa y siete, que fizieron merçed á Vuestra Señoría de todos los gastos que se habían fecho en esta negoçiaçión, y de los otros que se hazian en el armada que levastis, y que non fuésedes obligado á contribuir ny pagar, salvo en los gastos que se hiziesen después que llegásedes á la ysla Española, de manera que todo el gastado fasta estonçes os dan por libre,

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opinion, and all said that it was a mockery and that God never had placed land there: so that they will not make discoveries in comparison with your Lordship, unless they go or can go where you have not gone: further, all this is not done nor can they do it without entering the said Admiralship and going to lands or sea which you have discovered: so that in all that is discovered and which shall be discovered from now henceforth, you have your pre-eminence of Admiral on the sea and on land that of Viceroy and Governor-General and you are to provide for the offices by virtue of the powers of their Highnesses and you are to expedite all the affairs and causes in their Royal names, and you are to seal the letters patent with their Royal seal which they ordered given you for that purpose, and they granted you the privilege of civil and criminal justice, high and low, with sovereign and judicial power, as all this and other things are shown more at length by the said privileges and letters of grace which I have seen.

"It appears by a cedula of their Highnesses which was made in Medina in the year '97 that they granted the privilege to your Lordship of all the expenses which had been incurred in this affair, and of the other expenses which were incurred in the fleet which you took over and that you were not obliged to contribute to them nor pay, except in the matter of the expenses which were incurred after you had reached the island of Española, so that all the expenditure up to that time they gave you freely,

ny Vuestra Señoria ha de pidir cosa alguna de lo que fasta estonçes se había trayḋo.

"Diz Vuestra Señoría que llegastes allá á .xxxi. de agosto del año de noventa y ocho; según esto, se debe ver los gastos que del dicho tiempo acá se han fecho en esta governaçion y negoçio, y en ellos ha de contribuir y pagar á la rata, según que está asentado.

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neither must your Lordship ask anything from what had been brought over up to that time.

"Your Lordship says that you arrived there August 31 of the year '98: according to this, the expenses which have been incurred from the said time up to the present in this government and affair must be computed, and you must contribute to them and pay according to the rate which has been agreed upon.

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parte por la capitulacion del S^or almirante de castella / E de todas las ganancias
E se fiziere por la mar o con la flota de .S. a. / E la fizieren mitad de la tercia
parte de todo ello // E con esto ypor virtud de vro asiento / v. S^a ha de gozar de la
mitad con el almirante de las yndias / E ha y goze ygual de gozar / con aquel de cast^a
ynste abreuiado de saber la tercera parte de la ganancia //

pueda por este asiento de .v. S. E de probecho E se ha sabido y sabra de estas yndias E
la parte E a vos os pertenesce por tres capitulos / de tres maneras / y todos dize
de la ganancia E ha de auer tercera parte / con esto no puede saber con quien ny fuero
por E todos tres son myo claros / y pertenesce esto a cuenta / con esta manera /

Vn caballero arma vna nao / y da a vn cabo suyo va por capitan desta nao y debe
ganancia E se obligo de saber la tercera parte // y aquel dize va por maestre y debe
ganancia saber la dezena parte / y aquel dize va por escriuano / y por E con el vn esta
con esto la otaua parte / saber la ochaua parte de la ganancia /

partio la nao y ala buelta se halla E gano / diez ducados / y el capitan dize el
caballero / a este diez ducados ha de ganancia mandadme a dar la tercia parte E
me pertenesce esto / y ansi se la da // despues vuelue el maestre / y dize a
diez ducados se gano / mandadme dar la dezena p^te destos diez ducados E
me pertenesce esto / y ansi se la da // el escriuano dize a este diez ducados despues

dicha armada q̃ q̃ yo contribuya la octava parte q̃ / mandadme dar la octava
parte destos diez ducados / y ansi por la dicha // + yntroducion la cuenta q̃ se haga entre
q̃ la parte de q̃ s.a. os han hecho mucha merced de las cosas de las yndias / y que procur
el dezmo / y despues de la q̃ quedare libre el oficio / y despues tercio por q̃ de la
ganancia por la cuenta arriba / por q̃ cada capo destos tres pueda elegir / q̃ aya de
saber de la ganancia cierta parte

/ En lo del gasto desta negociacion / mysparecer es parte q̃ mio q̃ se haga de
todo q̃ se pueda pagar los gastos / q̃ se hiziere / q̃ se pueda s.a. q̃ despues de
pagado todo q̃ este gasto se pague del oro o qual quiera otra cosa de valor q̃ allen
obiere / y q̃ de la ganancia y efecto q̃ quedare / limpio sus altezas mande q̃
aya la otra parte /

/ Otra, prohibicion se haga / de s.a. q̃ otras personas q̃ no se entremeta q̃
cosa alguna tocante a las yndias sin .v. s. o persona q̃ tenga su poder /

/ otra prohibicion se haga q̃ no se lleve mercadoria ninguna a las yndias sin forma otra y ella
forma q̃ s.a. tuviere q̃ calle / y ansi mismo q̃ todo lo q̃ se hubiere de las yndias
sea con su forma / y del tenor de los q̃ estuvieren mayores y de otra guisa q̃
sea tomado la tal cosa

/ Otra bulla del santo padre se haga q̃ otras personas q̃ vean ella como suenan y q̃ yo
aquel q̃ de sobre esto y ganare q̃ las yndias como cada de sus altezas q̃

"Parece por la capitulaçion del señor almirante de Castilla que de todas las ganançias que él fiziere por la mar ó con la flota de Sus Altezas, que le fizieron merçed de la terçia parte de todo ello; según esto y por virtud de vuestro asiento, Vuestra Señoría ha de gozar d'esta merçed en el almirantado de las Yndias que ha, y goza y debe de gozar en aquel de Castilla, y ansí abríades de haber la terçia parte de la ganançia.

"Pareçe por este asiento de Vuestra Señoría que del provecho que se ha habido y habrá d'estas Yndias, que la parte que á vos os perteneçe es por tres capítulos, de tres maneras, y todos dize[n] de la ganançia que ha de haver cierta parte: en esto non puede haver engaño ny hierro, porque todos tres van muy claros, y perteneçe esto á cuenta en esta manera:

"Um caballero arma una nao, y diz á un criado suyo: 'va por capitán d'esta nao, y de la ganançia que se oviere habrás la terçia parte'; y á otro dice: 'va por maestre, y de la ganançia habrás la dezena parte'; y á otro diz: 'va por escrivano, y porque contribuýstes en esta armazón la ochava parte, habrás la ochava parte de la gan[an]çia.'

"Partió la nao, y á la buelta se falla que ganó diez ducados; y el capitán diz al caballero: 'señor, diez docados ha de ganançia; mandadme á dar la terçia parte que me prometistes'; y ansí se la da.

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"It appears by the capitulation of the Lord Admiral of Castile that of all the profits which he shall make on the sea or with the fleet of their Highnesses, they granted him the privilege of the third part of the whole: according to this and by virtue of your contract, your Lordship is to enjoy this privilege in the Admiralship of the Indies, which he possesses and enjoys and is entitled to enjoy in the Admiralship of Castile, and thus you are entitled to the third part of the profit.

"It appears by this contract of your Lordship that of the profit which has been received and shall be received from these Indies, that the part which belongs to you is by three titles, of three kinds, and they all say that you are to have a certain part of the profit: there cannot be any deceit or error in this, because all are very clearly expressed and this belongs to you according to this manner:

"A gentleman arms a ship and says to one of his servants: 'go as captain of this ship, and of the profits which shall be obtained you shall have the third part'; and to another he says: 'go as master, and of the profits you shall have the tenth part'; and to another he says: 'go as escribano, and as you contribute the eighth part of this armament, you shall have the eighth part of the profit.'

"The ship departed and on the return it was found that the profit was ten ducats: and the captain says to the gentleman: 'Lord, there are ten ducats profit; order the third part which you promised me to be given me': and so it is given to him.

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des-
pués viene el maestre, y diz; 'señor, diez docados se ganó; mandadme á dar la dezena parte d'estos diez ducados que me prometistes'; y ansí se la da. el escrivano diz: 'señor, diez ducados resultó

Then the master comes and says: 'Lord, the profit was ten ducats; order the tenth part of these ten ducats which you promised me to be given me': and so it is given to him. The escribano says: 'Lord, ten ducats resulted

d'esta armada en que yo contribuý la ochava parte; mandadme dar la ochava parte d'estos diez docados'; y ansí se la da. y esta es la cuenta que se ha de tener en la parte de que Sus Altezas os han fecho merçed de las cosas de las Yndias, y no sacar el diezmo y después de lo que quedare dar el ochavo, y después terçio, porque d'esta guysa sería la cuenta errada, porque cada capítulo d'estos tres fabla claro que aya de haber de la ganançia çierta parte.

"En lo del gasto d'esta negoçiaçión my parecer es, pues que Nuestro Señor ha dado en ellas con que se puede pagar los gastos que se fizieren, que, si plaz á Sus Altezas, que debéys de ser contento que estos gastos se paguen del oro ó qualquera otra cosa de valor que allá oviere, y que de la ganançia y resto que quedare linpio Sus Altezas manden que ayás vuestra parte.

"Una provisión he visto de Sus Altezas en vuestras escrituras, en que mandan que non se intenda en cosa alguna tocante á las Yndias sin Vuestra Señoría, ó persona que tenga su poder.

"Otra provision he visto, que non se liebe, ny vaya nada á las Yndias sin firma vuestra y de la persona que Sus Altezas tubieren en Cális, y asimesmo que todo lo que se trusiere de las Yndias sea con su firma y del tenyente de los señores contadores mayores, y de otra guysa que sea tomado la tal cosa.

XVIb.

from this fleet, to which I contributed the eighth part; order the eighth part of these ten ducats to be given me'; and so it is given to him. and this is the account which should be taken of the part which their Highnesses have granted to you of the things of the Indies, and they are not to deduct the tenth and then from what remains give the eighth and then the third, because in this manner the account will be wrong, because each title of these three says clearly that you are to have a certain part of the profit.

"In the matter of the expense of this affair, my opinion is that, since our Lord has given enough so that the expenses which are incurred can be paid, if it pleases their Highnesses you must be content that these expenses be paid from the gold or whatever other thing of value shall be possessed there, and that of the profit and residue which remains clear, their Highnesses can order that you have your part.

"I have seen a provision of their Highnesses in your writings in which they order that nothing relating to the Indies shall be agreed upon without your Lordship, or a person possessing your authority.

"I have seen another provision that nothing shall be taken to nor go to the Indies without your signature and the signature of the person whom their Highnesses shall have in Cadiz; and likewise that everything which shall be brought from the Indies shall be with your signature and that of the representative of the Lords, the Chief Auditors, and if done otherwise that such thing may be seized.

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"Una bula del Santo Padre he visto en vuestras escrituras, y en ella como fuestes y soys aquel que descobristes y ganastes estas Yndias, como criado de Sus Altezas &c.

"I have seen a Bull of the Holy Father in your writings, and in it how you were and are the one who discovered and acquired these Indies, as the servant of their Highnesses, etc.

XVI

pedir por los privilegios y cartas de merced de V. G. como dicho es, y de to
dos y cada uno de los limites de la almirantazgo, y de saber la tierra que por el
privilegio del Rey nro señor de castilla, y el usaba y gozo por su asiento, y los
mercedes y cabos y oficios que su alteza le hizo, y todos aquellos que se
le hizieron como a los oficiales, por lo qual pidio merced a V. G. de todos
lo contenido en los dichos, y mandase ver como le hizo, por lo qual sabido
lo susodicho, y todo lo demas que convenia, V. G. mando se viesse y platicasse
y en la ora lo susodicho en presencia de mi, fue acordado los dichos y
cumplido lo dicho asiento, y el santo padre don Luis de Cordova, a los dichos
oficios, y asimismo estando V. G. presente de sus oficios, los dichos
obligados a todo dano y menos cabo lo por ello dieron //

Sumario

Yo su escribano, y todo esto lo en mi dicho, y todo
lo demas y por los dichos menos de la dicha

[illegible] mys ynstrucciones generales dadas a vos en cada [illegible]

otro ynstrucçion fecho e dado e otorgado de mayorazgo de vos oficios de [illegible] y de alcalde y de gobernador general y de todos vros bienes de que de vro fijo o e quien vos ygualdo y q̃ nada dello se pueda poner por duda ny dubda ny otro cabo salvo por virtud de esta mesma

[illegible]

[illegible] mys ynstrucciones y merçedes

2

[illegible]

"Pareçe por los privilegios y cartas de merçed de Vuestra Señoría, como dicho es, que de todo lo que se ha adentro los límites d'este almirantado, que ha de haber la terçia parte por el privilegio del señor almirante de Castilla, y el ochabo y diezmo por su asunto, y si Sus Altezas hazen merçed en las Yndias sin salvar lo voestro, reçibís agrabio; y esto es ansí en la hazienda como en los ofiçios, porque fizieron merçed á Vuestra Señoría de todos, y esto se intende ansí en los que dizen á descobrir como el resto, porque sobre el descobrir de las Yndias se tomó el asiento, y firmó la capitulaçion y escrituras, y en la ora que descobristes la primera ysla fué descobierto las Yndias, y complistes vuestro asiento, y el Santo Padre dió bula de donaçion á Sus Altezas de las Yndias, y, á consçiençia, estando Vuestra Señoría privado de sus ofiçios, Sus Altezas serían obligados á todo daño y menoscabo que por ello veniese.

XVI c.

"It appears by the privileges and letters of grant of your Lordship, as has been said, that of all there is within the limits of this Admiralship, you are to have the third part according to the privilege of the Lord Admiral of Castile, and the eighth and tenth for your share, and if their Highnesses grant favours in the Indies without reserving your share, that you receive offence; and this applies in the property as well as in the offices, because they granted the favour of everything to your Lordship, and this is understood the same in those which speak of discovery as in the rest, because the contract was made regarding the discovery of the Indies and the capitulation and writings were signed and in the hour when you discovered the first island, the Indies were discovered, and you fulfilled your contract, and the Holy Father gave a Bull of donation of the Indies to their Highnesses, and in conscience, your Lordship being deprived of your offices, their Highnesses would be obligated for all damage and loss which should arise by such means.

"Señores: yo non demando nada, y todo esto que va aquí dicho, todo lo remito y pongo en las reales manos de la reyna

"Lords: I do not demand anything, and all this which is contained here I remit and place in the royal hands of the Queen,

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nuestra señora: mys privilegios y cartas daré á Vuestras Mercedes, cada que los quiseren.

"Otro privilegio he visto en vuestras escrituras de mayorazgo, de vuestros oficios de visrey y de almirante y de governador general y de todos vuestros bienes en don Diego vuestro fijo ó en quien vos quiserdes, y que nada d'esto se pueda perder por debda ny delito ny otro caso, salvo por crimen de lege majestati.

"Informaçion de mis privilegios y mercedes."

our lady: my privileges and letters I will give to your Worships, each one of them that you shall desire.

"I have seen another privilege in your writings of Majorat, of your offices of Viceroy and of Admiral and of Governor-General and of all your property in Don Diego, your son, or in whomever you desire, and that nothing of this can be lost by debt or crime or other cause, save by crime of *lèse-majesté*.

"Information regarding my privileges and grants."

NO. XVII. LETTER WRITTEN BY CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS TO THE SPANISH SOVEREIGNS

We have not hesitated to call Christopher Columbus a consummate seaman,[1] the first sailor of his or of any other time. It is not merely that he made the most memorable voyage ever made by man, but because he navigated all seas with skill, prudence, daring, and success. He was a scientific sailor. He studied the seasons, the planets, the winds, the tides, the atmosphere, the flight of birds, the habits of fish, things over the sea, things on the sea, things under the sea. He was familiar with the coasts known to man and, partly by instinct and partly by the employment of his skill, he made his way in safety along shores never known and reported by any sailor until his day.

In the following letter we are in communion with Columbus, the sailor. He is not making parade of his knowledge. The Sovereigns, as they had done before on many occasions, and notably in the spring of 1497, have required of him a dissertation on the question of navigating to the new Indies. The point of his discourse is that knowledge renders navigation comparatively safe. Knowledge reveals what probably will happen, and then caution and skill snatch safety out of storm and violence. The good sailor can read the stars, the skies, the sea. He predicts the coming tempest. He divines the hidden reef. He adjusts his sheets to the coming wind. In this letter the Admiral illustrates his lesson by familiar navigations. All Spanish travellers, from the Sovereigns to the meanest sailor, had gone by sea from Cadiz to Naples. If this journey was undertaken in the winter, after coming through the straits, the vessel kept its course along the coast, never quite losing sight of land, passing Cape Creux, the most easterly point of land in Spain, and so into the Gulf of Lyons, where favourable winds drove it to the islets of Pomègue and Ratoneau, and so on to the Hyères Islands, whence it made its way, still hugging the coasts, along the side of Italy to Naples. If the journey was made in summer, the vessel, emboldened by the promise of fair weather, put out to sea for the island of Sardinia, and so to its Italian harbour beneath the shadow of Vesuvius.

[1] See chapter ci.

Columbus then reminds the Sovereigns that no one pilot may be expected to know all courses. The pilot who can safely conduct a ship from the Guadalquivir to Fuenterrabia in the Bay of Biscay may not take a ship to Lisbon. The pilot who goes to the Eastern countries by way of the south may be entirely unfitted to sail ships to Flanders. And this leads the Admiral to refer to the intimate correspondence by water between Spain and the Low Countries. By the month of January the Bay of Biscay becomes so wild from the resistless winds that prudent navigators have returned to their own countries. Yet, a skilful sailor, watchful of conditions, quick to seize a moment when the wind lulls, may escape and finish his journey, particularly should he avail himself in an emergency of some welcoming French or English port on the way. Then the Admiral becomes reminiscent. He recalls a time early in the year 1497 when the Sovereigns, the gallant Prince Juan, the Spanish Court,—all were anxiously awaiting the ship which was to bear them a new Princess; but the ship came not and fear was in every heart. Then the Sovereigns appealed to Columbus, and he told them where, by the blowing of the wind and the probable course, he thought the ships to be, and predicted their safe arrival within a day or two. And his prophecy was fulfilled. The ships, indeed, had been where he said they were, driven by winds which he knew and on courses which he knew, to a neighbouring English harbour. It was a triumph for Columbus which history has not hitherto recorded.

The year 1496 might well be called the year of Spanish alliances. The Spanish Sovereigns arranged two marriages with Maximilian, the Emperor of Germany, whereby the one united the Emperor's daughter to Don Juan, Prince of the Asturias, heir to the Crown of Spain; and the other united the Spanish Princess, Joanna, to Philippe le Beau, the son and heir of Maximilian. Another Spanish Princess, Catalina, who has gone down into English history as Catharine of Aragon, was affianced to Arthur, Prince of Wales, son and heir of Henry VII. of England. It was in August, 1496, that a mighty fleet of vessels gathered in the port of Laredo in the Bay of Biscay to escort the Princess Joanna to Flanders for her marriage to Philip. The fleet was under command of Don Fadrique Enriquez, the Admiral of Castile, and, according to the Curate of Los Palacios,

consisted of 130 vessels, one more in number than the Spanish Armada of the second Philip's time. Peter Martyr makes this fleet to number 110 ships, 2 great caracks or Genoese transports, and 108 *caveatæ*.[1]

This magnificent fleet had a double errand,—a precious freight to take over to the Low Countries, and a still more important freight to bring into Spain. Six months passed before the Princess Margaret of Austria was landed on Spanish soil. This young girl had been in her infancy affianced to King Charles VIII. of France, but the engagement was broken in the interests of Anne of Brittany, to the chagrin of Maximilian. Even now she was but seventeen years of age,—a woman in mind, in heart, and something more than a girl in experience. That she had wit is clear from the distich she composed, as if an epitaph, when, in the midst of the violent storm which nearly overwhelmed the ship on which she was, she wrote:

"Ci gist Margot, la gentil damoiselle
Qu'a deux maris, et encore est pucelle."

"Here lies Margaret, fair and unafraid!
Two husbands has she, yet dies a maid."

The Court was at Burgos early in March, 1497, awaiting news of the expected fleet. Days passed, and the ships came not. Then the Court was moved southward—away from the coast—to Soria, and the Sovereigns were about to follow, when a letter reached them from Columbus, saying that if the fleet had started from Flanders on a certain Wednesday, the weather was such as to cause the ships to put in to the Isle of Wight (Huict) on Thursday or Friday, and from the conditions of wave and wind, the Admiral predicted that the fleet would enter the port of Laredo on the following Monday. The words of the sailor weighed with the Sovereigns, and, with the young Prince, they changed their purpose and went to Laredo, where the prediction was fulfilled, and promptly on the succeeding Monday one of the fleet appeared in the harbour of Laredo. Truly, the Admiral of the Indies was the first pilot of his time.

1 "Claſſis ingens, qua duæ erant oncrariæ naues gcnuenſcs (quas appellant Carracas) octoquc ſupra centum aliæ caueatæ inſtruiť, vt aiunt hominũ decem milia armatorum, quia pcr Gallica littora facturi crant itcr, ex cantabris vaſconibus montanis deliguntur, duas cum filia noctes in mari regina exegit."—Espistola CLXIX.

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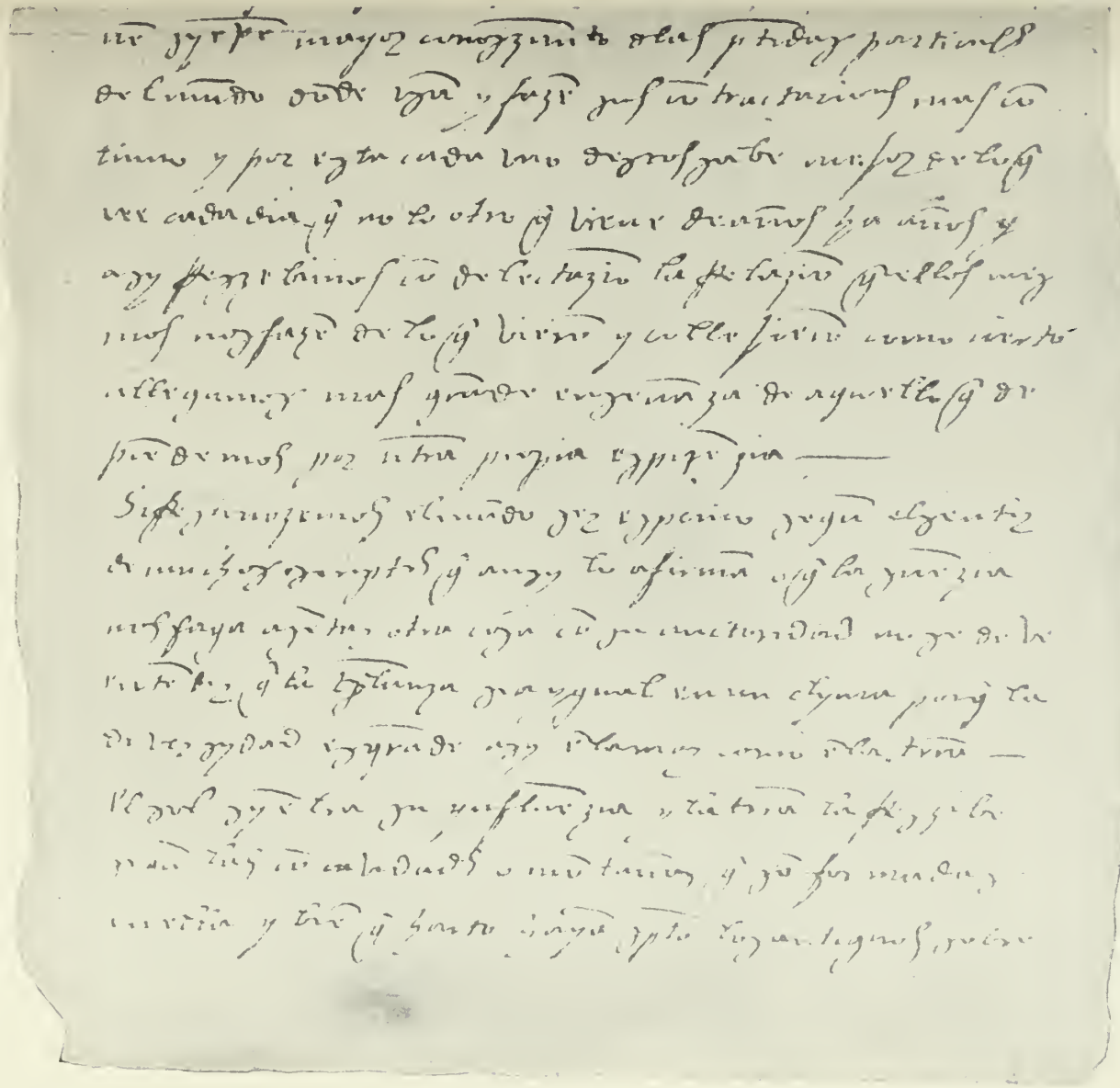
muy alto y muy poderoso Rey y Señor

Yo querria yr a cumplir de plazer y voluntad a V. A. q
me de perdon dello y luego me como de la offrezco y
de hecho q tirare a essos mis Vas y dalgo juntamente
dire de mas y otras cosas de mi parte a vuestra q ayays
por bien q vaya a la mezquita y cierto no
pudiera dexar por religion como por la entrada
y la de regreso para entrado hasta donde de V. A.
me he de despedir de mi gente como hasta yo offrezco por
mi mismo q de mi persona tras fuerzas y hasta
que me offendiere en defensa de vuestra armada
la vida tengo como estamos obligado y de hecho q de
Las cosas de mas y otras q se hablaren por la mesma



No. XVII. Holograph Letter of Columbus, Signed. Addressed to the Spanish Sovereigns, Dated Granada, February 6, 1502. [National Archives at Madrid.]

NO. XVII.

Transliteration

"muy a ltos y muy poderosos reyes
y señores//

"Yo querria ser cabsa de plaser y holgura a VUESTRAS ALTEZAS que// no de pesadumbre y hastio mas como se la aficzion y// deleyte que tienen a las cosas nuevas y dalgun ynterese// dire de vnas y otras compliendo con su mandamiento a-// quello que agora me venga ala memoria y cierto non// judguen dellas por el desaliño mas por la intinzion// y buen deseo ya que en todo lo que fuere del servizio de VUESTRAS ALTEZAS// non he de deprender de ningun otro lo que yo se fazer por// my mesmo que sy me faltaren las fuerzas y las fati-//gas me ryndieren non desfallezera en my anyma// la voluntad como el mas obligado y debdor que soy.//

"Los navegantes y otras gentes que tractan por la mar tie-//

Translation

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"Most High and Powerful Sovereigns and Lords:

"I would like to be the cause of pleasure and contentment to your Highnesses and not of trouble and disgust: but as I know the eagerness and delight felt by your Highnesses in things which are new and of some interest, in compliance with your command, I will speak of both, telling what I recall at the present time, and certainly you will not judge my statements by their carelessness but by my good intention and desire. In everything which will be for the service of your Highnesses, I am not obliged to take from any other person what I know how to do myself, for if my strength fails me or fatigues overcome me, the purpose which is in my mind to serve your Highnesses as your most obliged and dutiful servant will not be weakened.

"Sailors and other people who trade upon the sea always have

XVIIa.

nen
syenpre mayor conoszimiento de las partidas particulares// del mundo donde vsan y fazen sus contracta-ciones mas con-//tinuo y por esta cada vno destos sabe mejor delo que// vee cada dia que no lo otro que viene de años ha años y// asy reszebimos con delectazion la relazion que ellos mes-//mos nos fazen de lo que vieron y collejieron como cierto// allegamos mas grande enseñanza de aquello que de-//prendemos por nuestra propia espirenzia.//

"Si resconozemos el mundo ser esperico segun elsentir// de muchos escriptos que ansy lo afirman o que la scienzia// nos faga asentar otra cosa con su auctoridad no se deve// entender que la templanza sea ygual en un clyma porque la// diversydad es grande asy en la mar como en la tierra—//El sol syenbra su ynfluenzia y la tierra la reszibe// segun las concavidades o montañas que son formadas// en ella y bien que harto hayan scripto los antiguos sobre//

a
better knowledge of the particular parts of the world where they go and have most frequent commercial dealings than others: and for that matter, each one of us knows better in regard to what he sees each day than the other who comes at intervals of many years: and so we receive with delight the relation which such persons make to us in regard to the places they have seen and observed, the same as we certainly derive the most knowledge from what we ourselves experience.

"Whether we admit that the world is a sphere according to the understanding of many writers who affirm it to be so, or whether the authority of science causes us to come to a different conclusion, it must not be understood that the temperature is equable in a clime, because the diversity is great, upon the sea as well as on the land. The sun exercises its influence and the earth feels it according to the depressions or mountains which are formed upon its surface, and so the ancient writers have written at great length upon this subject.

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esto como plinio que dize que debaxo del norte ay tan// suave templanza que la gente que ally esta jamas se muere// salvo por enfadamiento o aborrimiento de vida que se des-//peña y voluntariamente se matan.//

"nos vemos aquy en españa tanta diversydad de// templanza que non esmenester el testimonio sobre// esto de ninguna antiguedad del mundo. vemos a-//qui en granada la syerra cubierta de nyeve to-//do al año ques señal de grand frio y al pie desta// syerra son las alpujarras donde es sienpre sua-//visima templanza syn demasiado calor ny frio y// asy como esenesta provinzia esen otras har-//tas en españa que se deja de dezir por la prolixidad// dellas. digo que en la mar acaesze otro tanto y en es-//pezial en las comarcas de las tierras y desto se in ma-//yor conozimiento los que continuo ally tractan que non los// otros que tratan en otras partes.//

XVII b.

As for instance, Pliny, who says that under the North [pole] there is such a mild temperature that the people there never die, unless through weariness or abhorrence of life they precipitately and voluntarily kill themselves.

"We experience here in Spain such a diversity of temperature, that the testimony of no authority in the world is needed in regard to this matter. Here in Granada we see the mountain ranges covered with snow all the year, which is an indication of great cold: and at the foot of this mountain range are the Alpujarras where there is always a very mild temperature, neither too hot nor too cold. And as it is in this province, so it is in very many others in Spain, which I do not enumerate on account of prolixity. I say that on the sea the same thing happens and especially in the vicinity of land. And this is known much better by those who continually trade in those places than by others who trade in other regions.

"En el verano en landaluzia por muy cierto se tiene// cada dia despues de ser el sol altillo la virazon ques// viento que sale del poniente esta vien muy suave y du-//ra hasta la NOCHE tarde asy como esta virazon conti-//nua en aquel tiempo en esta region ansy continua otros// vientos en otras partes y en otras regiones diferentes.//

"El verano y el ynvierno los que andan continuo de cadiz// a napoles ya saben cuando pasan por la costa de catalunya// segund la sazon el viento que han de hallar en ella y asy// mesmo cando pasan por el golfo de narbona estos que han de// yr de cadiz a napoles si es tienpo de ynvierno van a vista de cabo// de creo en catalunya por el golfo de narbona entonzes vien-//ta muy rezio y las vezes las naos conviene le obedezcan y// corran por fuerza hasta berueria y por esto van mas al cabo// creo por sostener mas la bolina y cobrar las pomegas de// marsella o las yslas de eres y despues jamas se desa-//barcan de la costa hasta llegar donde quier. Si de Cadiz// ovieren de yr a napoles en tienpo de verano navegan por la//

XVII b.

"In the summer in Andalusia it is considered that surely each day after the sun gets quite high, a very mild breeze which is called the 'virazon' blows from the west and lasts until late in the evening. And in the same manner that this 'virazon' prevails at that time in this region, other breezes prevail in other places and other different regions.

"Those who travel frequently from Cadiz to Naples in summer and winter know the kinds of winds they must encounter according to the season when they go along the coast of Catalonia and when they cross the gulf of Narbona. Those who are obliged to travel from Cadiz to Naples, if it is in winter, go in sight of Cape Creo in Catalonia, through the gulf of Narbona; then there is a strong wind and it is convenient for the ships to obey it, and it takes them forcibly as far as Berneria: and on this account sailors go as near as possible to Cape Creo so as to get the greatest possible benefit from these winds and gain the Pomegas of Marseilles or the islands of Eres, and then they never leave the coast until they reach the place for which they are bound. If they are obliged to go from Cadiz to Naples in summer they sail along the

XVIIe.

XVIIc.

costa de berueria hasta cerdena ansy como esta dicho// de la otra costa de la tramotana para estas navegazi-ones// ay hombres señalados que se an dado tanto a ello que co-//noszen todos estos caminos y que tempor-ales pueden esperar se-//gund la sazon del año en que fueren. Vul-garmente a estos// tales llamos py-lotes ques tanto como en la tierra ada-//lid que bien que uno sepa muy bien el camino daquy a fuent// rabia para llevar una hueste no lo sabe daqui a// lisbona. esto mysmo acaesze en la mar que unos son// pylotos de flandes y otros de levante cada uno dela tierra// donde mas usa.//

"El tracto y transyto despaña a flandes mucho se continua gran-// des marineros ay que andan a este vso en flandes en el mes// de enero estan todas las naos despecha-das para volver a sus// tierras y en este mes de raro soele que no haya algunos esty-//rones de brysa ques lernordeste y nor nordeste estos// vientos a este tienpo no vienen amorosos salvo salvajes//

XVII c.

coast of Berneria as far as Sar-dinia and then in the manner de-scribed along the other coast on the north. There are celebrated men who make these voyages and who have gone so many times that they know all these routes and what storms can be expected, according to the time of year at which they go. Commonly speaking, we call those men pilots, which is the same as a commander or chief on land: and although a commander may know the road very well from here to Fuenterrabia so as to be able to con-duct an army, he may not know it from here to Lisbon. The same thing happens upon the sea, that some are pilots of Flanders, and others for the east, each one best fitted for the places with which he is most familiar.

"The traffic and passing to and fro between Spain and Flanders is continuous and there are great sailors engaged in this business. In Flanders in the month of January, all the ships are despatched to re-turn to their countries and in this month it rarely happens that there are not some winds from the east-north-east and north-north-east. These winds at this season do not blow pleasantly, but are fierce

y frios y fasta peligrosos la distançia del sol y la calidad// de la tierra son cabsa que se enjedre esto. estas brysas no son// estabiles bien que asy no yerren el tienpo. los que navegan co ellas// son personas que se ponen a ventura y lo mas de las veçes lle-// gan con la mano en los cabellos. a estos sy la brisa les fal-// ta y les haze fuerça otro viento ponense en los puertos de// franzia o yngalterra hasta que venga otra marea que puedan// salyr de los puertos//

"la gente de la mar es cobdiziosa de dyneros y de volver asu// casa y todo lo aventuran syn esperar aver quel tienpo sea fir-//me. cativo como estaba en cama en otra tal ocasion dixe// a VUESTRAS ALTEZAS lo que pude de mayor seguridad desta navegazione que// em despues de ser el sol en tauru y renegar de fazer esta// partida en la fuerza y mas peligroso de ynvierno. Sy los// vientos ayudan muy corto es el transito y non se debe de// partir hasta tener buena certeza del viaje y de aca// se puede judgar dello ques cuando se viere estar//

XVII c.

and cold and even dangerous. The distance from the sun and the condition of the land are the causes to which this is due. These winds are not steady, although even then the bad weather cannot be avoided. Those who navigate there are persons who do so at a risk and most of the time they do so at a loss. These men, if they do not experience a favourable wind and another wind forces them out of their course, enter the ports of France or England until the winds change so they are able to leave the ports.

"People who follow the sea are greedy for money and desirous of returning to their homes, and they risk everything without waiting for settled weather. Sick as I was in bed on another such occasion, I told your Highnesses what I could, for the greater safety of this voyage, which took place after the sun was in Taurus: and it was dangerous to make the departure in the depth and most dangerous time of winter. If the winds are favourable, the passage is very short and the start should not be made until it is certain that it is safe to undertake the voyage: and this assurance of safety can be obtained here, as it is when it is seen that

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XVIId.

el çielo muy
claro y salir el viento de la estrella
de la// tramotana y durar algunos
dias syenpre en aquella alegria//
Saben bien VUESTRAS ALTEZAS lo
que aconteszio el año de nouenta y
syete// cuando estaban en burgos en
tal congoxa por quel tienpo per-//
severaba crudo y se suçedian los
estirones que de enfadados// e yban
a soria y partida toda la corte un
sabado que-//daron VUESTRAS AL-
TEZAS para partir lunes de mañana
y aun çierto pro-//posito en aquella
noche en un escripto mio que envie
a// VUESTRAS ALTEZAS dezia tal dia
comenzo a ventar el viento. El
otro// dia no partira la flota aguar-
dando sy el viento se afirma.// par-
tira el miercoles y el jueves o viernes
sera tant avant// como la ysla de
huict y sy no se meten en ella seran
en// laredo el lunes que viene o la
razon de la marineria// es toda per-
dida. este escripto mio con el deseo
de la ve-//nida de la prinzesa movio
a VUESTRAS ALTEZAS a mudar de
proposito// de no yr a soria y espir-
mentar la opinion del marynero//
y el lunes remaneszio sobre laredo
una nao que refuso//

XVIId.

the sky is very
clear and the wind blows from the
North Star and remains several days
continuously in that favourable di-
rection. Your Highnesses will know
what happened in the year '97 when
you were in Burgos in such anxiety
of mind, because at that time the
weather continued bad and there
was a succession of violent storms;
so that, becoming exasperated, your
Highnesses were going to Soria, and
all the Court having departed on
Saturday, your Highnesses remained
in order to start Monday morning
and it was your fixed purpose to
do so. That night your Highnesses
received a letter which I sent and in
which I said: 'The wind commenced
to blow on such a day. The fleet
will not have started the next day,
waiting for the wind to become set-
tled. It will have left Wednesday,
and Thursday or Friday will be al-
most off the island of Huict and if it
does not stop there it will be at La-
redo the coming Monday, or all the
sailors' reckonings count for noth-
ing.' This writing of mine, together
with your desire to see the Princess,
caused your Highnesses to abandon
your intention of going to Soria and
to test the opinion of the sailor. On
Monday a vessel appeared off Laredo
which had refused

de entrar en
huit porque tenia pocos bastimentos.//

"muchos son los juzios y fueron syenpre en la mar y en la// tierra en semejantes casos y agora han de ser muchos los// que hayan de navegar alas yslas descobiertas y sy el// camino es ya conoszido los que ayan de tractar y contractar// con la perfizion de los ystrumentos y el aparejar de las naos// habran mayor conozimiento de las cosas y de las tierras// y de los vientos y de las epocas mas convenybles para// sus usos y mas espirenzia para la seguridad de sus// personas.

"la santa trenydad guarde a VUESTRAS ALTEZAS como deseo y menester// hábemos con todos sus grandes estados y señorios. de gra-//nada a seys de hebrero de mill y quinientos y dos años.//

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
:Xp̃o FERENS."

XVII g.

to enter Huict, on account of scarcity of provisions.

"There are many opinions in similar cases and always were, on sea and on land, and now there will be many among those who are to navigate to the islands discovered: and if the route thereto is already known those who are to engage in business and trade, through the perfecting of the instruments and the equipment of the vessels will obtain a greater knowledge of the things and of the lands and of the winds and the times most suitable for their purposes and best adapted for the safety of their persons.

"May the Holy Trinity guard your Highnesses as I desire and as we need, with all your great States and realms.

"From Granada, February 6, 1502.

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
:Xp̃o FERENS."

NO. XVIII. LETTER WRITTEN BY CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS TO NICOLÒ ODERIGO

The individual to whom this letter is addressed was Nicolò Oderigo, Ambassador from the Republic of Genoa to the Spanish Court. He was not long in Spain on the occasion of the embassy. The secret instructions given him are dated April 16, 1501, and from them we learn that his diplomatic errand was special in its character and was caused by the treatment accorded Genoese vessels in the Mediterranean by the Catalonians and the seamen of the Balearic Islands. The letter indicates that by this time he had returned to Genoa, and this is confirmed by subsequent instructions dated in April, 1502, in which a second embassy to Spain is contemplated for him. He had been Ambassador to France in 1495, and once again headed an important embassy to the Court of Francis I. in 1515. When the latter, a little later, entered Italy, Nicolò Oderigo went to meet him in behalf of the Doge Ottaviano Fregoso and the people of Genoa. He appears, from a letter addressed to Columbus by the Directors of the Bank of St. George in Genoa under date of December 8, 1502, to have been a lawyer and a jurist, and probably knew the principles of international law. We do not know when Columbus began his acquaintance with Nicolò Oderigo, but there seems to have been a singularly rapid friendship developed between the two, for in the succeeding letter written to the Bank of St. George, we find the Admiral saying, "Signor Nicolò Oderigo knows more about my own affairs than I do myself." However this may be, we know that two copies of the famous *Codex*, or *Book of Privileges*, prepared by the Admiral were sent to Nicolò Oderigo by the hand of Francesco Rivarol or di Rivarola, a banker in Seville, but a native of Genoa. We have already met with this character, and the reader will remember that he equipped a fleet without due authority to go to the New World, and was fined therefor on February 4, 1500. On March 19, 1501, we find him petitioning for exemption from taxation on the ground that he was still a citizen of the Republic of Genoa. It is said he was one of a small coterie of Genoese who aided Columbus in equipping vessels for his fourth voyage in 1502. In a letter written by Queen Isabella, July 5, 1503, Rivarol is mentioned in connection with

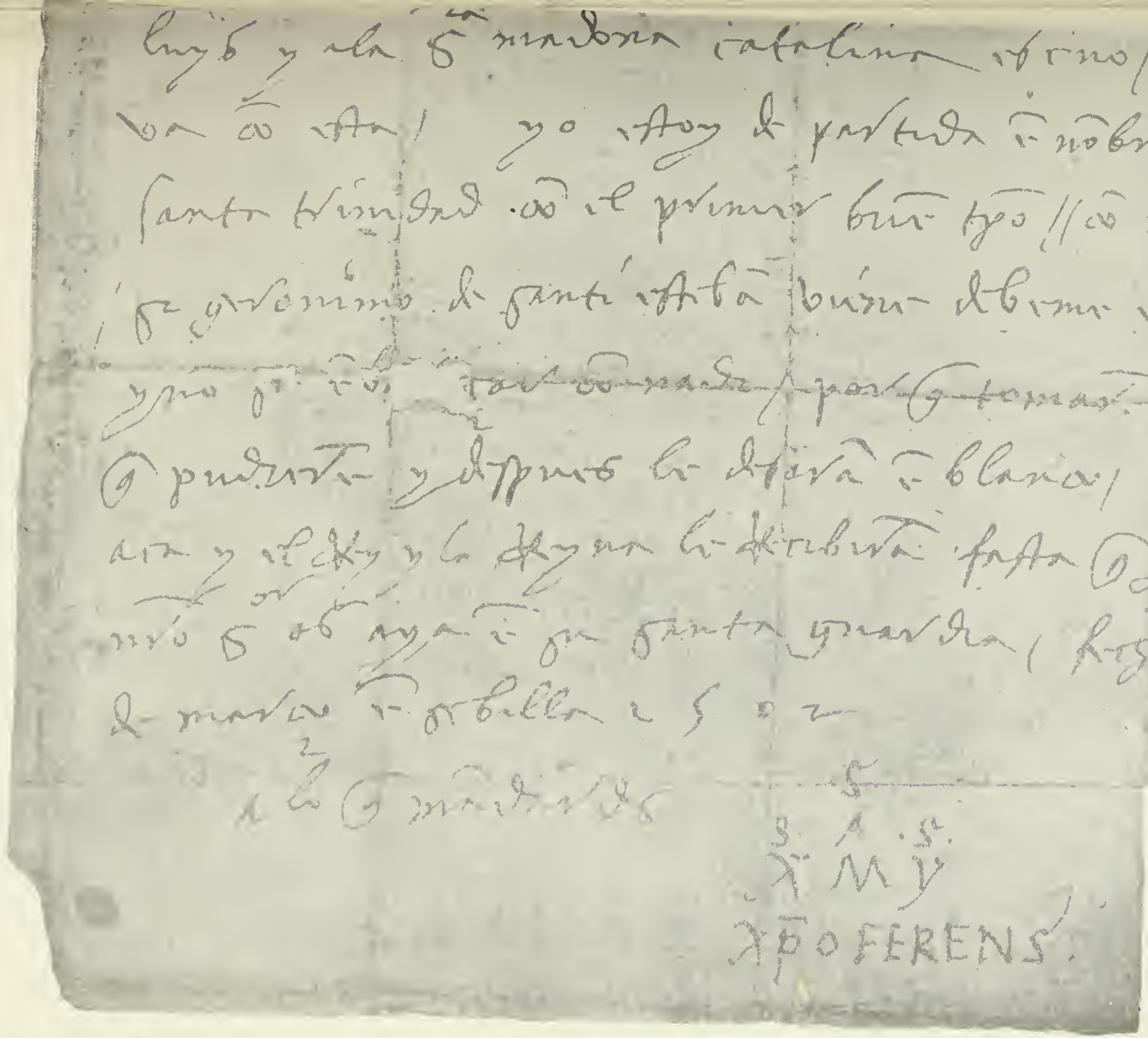
the expedition of Juan de la Cosa to Uraba. When, on his return from his last voyage, the Admiral desired to lodge funds in the hands of his son, Don Diego, then at Court, he sent him on December 21, 1504, a letter of credit endorsed by Francesco di Rivarola. Beyond these allusions to Rivarol, we know nothing of him. We discover, however, that in the latter part of his life Columbus was resuming relations with his native land, never quite out of his mind. We recall the provision he made in his Majorat, and in the letter following this we will see his generous thought for the city which gave him birth. It is strange that Columbus, in corresponding with his fellow-countryman, Oderigo, writes in Spanish and not in Italian. But it is still more strange in the subsequent letter to the Bank of St. George that he should still employ the foreign tongue. We may account for the use of Spanish in writing Nicolò Oderigo, as the latter doubtless was familiar with Spanish, but surely the Italian tongue was the natural medium when addressing the powerful Genoese corporation.

In our chapter lxxxxix., *The Book of Privileges*, we have spoken of the copies forwarded Oderigo by the hands of Rivarol. The subsequent history of these precious books is there related at length.

It is probable that the Señor Juan Luis of this letter is identical with Gian Luigi Fieschi, a friend of Oderigo's, and that Señora Catalina was his wife. She is said by Harrisse, following the Marquis Staglieno, to have been a daughter of Gian Maria del Cavetto.

We see that even before his departure this fourth voyage is undertaken in the *Name of the Trinity*, and thus we are not surprised when, the land of the New World first appearing to his sight, he gave to the island in the Gulf of Paria the name it has ever since borne—*Trinidad*.

XVIII.



S. A. S.
X̄ M Y
X̄PO FERENS.

No. XVIII. Holograph Letter of Columbus Signed, to Nicolò Oderigo, Dated Seville, March 21, 1502.
[Municipal Palace at Genoa.]

NO. XVIII.

Transliteration

"señor

"la soledad en que nos habeys// desado non se puede dezir. el libro de mys escritu-//ras de amiçer françisco de ribarol para que os le enbie con otro// traslado de cartas mesajeras. del recabdo y el lugar//que porneys en ello os pido por merçed que lo escriuays// a don diego. otro tal se acabara y se os enbiara// por la mesma guisa y el mesmo miçer françisco. en ellos// fallereys escritura nueba. Sus altezas me prometieron// de me dar todo lo que me pertençe y de poner en posesion// de todo a don diego como veyreys. al señor miçer Juan//

Translation

XVIII.

"Sir:

"The loneliness in which you have left us cannot be described. I gave the book containing my writings to Mr. Francisco de Rivarol that he may send it to you with another copy of letters containing instructions. I beg you to be so kind as to write Don Diego in regard to the place of security in which you put them. Duplicates of everything will be completed and sent to you in the same manner and by the same Mr. Francisco. Among them you will find a new writing [or deed]. Their Highnesses promised to give me all that belongs to me and to place Don Diego in possession of everything, as you will see. I wrote to Señor Juan

luys y a la señora madona catalina escriuo. la carta//va con esta. yo estoy de partida en nombre de la// santa trinidad con el primer buen tiempo con mucho atabio// si geronimo de santi esteban viene debeme esperar// y non se enb[ara]çar con nada por que tomar[a]n del lo// que pudieren y despues le desaran en blanco. venga// aca y el rey y la reyna le recibiran fasta que yo venga// nuestro señor os aya en su santa guardia. fecha a .xxi.// de março en sebilla. 1502.//

"a lo que mandardes.//

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
Xp̃o Ferens."

XVIII.

Luis and to Señora Catalina. The letter accompanies this one. I am ready to start in the name of the Holy Trinity as soon as the weather is good. I am well provided with everything. If Jeronimo de Santi Esteban is coming, he must await me and not embarrass himself with anything, for they will take away from him all they can and will silently leave him. Let him come here and the King and the Queen will receive him until I come. May our Lord have you in His holy keeping.

"Done in Seville, March 21, 1502.

"At your command.

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
Xp̃o Ferens."

NO. XVIIII. LETTER WRITTEN BY CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS TO THE DIRECTORS OF THE BANK OF ST. GEORGE

Of all the holographs which have come down to us from Columbus, none equals this in interest, not so much because of its subject-matter as for the part it has played in a famous forgery.

The financial institution known in later times—it was not until the year 1673 that it assumed the corporate name of *Banca di San Giorgio*—as the Bank of St. George, had its origin early in the fifteenth century, when, as the Casa or Ufficio di Sancto Giorgio, it was organised to accomplish collectively what various individual creditors were unable to accomplish in collecting from or arranging for the payment by the Republic of its obligations. On April 27, 1407, one general funded debt was created, covering the claims of various classes of creditors, and for the gradual liquidation of this debt certain revenues were set apart, to be managed by a corporation known as the Ufficio di Sancto Giorgio, and to be applied by it to the payment of the debt. No institution of the Lombards ever approached this Bank of St. George in wealth, power, audacity, utility, and patriotism. Growing out of this special object of its creation, the great Bank prospered, widened, increased, until it became the most powerful money-holder of its time. It issued letters of credit for all parts of the world, and bills of exchange [1] on every

[1] The oldest manuscript bill of exchange known (we take no account here of Assyrian bricks or of the "flying money" of China) is said to be one issuing from Messina, and drawn on Marseilles under date of February 15, 1200. It is preserved among some vouchers and accounts belonging to the merchants Mandouel, a prominent house at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

The city of Genoa has boasted of possessing the oldest commercial document of this character. The statement, however, is believed to be inexact. This document is itself not in existence, but is incorporated in a notarial act in the register of the Genoese notary Lanfranco, as reported by Giuseppe Canale, and the recorded words of the bill are as follows:

"Ego Simon Rubeus bancherius accepi a te Raimundo de Podiozandino libras danariorum Janue xxxiiii et danarios xxxii unde promitto tibi vel tuo misso, danti michi hanc cartam marcas viii boni argenti librarum venalium de Montepesulano, usque ad Pentecostem proximam, alioquim pena dupli tibi promitto. . . .

"Janue in fundico, sexto die aprilis ante tertiam, testes . . . de Nervi, Oglerius Patonus et Johannes Sabinus."

As Mr. Harrisse points out, this is a promissory note and not a bill of exchange, lacking the essential attributes of such a commercial instrument, as the third parties and place of exchange are not denominated in the document. In the text of Canale, whose *Storia civile e commerciale dei Genouesi* was printed at Genoa in 1846, the name of a third party, Wilhelmus bancherius and of a place Palermo, appear, but as they are not found in the notarial act it is evident they were gratuitously inserted. In any event, the document preserved at Marseilles antedates the document referred to in the notarial act preserved at Genoa.

city in Europe passed over its universal counters. Then, as now, men stood aghast at the gigantic stature of this corporation. It loaned to the Republic the means of conducting its affairs in time of peace, and in time of war it furnished money to equip fleets and organise armies. It not only received taxes from the State, but it had the power to collect these taxes directly itself, and no court in the land could stay its hand. It reached out into the field of commerce and established its companies in many lands, forming centres of activity throughout the shores reached by the Mediterranean. Machiavelli declared:

"E se gl'auuenisse, che col tempo in ogni modo auerrá, che San Giorgio tutta quella Città occupasse, sarebbe quella una Repub. piu che la Vinitiana memorabile ": "And if it should come to pass, as in time in all likelihood it will come to pass, that Saint George should cover the entire city, the former will present a Republic greater than famous Venice." [1]

We have seen how all-controlling to Columbus was his ultimate purpose of wresting from the Moslem the Holy Sepulchre and the land of Palestine. This purpose, as a legacy with all its responsibilities, he laid upon his heirs and successors, and that his end might be accomplished he provided a trust fund to be lodged and to be accumulated in this sound Genoese institution. The gift of corn for the people was generous but trivial in its importance to the gigantic scheme requiring millions upon millions of maravedis for ships and armies in the New Crusade. If money to any great amount was ever lodged in the Bank of St. George by Columbus or his heirs, the fact is not recorded. His charities were never dispensed, because the funds were never deposited for that good purpose. Not a ducat was ever paid into the Bank and not a ducat was ever paid out of the Bank to mount a knight and his squire, or to equip a soldier for the Crusade against Jerusalem and Bethlehem.

The Bank of St. George never quite recovered from the blows dealt it by the Austrians in 1740 and in 1800 by the French under a Corsican, whose family of Buona Parte boasted titles of nobility bearing the Republic's seals.

This letter was written by Columbus on April 2, 1502. It was forwarded, not directly, but through Francesco di Rivarola

[1] *Historie Fiorentine*, Firenze, MDXXXII., verso folio 218.

to Nicolò Oderigo, and by the latter to the Governors or Protectors—as they were called—of the Bank. It is not known when it reached its destination. The Directors replied to the Admiral under date of December 8, 1502, inclosing their letter in another to Don Diego, the Admiral's son.[1] If the letter had been re-

[1] "Preclariſſimo viro dum diego admirati maioris maris oceani filio honorandiſſimo.

"Illuſtris et clariſſime vir honorandiſſime. La excelentia de lo armirante maior voſtro padre per ſua lettera data adi dui de aprile paſſato et più largamente per relatione de lo ſpectabile meſer nicolò de oderico ritornato de la legatione ſua da queli gloriofiſſimi re ne ha fatto intendere quanta ſia la ſua carità et optima voluntà verſo queſta ſua primigenia patria del che habiamo recevuto conſolatione innaralabile vedendo etiamdo quelo che in parole ſcrive eſſere dimſotrato in effecti per che pare habia ordinato a voſtra claritudine che de li fruti ogni anno ſoi et voſtri per una decima debiate mandare in queſta cita a deputare a la exdebitatione ho ſia de ſqueanto de le cabelle de lo grano vino et altre victualie. Ne aricomanda etiamdio voſtra claritudine Ill che non nera molto neceſſario perche ſiamo et faremo ſempre in ogni voſtra gloria et amplia claritudine talmente diſpoſti che a quelo no ſe po fare alcuna additione. vi pregemo bene che vi piacia haveire a mente de metere ad executione quelo che de la decima lo voſtro excelentiſſimo padre ve ha ordinato et da noi ſe facia voſtra clarità tutto quelo concepto lo quale importa lo grado et condicione de caſa voſtra et la gloria de voſtro padre per lo quale et per voſtra magnificentia et claritudine ſiamo in ogni tempo paratiſſimi. La lettera che ſcrivemmo a eſſo excelentiſſimo voſtro padre incluſa ve queſta ve piacera darli quando li fera la comodita del tempo et la ſua presentia. Ex Genua MDII die viii decembris."

"To the Most Illustrious Man, Don Diego, Most Honourable Son of the High Admiral of the Ocean-sea.

"Illustrious and Distinguished and Most Honoured Sir:—His Excellency, the Admiral your father, by means of his letter dated the second day of last April and more at length by means of the relation of the Honourable Messer Nicolò when he returned from his embassy to those Most Glorious Sovereigns, has caused us to understand how great is his charity and good-will towards this, his first country. We have been inexpressibly gratified by this, seeing also that what he wrote in words he has demonstrated in effect, as it appears that he has ordered your Excellency to send to this city every year one tenth of his and your revenue to be applied to the discharging or reducing of the tax on corn, wine, and other provisions. He also recommends your Excellency to us which is not very necessary, because we are and always shall be so disposed to promote your glory and aggrandisement that our disposition to that effect cannot be increased. We beg you then to be pleased to have in mind the carrying into execution of what your Most Excellent father has ordered in regard to the tenth, and everything shall be done by us for your Excellency to the extent which belongs to your rank and the dignity of your house and to the glory of your father, whom, as well as your Excellency and Grace we are always most ready to serve. The letter enclosed which we have written to your Most Excellent father, we shall be pleased if you will give him when you have the opportunity and he is near you. From Genoa 1502, December 8."

"Illuſtri et preclariſſimo viro domino Chriſtoforo maiori admirato maris oceani viſſe regi et gubernatori generali insularum et continentis aſſie et indiarum cereniſſimorum regis et regine et capitaneo generali maris et conſiliario.

"Illuſtris vir et clariſſime amantiſſimeque concivis et domine memorandiſſime. Per lo ſpectabile jureconſulto meſſer nicolo de oderigo ritornato da la legatione per queſta excelſa noſtra comunità apreſſo de quelli excelentiſſimi et gloriofiſſimi Re, ne ſtata data una lettera de voſtra claritudine la quale ne ha data una conſolatione ſingulariſſima vedendo per quella voſtra excelentia eſſere come è conſentaneo ala natura ſua affectionato de queſta ſua originaria patria ala quale dimoſtra portare ſingulare amore et carita volendo che de la gracia la quale la divinia bonta ſe dignata fare a voſtra excelentia la patria antedicta et populi de quella debiano ſentire bona comodita et fructo memorabile, habiando ordinato a lo preclariſſimo don diego voſtro figiolo che de la decima de ogni rendita ſua ogni anno debia in queſta eittà provedere a deſbitatione de la gabelle de grano vino et altre victualie, la qual coſſa non poteria eſſere piu caritativa nec ctiam piu memorabile nec tendere a maior memoria de la gloria voſtra la quale in le altre coſſe eſt tanto grande et tanto ſingulare quanto ſe habia per alcuna ſcriptura homo del mondo mei haveire aquiſtato habiando per voſtra propria induſtria animosita et prudentia ritrovato tanta parte di

ceived promptly by the Bank, ordinary business courtesy would have suggested an earlier acknowledgment. However, when the Chancellor of the Bank (Antonio Gallo, the same historian to first write the Columbian pedigree) did receive the letter, he performed a common business act which in time served to detect as arrant a piece of forgery as was ever perpetrated. He folded the letter and passed it over and through a pointed bit of iron which acted as a letter-file. In the course of time, in one month or two months or six months, whenever this particular iron letter-file became overburdened, the letter and its companion

queſta terra et globo del mondo inferiore la quale per tutti li antipaſſati ſecoli ali homini de la noſtra habitabile e ſtata incognita. Ma queſta tanta excelentia voſtra de coſſi ſingulariſſima gloria a dire lo vero ne pare molto piu memorabile et completa eſſendo condita de la humanita et benignita che demoſtrate haveire a queſta ſua primogenia patria perche laudemo cum infinite laude la voſtra diſpoſitione et preghiamo lo omnipotente Dio ſe degne conſervarvi longamente cum felicita. A lo prenominato don diego voſtro preclariſſimo figliolo faremo ſempre tanto affectionati quanto importa la condictione ſua per eſſere voſtro figiolo ac la excelentia de li facti et gloria voſtra de la quale queſta noſtra comune patria prende et ha havuto la parte ſua a loquale don diego ſe ſiamo offerti per lettera et coſſi ſe offerimo a voſtra excelentia in tutto quello che ſia in noſtra mano poter fare per honore et creſcimento de la gloriofiſſima caſa voſtra.—Lo prenominato meſſere nicolo ne ha narrato molte coſſe de le gracie et privilegii voſtri li quali ha portato qui tranſlati, del che ſiamo conſolatiſſimi et ve rifferemo immortale gratie che de quelli ne habiate facti partecipi. Ex genua MDII die viii decembris."

"To the Illustrious and Most Distinguished Man Don Christopher, High Admiral of the Ocean-sea, Vice-Roy and Governor General of the islands and continental lands of the Indies and Captain-General of the seas and Counsellor of the Most Serene King and Queen.

"Illustrious Man and most Distinguished and Beloved Fellow Citizen and ever-to-be-remembered Lord:

"By means of the Honourable jurist, Messer Nicolò Oderigo, who has returned from his Embassy from this our Commonwealth to your Most Excellent and Most Glorious Sovereigns, we have received a letter from your Excellency which has gratified us exceedingly, seeing from it the affection entertained by your Excellency, as in keeping with your nature, for this your original country towards which you show that you bear a singular love and charity, by desiring that the aforesaid country and its people should feel the benefits of the favour which the Divine Goodness has deigned to show to your Excellency: having ordered the Most Illustrious Don Diego, your son, to provide every year by means of the tenth of his revenue for the discharging of the tax on corn, wine and other provisions, than which nothing could be more charitable or more memorable or tend to the greater remembrance of your glory, which in other things is as great and as remarkable as has ever been recorded of any other man in the world, having by your own industry, energy, and prudence discovered such a part of this earth and globe of the Antipodes, which throughout all the past centuries has been unknown to the men of our inhabited world. But this great excellence of your most remarkable glory, to tell the truth, appears much more memorable and complete, being accompanied by the humanity and benignity which you show that you possess for this, your first country, on which account we magnify with infinite praises your disposition and we pray the omnipotent God to deign to preserve you in happiness for many years. As to the aforesaid Don Diego, your Most Illustrious Son, we shall always hold him in the affection to which his condition as your son entitles him, as well as on account of the excellency of your deeds and of your glory, of which this, our common country, takes and has received its part. We have offered to Don Diego by letter, and so we offer ourselves to your Excellency, to do everything which may be in our hands for the honour and exaltation of your most glorious house. The aforesaid Messer Nicolò has narrated to us many things of your graces and privileges of which he has brought us copies and by which we are extremely gratified and address to you our everlasting thanks for those in which you have made us participants. From Genoa, 1502, December 8."

pieces were joined together in a bundle called a *filza*, by a convenient string or braided cord passing through the holes made by the iron file, and after being labelled *Foliatium Apodisiarum Antonio Gallo de 1502* (File of Vouchers of Antonio Gallo for the Year 1502) were stored away in the recesses of the Bank.

Here lay this precious letter of Columbus for years, for generations, for centuries. We cannot say its sleep was absolutely undisturbed, because in the year 1614, Girolamo Bordoni, the Milanese printer, published a new edition of the *Historie* of Ferdinand Columbus, and in it quotes this original letter of gift declaring he took it *Ex Registro Litterarum Q. D. Antonii Galli Viri Ex Cancellariis Comperarum S. Georgii.* There are known other instances in which the letter has been taken from the file, opened, and read.

Sometime during the first week in August of the year 1829, Signor Antonio Lobero, the Archivist of the Bank of St. George, while rummaging among the old files, came across this letter. He copied it and sent the copy to the Secretary of the Treasury. The municipal authorities learned of this, and as they already possessed the *Codex*, or *Book of Privileges*, and the two letters addressed to Oderigo, they asked that their Hall might become the repository of these relics.

Accordingly, in December, 1829, this letter was transferred to the Municipal Palace at Genoa, where it is at this day preserved in the little marble monument called the *Custodia*, together with a crystal locket containing some alleged particles of the dust to which the body of the great Discoverer had been reduced. In 1857, Armanino, a celebrated Genoese lithographer, took a tracing of this letter, from which tracing another was reproduced at Havana in 1857; and in 1868 it was again reproduced by photography. Still another photograph was subsequently made and is for sale at Genoa. This last can be identified by its size—138 mms. by 98 mms. The original, as we measure it from the top of the cross to the end of the letter *p* in the signature, is 291.70 mms., while the folio is 215.70 mms. in width.

Henry Harrisse, the distinguished historian of America,—*cui etas nostra multum debet*,—some twenty years ago, or, to be exact, on October 17, 1883, was at work in the Paris Na-

tional Library,[1] when he met an Italian, fluent in his French, who told him he was preparing a history of Columbus based on documents hitherto uncited and unknown, among which was a holograph letter then in his possession. Naturally, this interested Mr. Harrisse, who requested that he might see it. The Italian declined to show him the original, which he said was not in a fit condition to exhibit, but produced a photograph of it. This was at once recognised by Mr. Harrisse as apparently an exact counterfeit of the letter to the Bank of St. George, our letter No. XVIIII. When Mr. Harrisse announced his opinion that this was only a copy, the Italian smiled, and, saying that he had it from a priest, intimated that it might have been obtained from the archives at Genoa by unlawful means. Promising to bring at another day the original of the photograph, the Italian departed from the Library, and Mr. Harrisse never saw him again. He had the satisfaction, however, of learning subsequently that the man had been a fugitive from justice in Genoa, where, on September 6, 1882, he had been condemned to prison for theft and other crimes. In December, 1885, the man was delivered by the French authorities to the Italian Government, and thus returned to imprisonment in the Sant Giuliano Persiceto.

In February, 1887, Mr. Harrisse received a communication to the effect that an autograph letter of Christopher Columbus was for sale in Chicago for 50,000 francs, and later in New York for $2000. Upon inquiry it was disclosed that this was the same letter which the Italian had in Paris in 1883. The possessor of the letter of 1887 openly acknowledged it was identical with that possessed by the Italian in 1883.

The forger of this letter—for we can easily prove it to be a forgery—suffered from a broken continuity between skill and knowledge,—the dread of the forger and the safety of the public. Possessing himself of one of the lithographs made in 1856, the forger assumed that, in the time of the original letter, vellum and not paper was used. Accordingly, he procured a sheet of vellum and transferred to it an *exact copy* of the lithograph.

[1] American visitors to the reading room of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* will do well to gaze at desk 17, at which has been done much of the work of this indefatigable writer, easily the foremost of American historians. Seventy-five historical works relating to the early history of America have come from his pen, and yet no American library embraces the half thereof. It is a commentary on the reward of labour.

Here he lacked knowledge, not only as to the material used for correspondence in the sixteenth century, but in the well known chirographical fact that no man will naturally write a certain number of words exactly alike on two separate pieces of paper. Yet in this Paris-New York-Chicago letter, not only was every word exactly similar in its minutest characters to those corresponding words and characters found in the 1856 lithograph, but it religiously reproduced an egregious and fatuous, yet necessary, blunder in the said lithograph. If the reader will examine the letter here reproduced, in an exact facsimile made by photography of the original in the *Custodia* at Genoa, he will find on the twelfth line certain marks indicating the presence in the original of two holes. These holes are the marks left by the iron file when it pierced the letter as it received it from the hand of Antonio Gallo in 1502. The forger never saw this original, and therefore he had no knowledge of the holes. But the lithographer of 1856 did possess this knowledge, and, wishing to improve the appearance of the original, he concealed the holes, and on his stone cut what he conceived to be the missing characters made by the said holes. The Paris-New York-Chicago letter has no holes, and exactly reproduces the lithograph of 1856. It has been affirmed that Columbus was in the habit of making two transcripts of his letters, forwarding one and keeping the other as a record. He certainly did make copies of some letters and some documents. But if he made two copies of this letter to the Bank of St. George on April 2, 1502, one on paper and one on vellum, is it probable he would have sent the cheap and common-paper copy to his distinguished correspondent, the magnificent and lordly Ufficio di Sancto Giorgio, and retained the costly and rare vellum copy for himself? And is it within the range of possibility that he would have written twenty-five lines, counting the mark of the cross and the signature, making each letter of each word of one copy with exactly the same characters, the same dimension, the same shading, and placing it in exactly the same relative position as the same letter in the other copy! Only a skilled forger can do that. What object could Columbus have had in himself perpetrating a forgery of one of his own letters on an expensive piece of sheep-skin, and then prophetically retaining it for the benefit of some American collector!

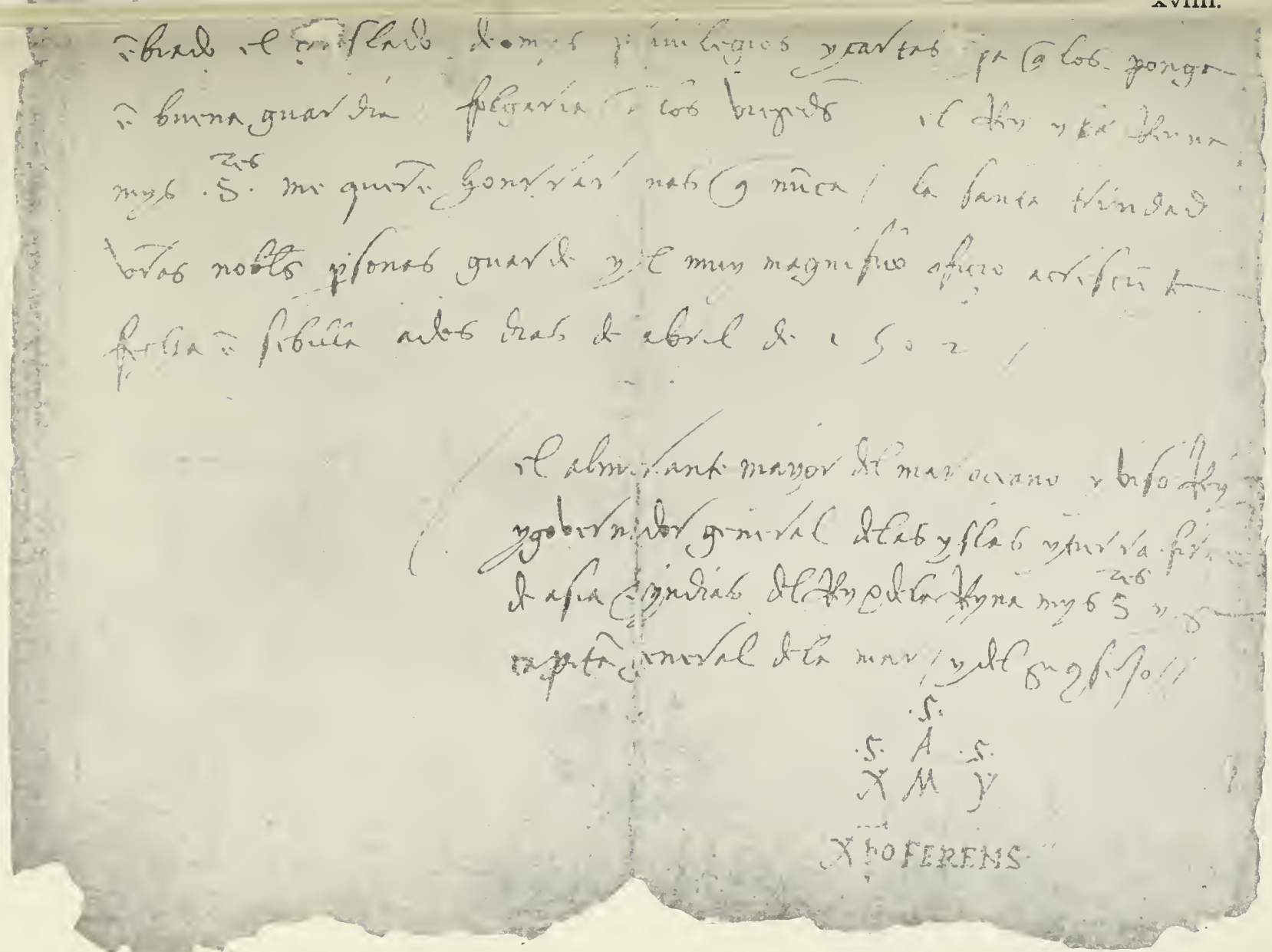
The Italian forger may be free or in prison, but the fruit of his pen is wandering up and down the land seeking a buyer and a home. We might commute the sentence of an utterer of false bank-notes if he were contrite of heart, and no harm could come from a shorter prison service; but on him who would forge a letter of Christopher Columbus we would confer all the preliminary pains of the forever-lost.[1]

[1] As the author writes there lies on his desk the correspondence between the holder if not the actual owner of the Columbian forgery and a bookseller in New York. And also there lies on his desk a letter from the same correspondent who, in January, 1900, was still the holder of the letter, offering that piece for a ridiculously small sum, not any longer as a genuine Columbus holograph, but as a literary curiosity, which it certainly is. Thus a bit of vellum which has caused some discussion, a little jealousy, and a variety of mixed sentiments, has found its proper classification after twenty uneasy years.

XVIIII

muy noble señora

Bñ q̃ el cuerpo ande acá / el coraçõ ẽ alvidad. gtemo / nro S' me faga q̃ la mayo
merid, q̃ después de Dios el aya fecho onrar / las cosas de my empresa va cõ
y fuerça grã humbre / q̃ la crueldad del gobierno nõ le mouiera / yo batal
alas ynglesas ẽ nõbre de la santa hermãdad ya prnar luego / y por q̃ no se
mortal yo dño a dõ Diego myo fijo q̃ de la dha toda q̃ gouierne / q̃ es
acuda allí cõ el diezmo de toda ella cada vn año ya q̃ ge ya
cuento de la dha de Trigo y otras bituallas como dicho es / q̃ ha
diz fuere algo trabajado / y q̃ no haya la voluntad q̃ yo tengo /
assi fijo myo vos pido por merced q̃ tengays encomendado
myos hijos de vuestro fijos mas q̃ yo pro



·S·
·S A S·
X M Y
X̄POFERENS

No. XVIII. Holograph Letter of Columbus, Signed, Addressed to the Directors of the Bank of St. George at Genoa, Dated Seville, April 2, 1502. [*Municipal Palace at Genoa.*]

NO. XVIIII.

Transliteration

"muy nobles señores

"bien que el coerpo ande aca. el coraçon esta ali de continuo. nuestra Señor me ha fecho la mayo[r]// merçed que despues de dabid el aya fecho a nadi. las cosas de my inpresa ya luzen// y farian gran lumbre si la escuridad del gobierno non le incobriera. yo boeluo// a las yndias en nombre de la santa trinidad para tornar luego. y porque yo soy// mortal yo deso a don diego my fijo que de la renta toda que se oviere que os// acuda ali con el diezmo de toda ella cada vm año para siempre para en des-//cuento de la renta del trigo y vino y otras bitualias comederas si este// diezmo fuere algo reçebildo y si non reçebid la voluntad que yo tengo// a este fijo myo vos pido por merçed que tengays encomendado. myçer// nycolo de oderigo sabe de mys fechos mas que yo proprio. yo el he//

Translation

XVIIII.

"Very noble Lords:

"Although my body is here, my heart is continually yonder. Our Lord has granted me the greatest favour he has granted any one since the time of David. The results of my undertaking already shine, and they would make a great light if the obscurity of the government did not conceal them. I shall go again to the Indies in the name of the Holy Trinity, to return immediately. And as I am mortal, I desire my son Don Diego to give to you each year, forever, the tenth part of all the income received, in payment of the tax on wheat, wine, and other provisions. If this tenth amounts to anything, receive it, and if not, receive my will for the deed. I beg you as a favour to have this son of mine in your charge. Nicolò de Oderigo knows more about my affairs than I myself. I have

XVIIII.

enbiado el traslado de mys priuilegios y cartas para que los ponga// en buen guardia. folgaria que los viesedes. el rey y la reyna// mys Señores me queren honrrar mas que nunca. la santa trinidad// vuestras nobles personas guarde y el muy magnifico ofiçio acresçiente// fecha en sebilla a dos dias de abril de. 1502.

"el almirante mayor del mar oçeano y viso rey y governador general de las yslas y tierra firme de asia & yndias del rey & de la reyna mys señores y su capitan general de la mar y del su consejo//

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
:Xp̃o Ferens."

sent him the copy of my privileges and letters, that he may place them in safe keeping. I would be glad if you could see them. The King and the Queen, my Lords, now wish to honour me more than ever. May the Holy Trinity guard your noble persons, and increase the importance of your very magnificent office. Done in Seville, April 2, 1502.

"The High-Admiral of the Ocean-Sea and Vice-Roy and Governor General of the islands and main-land of Asia and the Indies, belonging to the King and Queen, my Lords, and the Captain-General of the Sea, and a Member of their Council.

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
:Xp̃o Ferens."

NO. XX. LETTER WRITTEN BY CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS TO FATHER DON GASPAR GORRICIO

This priest was a devoted friend of Columbus, but it is not certain that they were in relations with each other prior to the discovery. Indeed, there is reason to believe that Father Gaspar was not in Spain much before that period. He published at Seville, in 1495, a little religious work which was composed in Italian, but was translated into the Castilian tongue by a lawyer, Juan Alfonso de Logrono.[1] The inference is that if Father Gaspar had been long in Spain he would not have been obliged to call in another to render his composition from the Italian into the Spanish language. And yet, here again we wonder why Columbus, himself an Italian, should write in Spanish, at best an adopted tongue and one which Las Casas says he employed imperfectly, to a compatriot who also appears to have been an indifferent Castilian scholar.

Father Gaspar Gorricio was of noble birth. This accounts for the *Don* with which the Admiral punctiliously generally prefixed the priest's name. As we learn from the book mentioned in the note, Gorricio was a native of Novara in Italy, and a family of that name in the early part of the thirteenth century held a place of importance in the city. December 6, 1503, Father Gaspar Gorricio filled the office of "conrrey," or deputy attorney, of the monastery, a position to which were committed the civil cases of the Order. It is then natural that the Admiral should place in his charge some of his legal and complicated personal affairs. Father Gaspar basked somewhat in the light of the Court, since we find in the letter to the Admiral to him, under date of February 26, 1501, that the Queen knew him and had lately written him a letter. The semi-professional character of this lawyer-priest accounts for his acting both for Don Bartholomew, the Adelantado, and for Don Diego—the second Admiral—on several occasions. In 1508, the Adelantado intrusted to his care gold and jewels. In July, 1514, the name of Father Gaspar Gorricio appears as one of the profess-

[1] This work is entitled: *Contemplaciones sobre el Rosario de N. S. . . . ordenadas por Don Gaspar de Gorricio de Novaria, monje de Cartuxa: è tornadas en vulgar castillano por el reverendo señor bachiller Juan Alfonso de Logrono, canonigo de Sevilla.* Impressa en esta misma eiudad por Meynardo Ungut y Lançalao Polono en 1495, July 8.

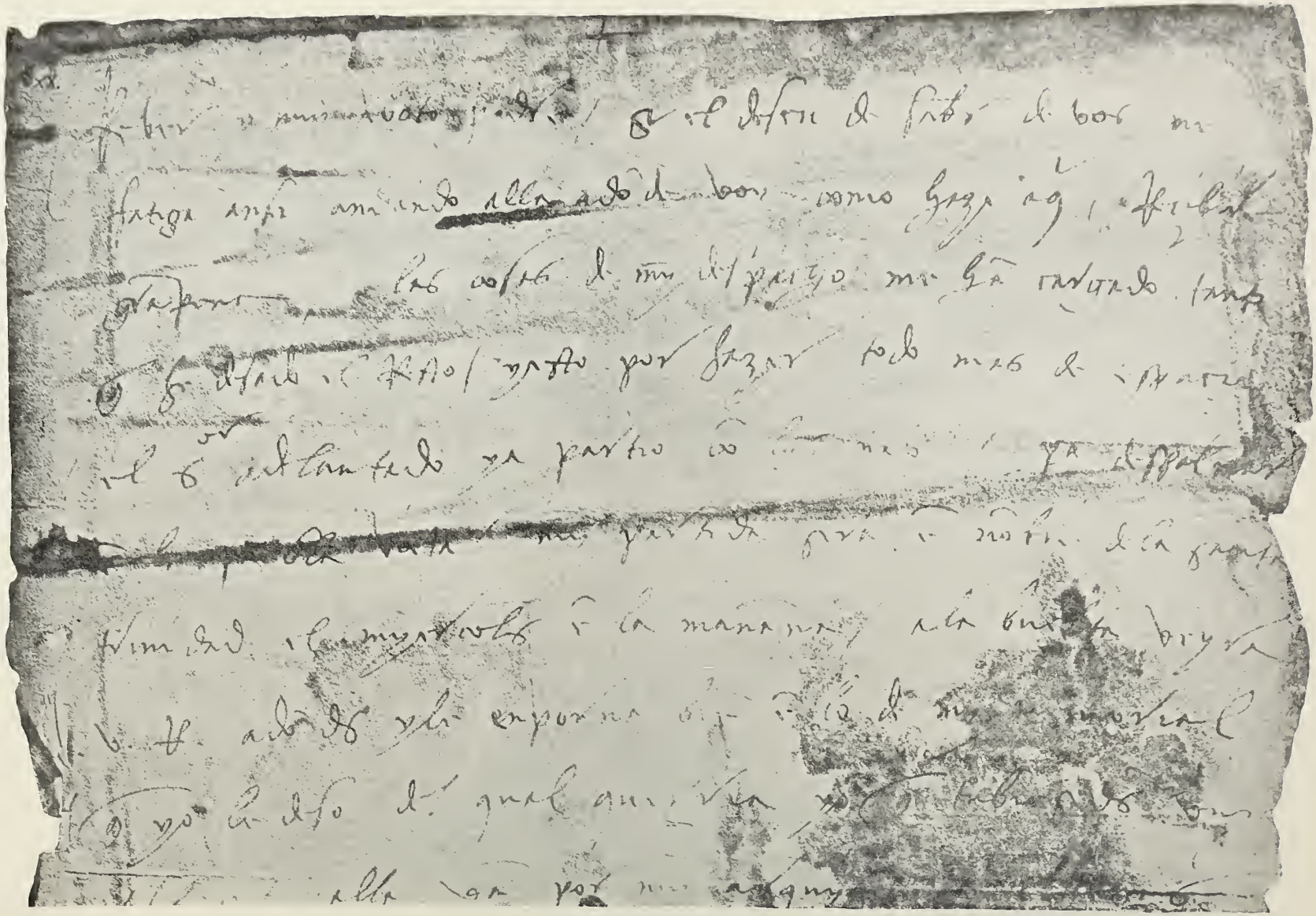
ors of the monastery engaged in public teaching. Don Diego Columbus, brother of the Admiral, died in February, 1514, in the house of Don Francisco Gorricio, who is thought to have been a brother of the Carthusian monk. In the work mentioned in the note, the letter or preface is directed to the author's brothers, Francisco and Melchior Gorricio.[1]

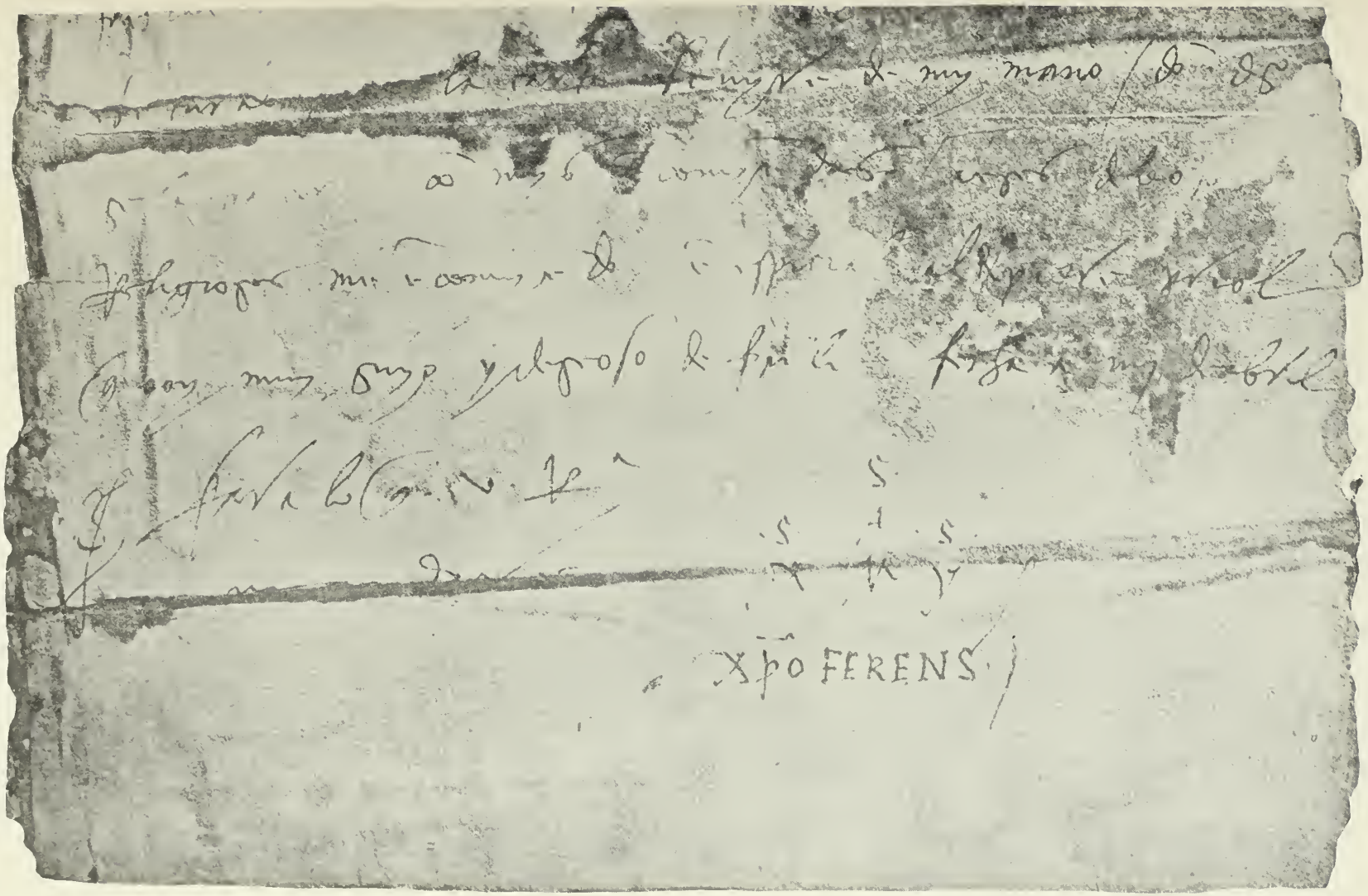
This letter was doubtless written by the Admiral from San Lucar, whither he had just gone from Seville to look after his ships. San Lucar de Barrameda was then an important seaport in Spain some eighteen miles north of Cadiz, where the river Guadalquivir empties into the Atlantic. He found his faithful and capable brother Bartholomew had already removed the ships to Puebla Vieja, where they were undergoing the necessary preparation of being caulked and tightened for their long and dangerous voyage from which none, we believe, was ever permitted to return.

The reference to his memorial undoubtedly alludes to the *Book of Privileges*, one if not two copies of which had already been forwarded to Father Gaspar for deposit in the *Chest*.

[1] The learned author of the *Raccolta*, Part I., vol. ii., is in error in supposing that Melchior Gorricio ever exercised the art of printing. He was a distinguished merchant and a patron of printing, but he employed the printer Petrus Hagenbach and his Toledo press for his enlightened purposes. In our example of Gutierrez's *Cura de la piedra*, from the press of Petrus Hagenbach, April 4, 1498, we read: *Ha expendas de Melchior Gorricio mercador por mæstre Pedro hagenbach aleman.* . . .

From this same press, in 1498, issued *Cæsar: commentarios;* also *a costa del muy honrado mercador Melchior Gorricio.* . . .





No. XX. Holograph Letter of Columbus, Signed, to Father Don Gaspar Gorricio, Dated from San Lucar, April 4, 1502.
[*Archives of the Duke of Veragua at Madrid.*]

NO. XX.

Transliteration

"Reberendo y muy deboto padre.

"Si el deseu de saber de vos me// fatiga ansi andando alla adonde voy como haze aqui recibire// gran pena. las cosas de my despacho me han cargado tanto// que he desado el resto y esto por hazer todo mas de espaçio// el señor adelantado ya partio con los nabios para despalmar// en la puebla vieja. my partida sera en nombre de la santa// trinidad el myercoles en la mañana. ala buelta veyra// VUESTRA REUERENCIA a don diego y le esporna bien en lo de my memorial// qve yo deso del qual querria yo que tubiesedes vm// treslado. alla van por my arquyta para algunas//

Translation

XX.

"Reverend and Very Devout Father:

"If the desire to hear from you troubles me as much in the places to which I am going, as it does here, I shall feel great anxiety. I have been charged with so many things for my expedition, that I have left the rest: and I have done this in order to attend to everything more at leisure. The Señor Adelantado has already left with the ships, in order to have them calked at the Puebla Vieja. My departure will take place Wednesday morning in the name of the Holy Trinity. On his return, your Reverence will see Don Diego and explain to him thoroughly in regard to a memorial of mine which I leave, and of which I wish you to have a copy. They are going there for my small chest, to obtain some

escri-
turas. la carta escriuyre de my mano. don diego// se la trahera con mys encomyendas. a eses debotos// religiosos me encomyendo. en espeçial al reberendo padre priol// que voy muy suyo y deseoso de seruile fecha a .iiii de abril// fara lo que VUESTRA REUERENCIA//
"mandare.//

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
Xp̃o FERENS."

XX.

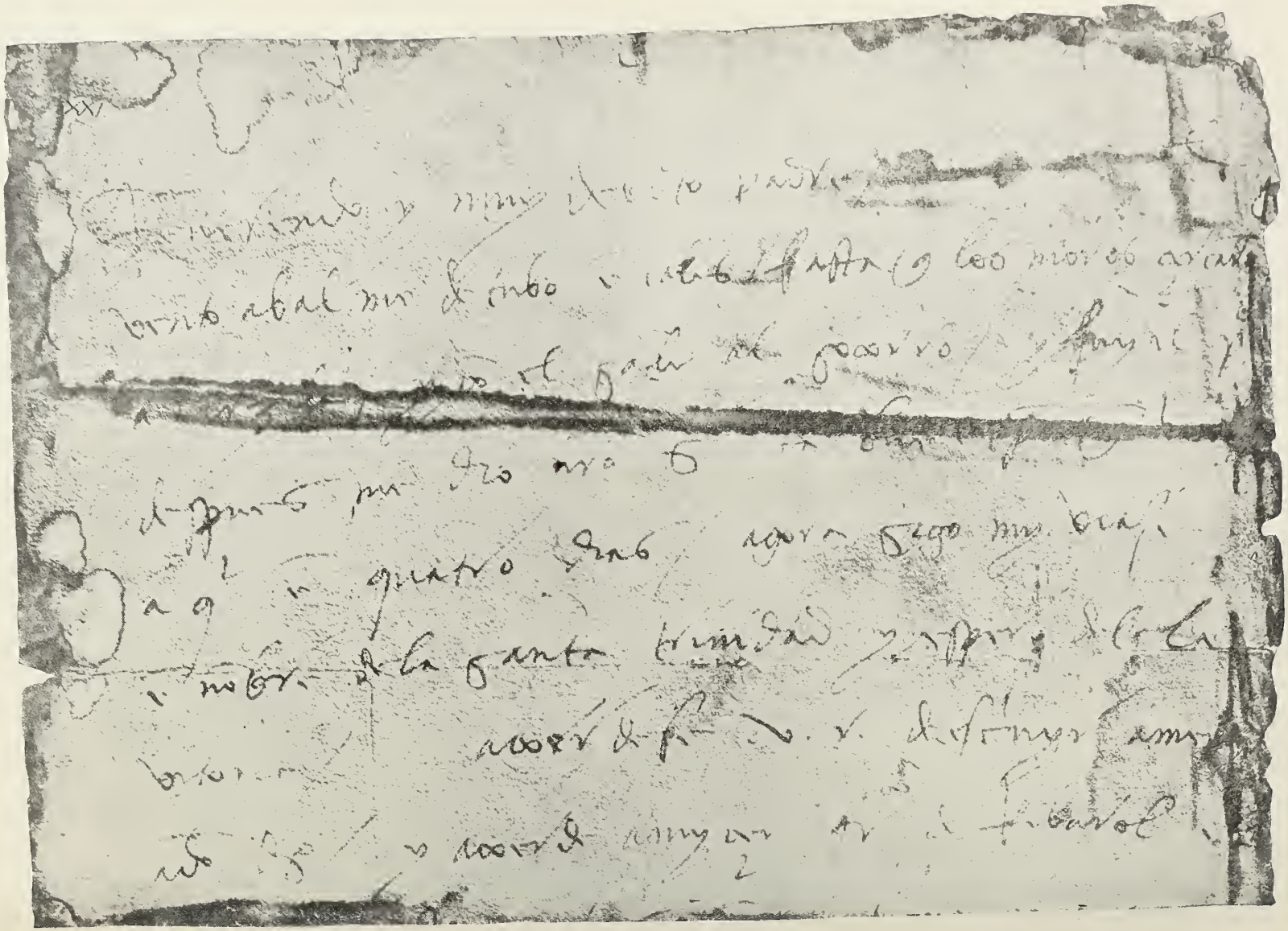
writings. I will write the letter with my own hand. Don Diego will bring it with my messages. I commend myself to the devout members of your religious house. Especially I would say to the Reverend Prior that I am very much at his disposal and am desirous of serving him. Done April 4.
"I am at the command
of your Reverence.

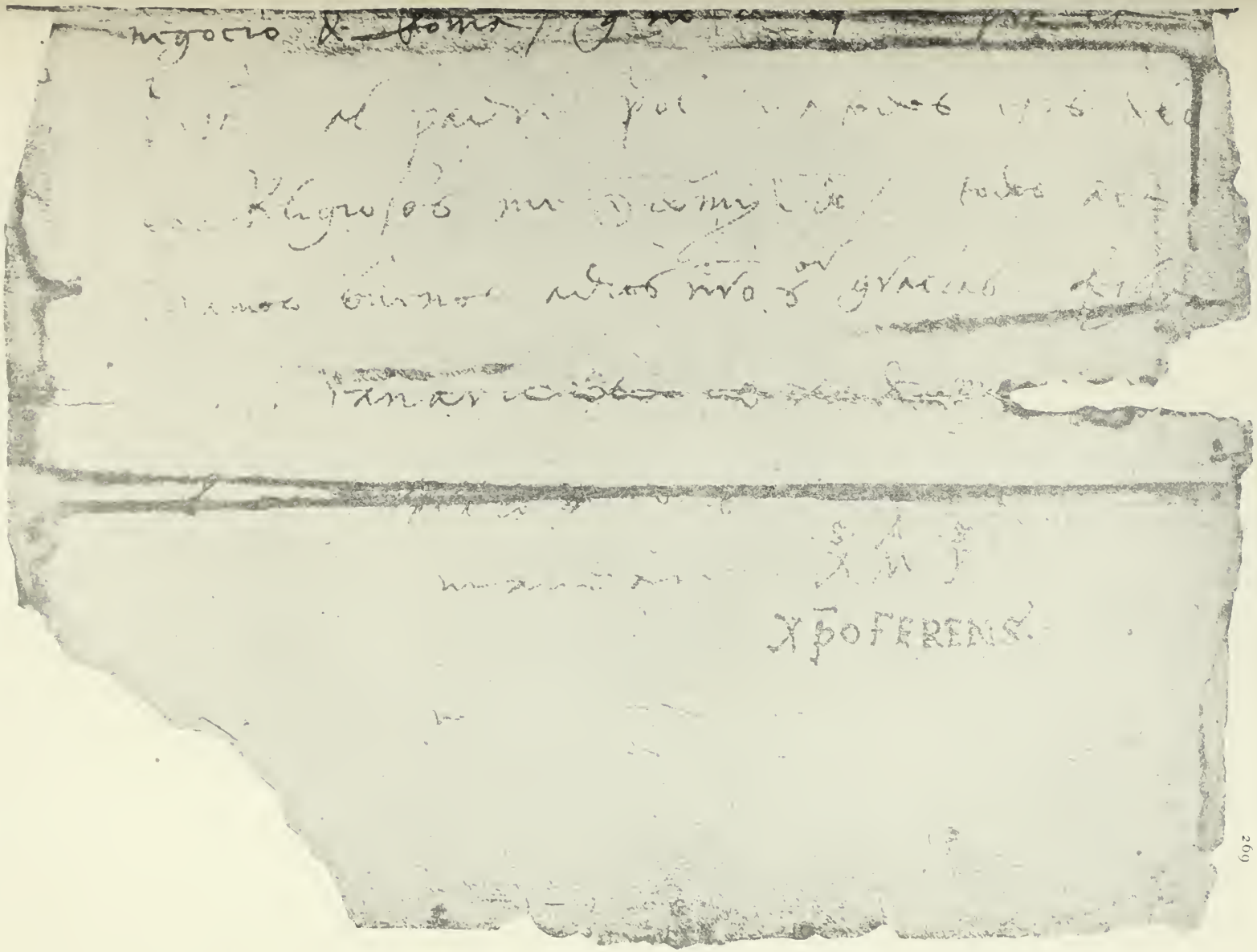
.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
Xp̃o FERENS."

NO. XXI. LETTER WRITTEN BY CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS TO FATHER DON GASPAR GORRICIO

The last letter, written to Father Gaspar Gorricio, left the Admiral at San Lucar de Barrameda. This famous port, which witnessed the departure of Columbus on his fourth and last voyage, was to say farewell some seventeen years later to Ferdinand Magellan as he began his own memorable voyage. It must, therefore, have an abiding interest for the student of early American history. Columbus found that his brother Bartholomew had taken his four ships to Cadiz, to the old town, *Puebla Vieja*, where he was engaged in fitting them for their fateful journey. The Admiral followed them, and here, in Cadiz, waited many days for a farewell wind. The prevailing winds were head-winds, blowing from the south-south-west, the direction in which he proposed sailing. Finally, the very day on which word came to him that over in Fez the Moors were besieging the little town of Arzilla, occupied by the Portuguese, the wind shifted and the Admiral hastened past Santa Caterina, across the head of the Straits, past Cape Spartel, some three and twenty miles south-south-west to Arzilla. The appearance of these four ships frightened away the Moors, and when the Adelantado and the Admiral's son, Ferdinand, landed and met the Portuguese governor of the town, not a turbaned head was in sight. The fleet went on its way, reaching the island of Grand Canary in which this letter was written, probably on May 20, 1502. The date of the letter—beyond the word May—is not legible.

We do not know what business Francesco di Rivarola was to transact for the Admiral at Rome. Perhaps it was to arouse in Pope Alexander VI. a desire for a new crusade against the Moslem. If this was his purpose, the errand of Francesco di Rivarola had been fruitless, for that Pontiff was at that moment operating a crusade against the small kingdoms of Italy.





No. XXI. Holograph Letter of Columbus, Signed, to Father Don Gaspar Gorricio, Dated from Grand Canary, May ——, probably between May 20 and May 25, 1502, while on his Fourth Voyage. [*Archives of the Duke of Veragua at Madrid.*]

NO. XXI.

Transliteration

"Reuerendo y muy deboto padre. el// vento abal me detubo en calis fasta que los moros çercaron// a arzila y con el sali al socorro y fuy el primero// despues me dio nuestro señor tan buen tiempo que vine// aqui en quatro dias. agora sigo my viaje// en nombre de la santa trinidad y espero del la// vitoria. acoerdese VUESTRA REUERENCIA de escriuyr amenud[o]// a don diego y acorede a myçer francisco de Ribarol el//

Translation

XXI.

"Reverend and Very Devout Father:

"The south-west wind detained me in Cadiz until the Moors surrounded Arzilla and with that wind I started to the rescue of the besieged, and was the first to do so. Our Lord gave me such good weather that I came here in four days. Now I shall continue my voyage in the name of the Holy Trinity and I hope to obtain a victory from it. I trust your Reverence will remember to write often to Don Diego and will remind Mr. Francisco di Rivarol of the

negoçio de Roma que non le escriuo por la// priesa. al padre priol y a todos esos debo-//tos religiosos me encomyendo. todos aca// estamos buenos adios nuestro señor graçias. fecha// en gran canaria . . . de may[o]//

"fara lo que VUESTRA REUERENCIA//

"mandare//

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
Xp̃o FERENS"

XXI.

affair of Rome, as I do not write him on account of being in haste. I commend myself to the Father Prior and all the devout members of your religious house. All here are well, thanks be to God, our Lord.

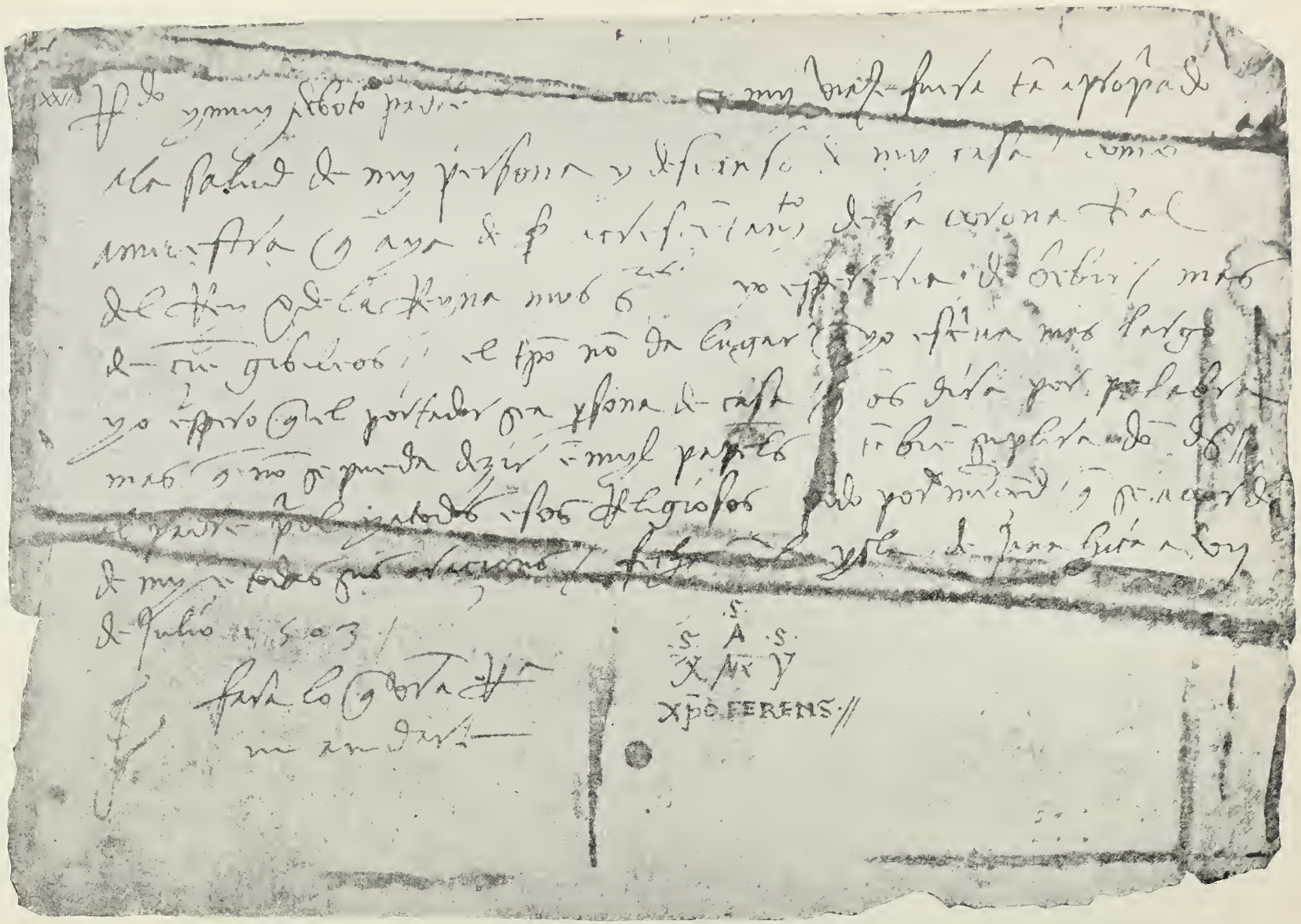
"Done at the Grand Canary . . . of May.

"I am at the command of your Reverence.

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
Xp̃o FERENS."

NO. XXII. LETTER WRITTEN BY CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS TO FATHER DON GASPAR GORRICIO

The reader will recognise the date of this letter, July 7, 1503, as that on which the Admiral wrote his famous letter to the Sovereigns, and which is reproduced in this Work under the title *Lettera Rarissima*. This letter, together with the one to the Sovereigns and one or more to Don Diego, were intrusted to Diego Mendez when he risked his life in a canoe between Jamaica and Santo Domingo in his brave attempt to rescue the Admiral and his followers. These were starving and quarrelling on the shores of Jamaica, and it was nearly a year before they reached Española. The letter to the Sovereigns was written under the pressure of bodily infirmity and mental anguish. Its composition had left the Admiral physically incapable of writing more at length to Father Gaspar Gorricio. He could only say that if his own health and fortunes were proportionate to what he had been able to accomplish for the Royal Crown of Spain, he would live at least a hundred years. What great thing, then, had he accomplished? He bore with him no great nuggets of gold. The pearls he had found in his third voyage came from far to the southward, and not one was gathered from the waters of Veragua. The rivers of Española were as sweet as those of Belem. The harbours of Cuba were as secure as those of Bastimentos and Puerto Bello. The natives under the Quibian were no more warlike than those who obeyed Guarionex or the Ciguayans themselves. What, then, had the Admiral done? He had definitely proven that the regions he had discovered were in a New World. He had assured himself that the province of Ciguare was bounded by two separate oceans, and that the lands of Asia were not touched by this ocean-sea, the Atlantic, but that they and all the possessions of the Great Khan lay farther over to the westward, out into the new ocean, whose waters bathed the other side of Ciguare; and, further, that the shores about the Gulf of Paria were contiguous and part of the great Continental land. This was his latest contribution to the Crown of Spain.



No. XXII. Holograph Letter of Columbus, Signed, to Father Don Gaspar Gorricio, Dated from Island of Jamaica, July 7, 1503. This Letter is Dated the Same Day as that on which the Admiral Wrote his Famous Letter to the Sovereigns. [*Archives of the Duke of Veragua at Madrid.*]

NO. XXII.

Transliteration

"Reuerendo y muy deboto padre. si my viaje fuera tan apropriado// ala salud de my persona y descanso de my casa como// amuestra que aya de ser acresçentamiento de la corona real// del rey & de la reyna mys señores yo espereria de bebir mas// de çien gibileos. el tiempo non da lugar que yo escriua mas largo// yo espero que el portador sea persona de casa que os dira por palabra// mas que non se pueda dezir en myl papeles y tambien suplira don diego.// al padre priol y a todos esos religiosos pido por merçed que se acoerden// de my en todas sus oraçiones. fecha en la ysla de janahica a vii// de julio .1503.

"fara lo que VUESTRA REUERENCIA// mandare.//

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
Xp̃o FERENS."//

Translation

XXII.

"Reverend and very Devout Father:

"If my voyage should be as conducive to my personal health and the repose of my house as it seems likely to be conducive to the aggrandisement of the royal Crown of the King and Queen, my Lords, I might hope to live more than a hundred years. I have not time to write more at length. I hope that the bearer of this letter may be a person of my house who will tell you verbally more than can be told in a thousand papers, and also Don Diego will supply information. I beg as a favour of the Father Prior and all the members of your religious house, that they remember me in all their prayers.

"Done on the island of Jamaica, July 7, 1503.

"I am at the command of your Reverence.

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
:Xp̃o FERENS."//

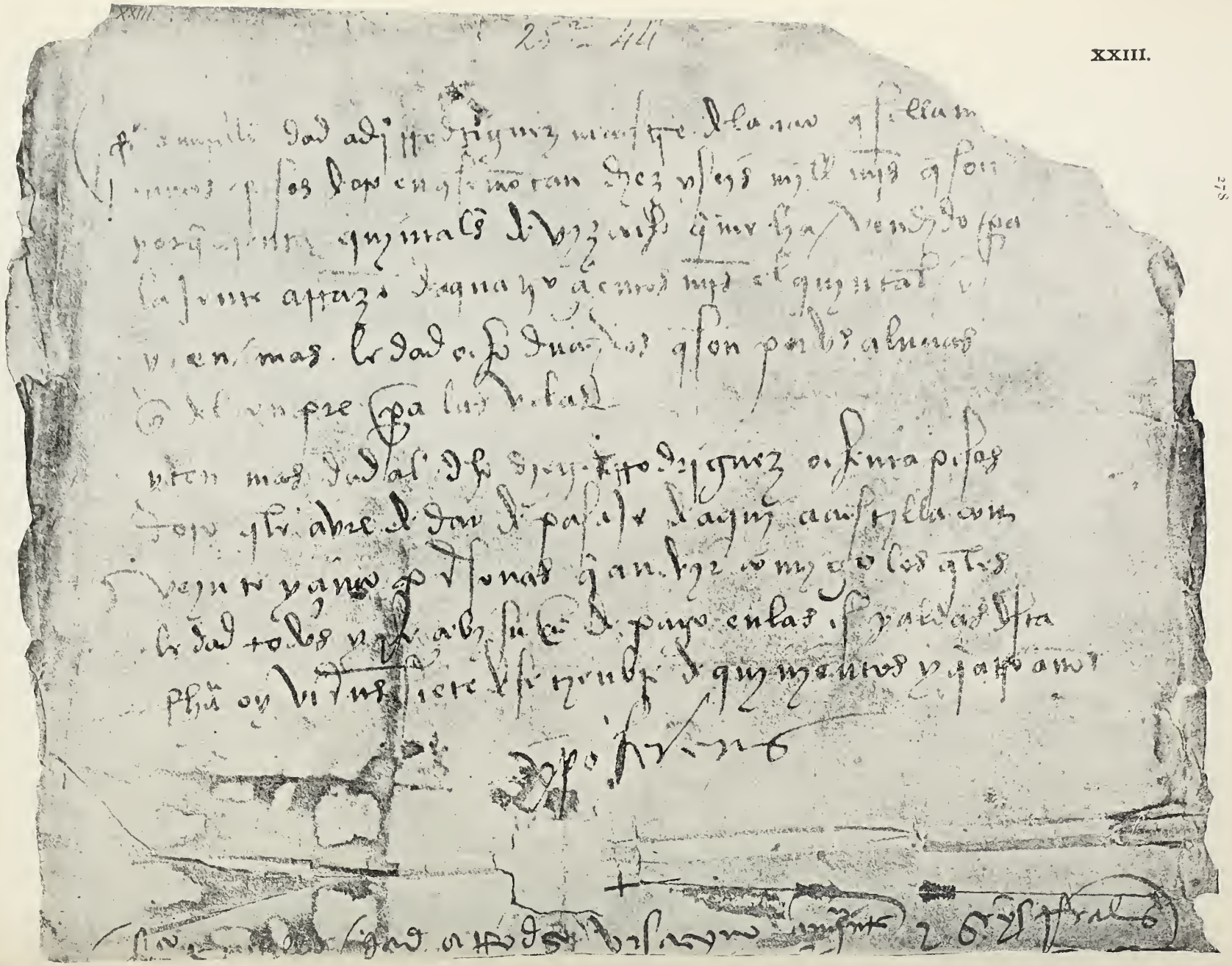
NOS. XXIII., XXIIII., AND XXV. LETTERS WRITTEN BY CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS TO FRANCISCO DE MORILLO

The three following letters are in the nature of purely commercial documents. Francisco de Morillo is thought by some to have been one of the Royal Treasurers.[1] We are inclined, however, to regard him rather as a merchant doing business in Seville, and these are orders on him to pay out moneys in his hands and standing in the name of the Admiral, to the several persons whose names appear in the letters. These letters were all written at San Domingo in Española. It will be remembered that Diego Mendez, who had effected his escape from Jamaica and in due time landed on Española, had failed for many months in securing a ship to send back to the Admiral and his followers. Finally two ships, one purchased and equipped by Diego Mendez on the private account of Columbus, and another fitted out by the Governor, reached the unfortunates on the coast of Jamaica and safely carried them to Española. On the way they were obliged to halt at the island of Beata, and finally reached the coast of Española, in the Bay of Villanueva de Yaquimo, called by the Admiral Puerto del Brasil. It is the Jacmel of later times. Here occurred the incident in Letter No. XXV., when Diego de Salcedo, of the ship fitted out by the Governor, paid fifteen gold pesos for fifteen loads of bread to feed the people on board of his ship. The Admiral was on board the ship of which Diego Rodriguez was the master, and to him is to be paid the money advanced for ship biscuits, probably at the same time the other ship purchased its supply at the Puerto del Brasil.

Columbus arrived at San Domingo August 13, 1504, and set sail—never again to see city, island, country, or sea of the New World—on September 12, 1504.

[1] The Treasurer's name seems to have been Morales.

This Francisco de Morillo is believed to have been related to the individual who had part in the Fiscal trial in Seville, December 9, 1527, where he is called *El Bachiller Alonso Morillo, mercador de Sevilla.*



No. XXIII. Holograph Letter of Columbus, Signed, Addressed to Francisco de Morillo, Dated September 7, 1504.

NO. XXIII.

Transliteration

"francisco de morillo. dad a diego rrodriguez maestre de la nao que se llam[a]// tantos pesos de oro en que se montan diez y seis mill maravedis que son// por quarenta quintales de vizcocho que me ha vendido para// la jente arrazon deaquatro çientos maravedis el quintal// yten mas le dad ocho ducados que son para dos alnnas// que del conpre para las velas.// yten mas dad al dicho diego rrodriguez ochenta pesos// doro que le avre de dar de pasaje de aqui a castilla con// veinte y çinco personas que an de ir conmigo los quales// le dad todos y reçebi su carta de pago en las espaldas desta// fecha oy viernes siete de setienbre de quinientos y quatro años.//

Xp̃o Ferens."

Translation

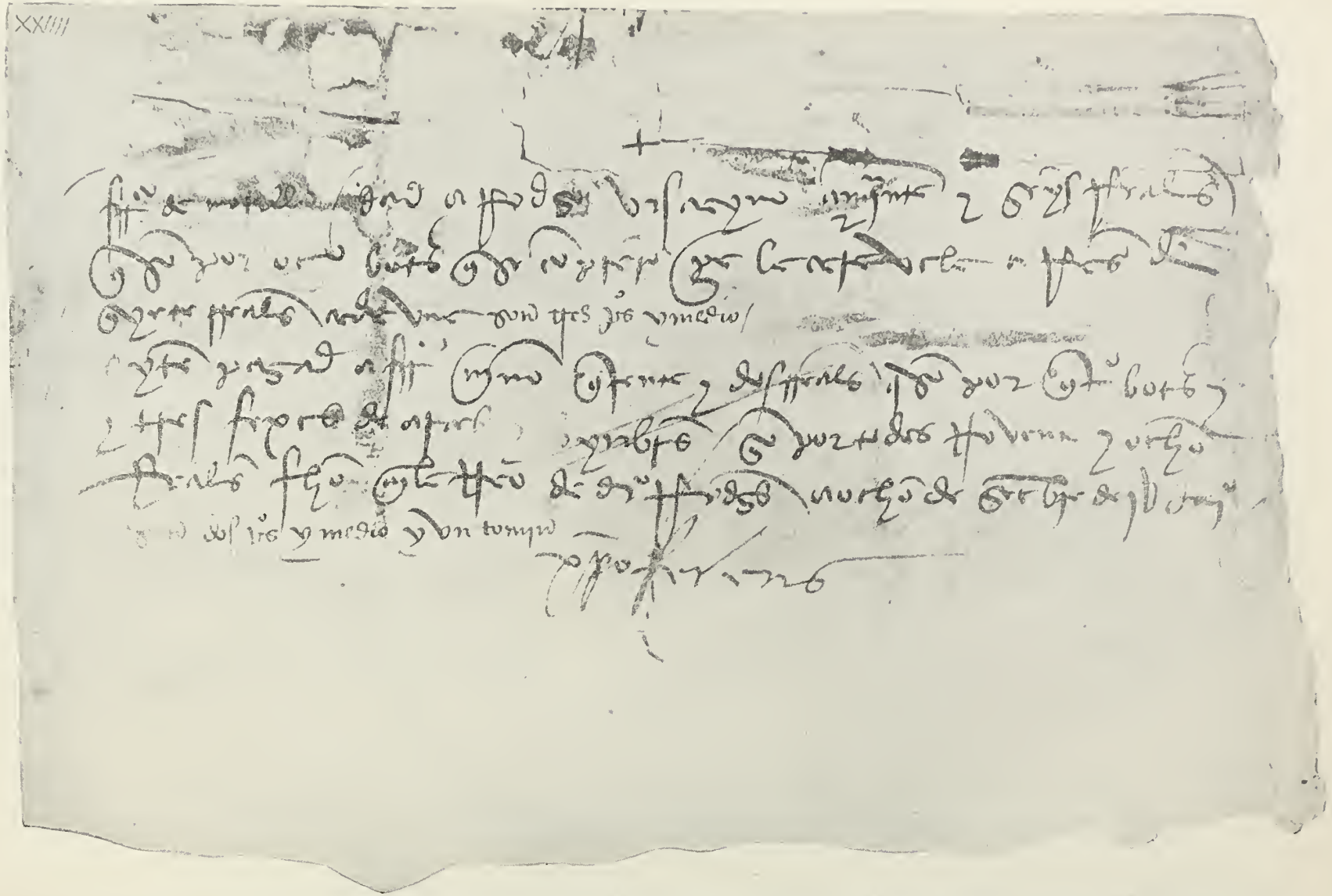
XXIII.

"Francisco de Morillo:

"Give to Diego Rodriguez, Master of the vessel, as he is called, as many gold pieces as are equivalent to 16,000 maravedis, which are for 40 quintals of biscuit, which he has sold me for the crew at the rate of 400 maravedis per quintal. Furthermore give him 8 ducats which are for two 'alnnas' I bought of him for the sails. Furthermore give to the said Diego Rodriguez 80 gold pieces which I must give him for his passage from here to Castile, together with that of twenty-five persons who are to go with me. Give him all this and take his receipt upon the back of this letter.

"To-day, Friday, September 7, 1504.

Xp̃o Ferens."



No. XXIIII. Holograph Letter of Columbus, Signed, Addressed to Francisco de Morillo, Dated on Board the Ship of Diego Rodriguez, September 8, 1504. [*Archives, House of Alba, Madrid.*]

NO. XXIIII.

Transliteration

"francisco morillo. dad a rodrigo viscayno çinquenta y seys reales// que son por ocho botas que se compraron para la caravela a rason de// seyte rreales cada vno son tres pesos y medio.//

"Ytem pasad a francisco niño quarenta y dos rreales que son por quatro botas y// y tres fexes de aras y bynbres. son por todos noventa y ocho// reales fecho en la nao de diego Rodrigues a ocho de setiembre de .MDIIII.//

"son dos pesos y medio y vn tomin.//

Xp̃o Ferens."

Translation

XXIIII.

"Francisco Morillo:

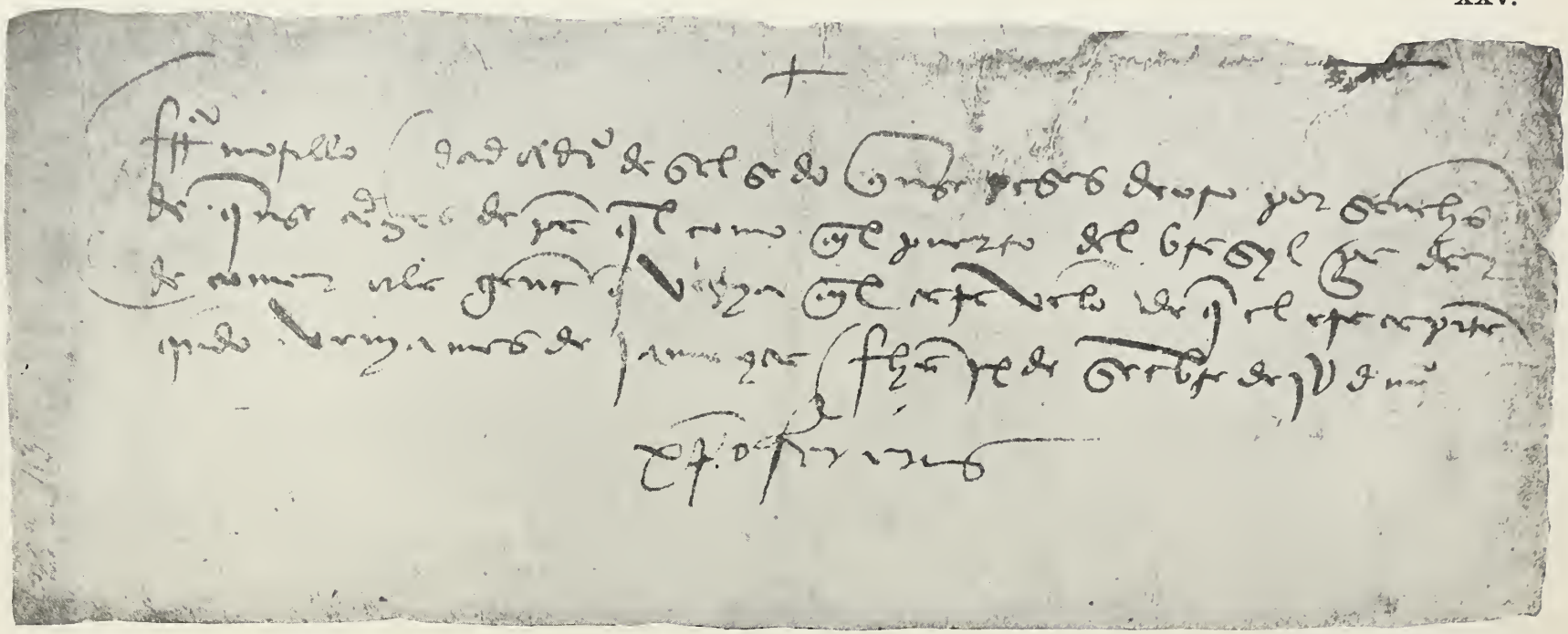
"Give to Rodrigo Viscayno, 56 reales which are for 8 'botas' [butts to contain wine or other liquids] which were bought for the caravel at the rate of 7 reales each. This makes three pesos and a half.

"Also hand Francisco Niño 42 reales which are for four 'botas' and three 'fexes de aras y bynbres.' This makes in all 98 reales.

"Done on the ship of Diego Rodriguez, September 8, 1504.

"There are two pesos and a half and one 'tomin.'

Xp̃o Ferens."



No. XXV. Holograph Letter of Columbus, Signed, to Francisco de Morillo, Dated September 9, 1504.
[*Archives, House of Alba, Madrid.*]

NO. XXV.

Transliteration

"francisco morillo. dad a diego de salsedo quinse pesos de oro por sanches [*sic*]// de quinse cargas de pan quel tomo enel puerto del brasyl para dar// de comer a la gente que venya enel caravelon de que el era capitan// quando veniamos de Jamayca. fecha .ix de setiembre de .MDIIII.//

Xp̃o Ferens."

Translation

XXV.

"Francisco Morillo:

"Give to Diego de Salsedo 15 gold pesos for fifteen loads of bread which he took in the port of Brazil as food for the people who came on the caravel of which he was Captain, when we were coming from Jamaica.

"Done September 9, 1504.

Xp̃o Ferens."

NO. XXVI. LETTER WRITTEN BY CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS TO DON DIEGO, HIS SON

While this letter is dated November 21, *sine anno*, it was certainly written in 1504, shortly after the Admiral's return from his last voyage. We know it was subsequent to the events of his fourth voyage, for he speaks of the Porras rebellion. We know it was previous to his information of the Queen's death, for he includes her in his protestations of loyalty to her service, and he only knew of her death as he was writing on December 3, 1504. This letter is one of the witnesses that there was no great quarrel between Don Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca, the head of the Indian Department, and Columbus. Many writers have magnified those differences of opinion as to management and those petty disagreements which are bound to arise between two executors of the same bureau into irreconcilable feuds, in which Fonseca is always represented as an enemy and a persecutor of the Admiral. Even the letter dated May 24, 1501, to Father Gaspar Gorricio, in which the Queen is said to have urged a reconciliation between Columbus and the Bishop, does not suggest anything but a temporary misunderstanding. As we have before remarked, there is a disagreement among historians as to the date when Fonseca became Bishop of Palencia. He succeeded in this position the friend of Columbus, Diego de Deza, who had been promoted to be Archbishop of Seville. To one of these two men the Admiral is alluding under the title of Bishop of Palencia. We submit that the tone of the reference is much more adapted to Fonseca, who had it in his power to remedy the Admiral's grievances and to order that the agreement and concessions granted Columbus by the Sovereigns be fulfilled.[1]

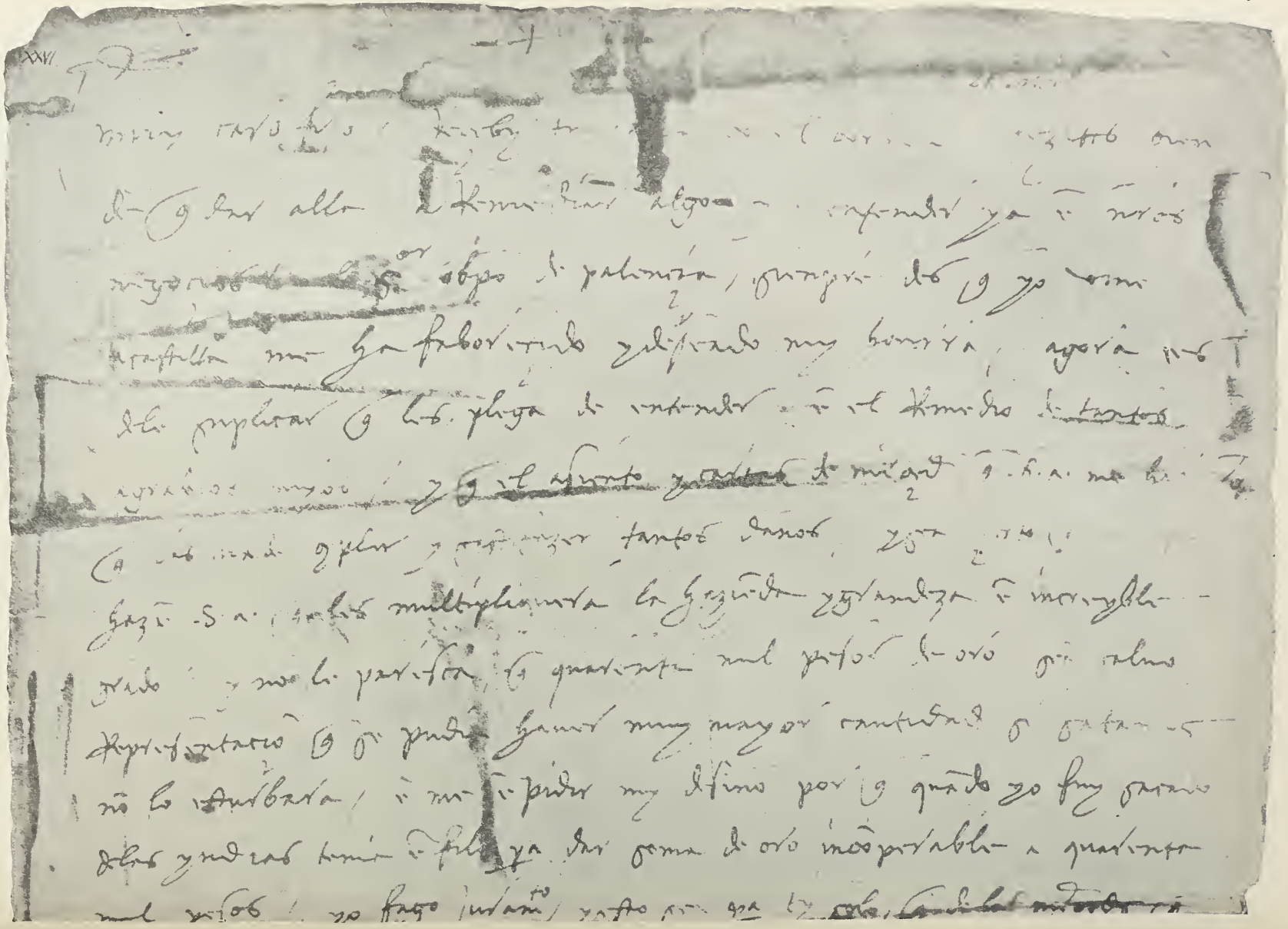
The good priest and faithful friend, Diego de Deza, had influence enough at Court to obtain almost any favour, but he performed no managerial or business functions such as are to be inferred in this reference. If we assume, then, that the mention of the Bishop of Palencia was at this time intended to mean Don Juan de Fonseca, surely the testimony of Columbus himself as to their relations must be accepted. He says: "The

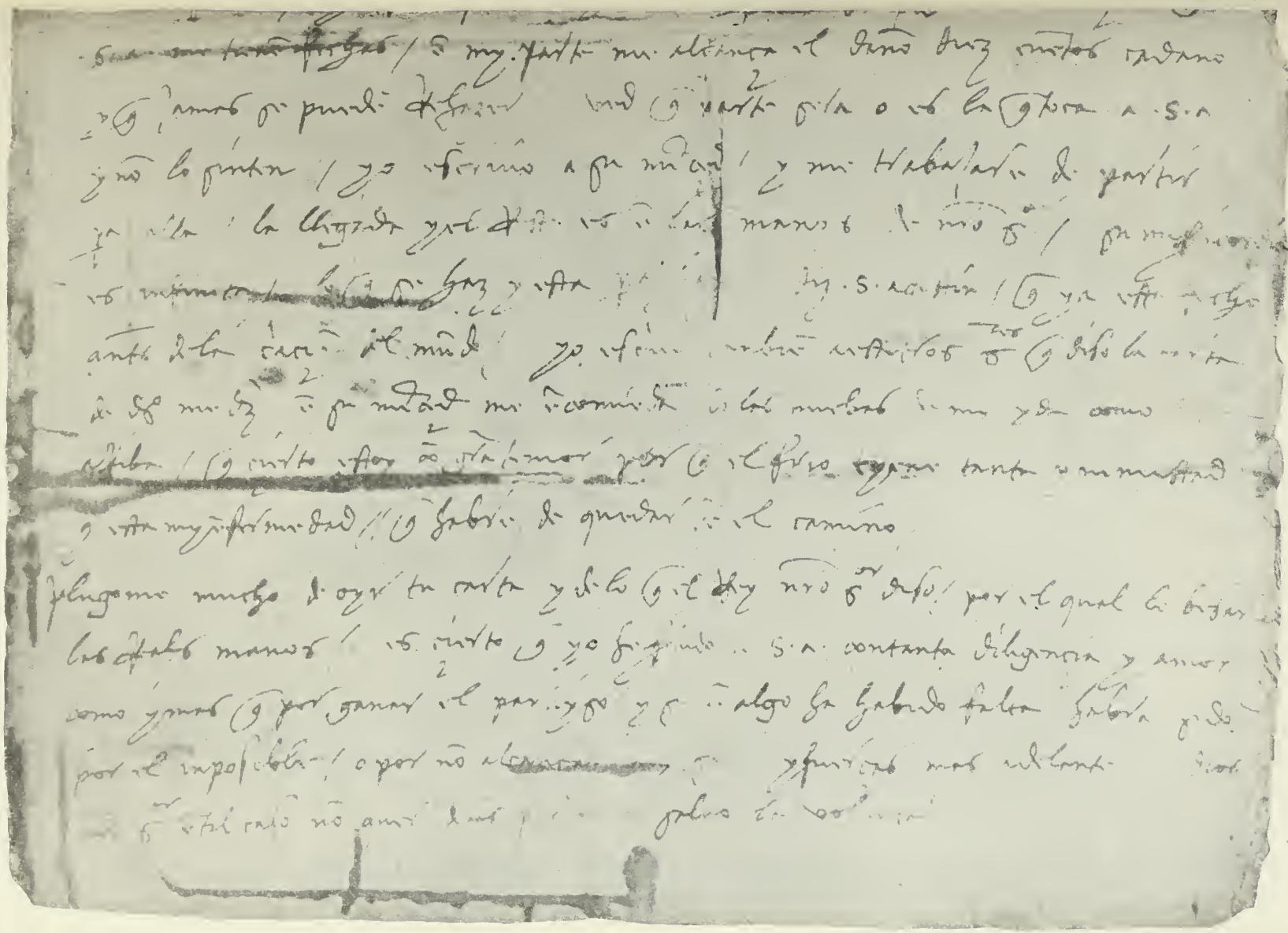
[1] This view is not without embarrassment, as we will see when we discuss the letter to Don Diego Columbus, dated December 21, 1504.

Lord Bishop of Palencia has shown me favour and has desired that I should be honoured."

The Admiral is justly indignant at both the Porras brothers, the Governor Ovando, and the Treasurer Morales. The Porras brothers had been guilty of a form of rebellion closely allied to mutiny. Francisco de Porras had been named by the Admiral as captain of the ship *Santiago de Palos;* and Diego de Porras, the other brother, had been appointed auditor of the fleet. These appointments were not the original choice of the Admiral, but had been made at the instance of the Treasurer Morales. The conduct of the brothers on the island of Jamaica was without excuse. We can imagine that the mental and physical condition of the Admiral at this time might not continually inspire confidence in the critical situation in which the expedition found itself. But in the magnificent and resourceful Lieutenant Bartholomew Columbus, a strong arm was left the wretched explorers. Under these circumstances rebellion was beyond pardon. Diego Porras and the other disobedient subjects were set at liberty, but Captain Porras was delivered to Ovando, who in turn delivered him to the officials of the Indian Department in Spain, accompanied by no charges or records of his sins. Naturally, he, too, was set free. The acquittal of an accused sometimes leaves the accuser in an embarrassing situation, and Columbus felt that not only a slight had been put upon him, but that the charge of insubordination of an under officer had been shifted to one of incapacity on the part of the leader. From the Treasurer Morales, patron of the Porras brothers, not much of justice or courtesy might be expected, although Don Diego is instructed to appeal to him. To the head of the Department, to Don Juan de Fonseca, the Bishop of Palencia, who wished to do him honour, he might in confidence look for the recognition of his rights. However, the Admiral now alludes to much more weighty matters. The brave people who went with Columbus on this last voyage must be paid. They had been three summers from their homes. They had suffered and had been in many perils. If their sacrifices were not considered and proper remuneration made them, where should the Indian Department look for adventurers and colonisers? It was policy as well as justice to pay the members of that exploring expedition just returned from marvellous dangers. Columbus is mindful of the

necessity for carrying to the New World a reasonably large population, to the end that gold may be secured. Standing by itself, it is not a pleasing spectacle to hear this old and broken man crying for gold, gold, gold. But we remember that every shining particle of the metal is to be employed in his great design of a new Crusade and the recovery of the land of Palestine. The lines of greed disappear from his face and we see thereon the look of love, charity, and loyalty.





No. XXVI. Holograph Letter of Columbus, Signed, Addressed to his Son Diego, Dated Seville, November 21 [1504].
[Archives of the Duke of Veragua at Madrid.]

NO. XXVI.

Transliteration

"muy caro fijo. Reçeby tu carta con el correu. fezistes bien// de quedar alla a remediar algo y a entender ya en nuestros// negoçios. el Señor obispo de palençia sienpre des que yo vine// a castilla me ha faboreçido y deseado my honrra. agora es// de le suplicar que les plega de entender en el remedio de tantos// agrabios myos y que el asiento y cartas de merçed que sus altezas me hizieron// que las manden cumplir y sastifazer tantos daños y sea çierto que si esto// hazen sus altezas que les multipliquera la hazienda y grandeza en increyble// grado y non le paresca que quarenta mil pesos de oro sean saluo// representaçion que se pudia hauer muy mayor cantidad si satanas// non lo esturbara en me empidir my desiño porque quando yo fuy sacado// de las yndias tenia en filo para dar soma de oro incomperable a quarenta// mil pesos. yo fago juramento y esto sea para ty solo que de las merçedes que//

Translation

XXVI.

"Very dear son:

"I received your letter by the courier. You did well in remaining yonder to remedy our affairs somewhat and to employ yourself now in our business. Ever since I came to Castile, the Lord Bishop of Palencia has shown me favour and has desired that I should be honoured. Now he must be entreated that it may please him to occupy himself in remedying my many grievances and in ordering that the agreement and letters of concession which their Highnesses gave me, be fulfilled and that I be indemnified for so many damages. And he may be certain that if their Highnesses do this, their estate and greatness will be multiplied to them in an incredible degree. And it must not appear to him that forty thousand pesos in gold is more than a representation of it, because they might have had a much greater quantity if Satan had not hindered it by impeding my design; for, when I was taken away from the Indies, I was prepared to give them a sum of gold incomparable to forty thousand pesos. I make oath and this may be for thee alone, that the damage to me in the matter of the concessions

sus altezas me tienen fechas en my parte me alcança el daño diez cuentos cadaño// y que jamas se pueden rehazer. ved que parte sera o es la que toca a sus altezas// y non lo sinten. yo escriuo a su merçed y me trabajare de partir// para alla. la llegada y el resto es en las manos de nuestro señor. su misericordia// es infinita. lo que se haz y esta para hazer diz San agostin que ya esta fecho// antes dela criaçion del mundo. yo escriuo tanbien a estotros señores que diso la carta// de diego mendez en su merçed me encomienda con las nuebas de my yda como dise// ariba. que çierto estoy con gran temor porque el frio tyene tanta ynimistad// con esta my enfermedad que habre de quedar es el camino.//

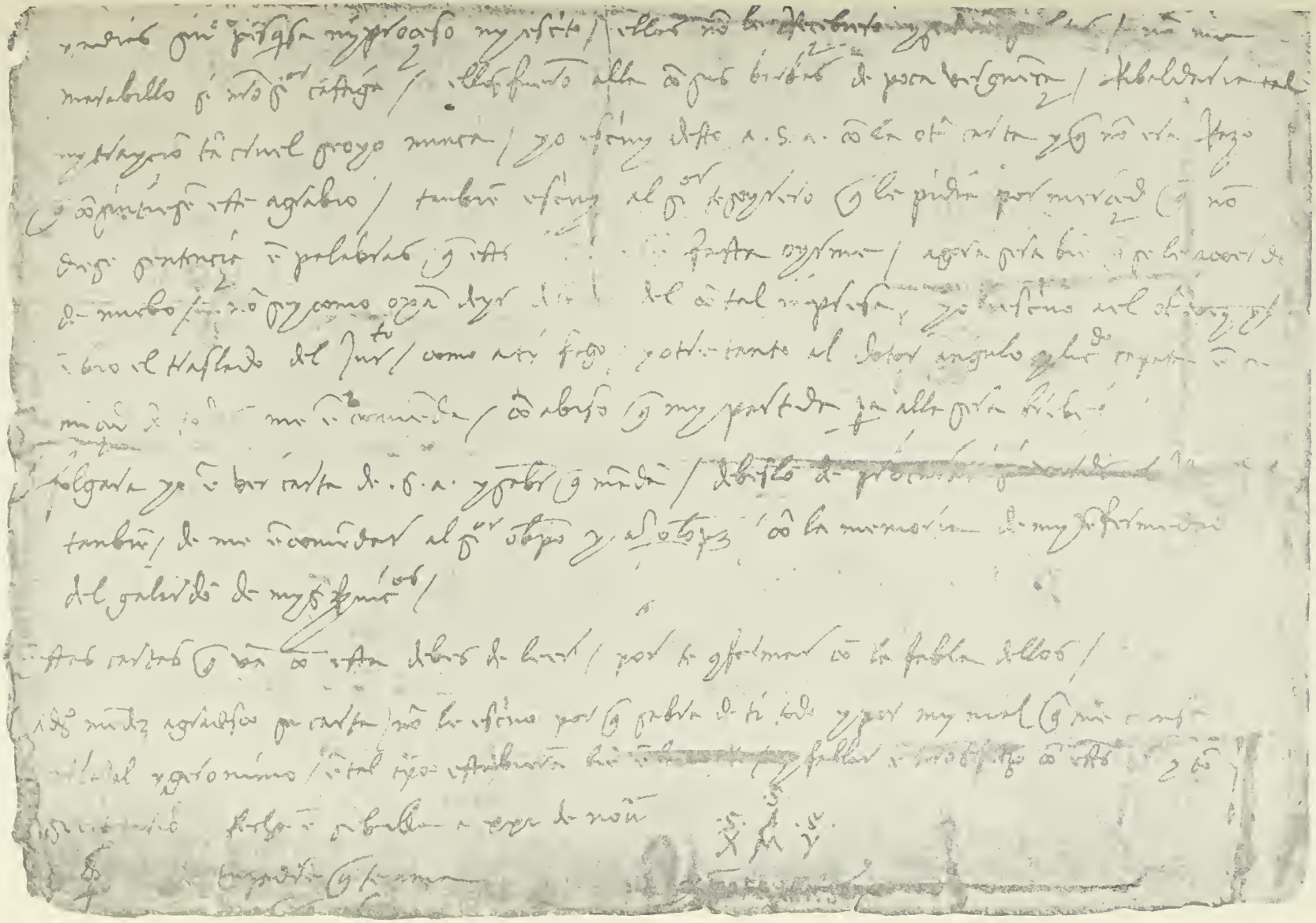
"Plugome mucho de oyr tu carta y de lo que el rey nuestro señor diso por el qual le besariad[es]// las reales manos. es çierto que yo he seruido a sus altezas con tanta diligençia y amor// como y mas que por ganar el parayso y si en algo ha abido falta habra sido// por el imposible o por non alcançar my saber y fuerças mas adelante. dios// nuestro señor en tal caso non quer de las personas saluo la voluntad//

XXVI.

their Highnesses have made to me, amounts to ten millions each year, and never can be made good. You see what will be, or is, the injury to their Highnesses in what belongs to them, and they do not perceive it. I write at their disposal and will strive to start yonder. My arrival and the rest is in the hands of our Lord. His mercy is infinite. What is done and is to be done, St. Augustine says is already done before the creation of the world. I write also to these other Lords named in the letter of Diego Mendez. Commend me to their mercy and tell them of my going as I have said above. For certainly I feel great fear, as the cold is so inimical to this, my infirmity, that I may have to remain on the road.

I was very much pleased to hear the contents of your letter and what the King our Lord said, for which you kissed his royal hands. It is certain that I have served their Highnesses with as much diligence and love as though it had been to gain Paradise, and more, and if I have been at fault in anything it has been because it was impossible or because my knowledge and strength were not sufficient. God, our Lord, in such a case, does not require more from persons than the will.

XXVI b.



yo lebe de aqui dos hermanos que se dizen porres a ruego del señor tesoyrero morales. el vno// fue por capitan y el otro por contador. ambos sin abilidad destos cargos. & yo con atrebimiento// de suplir por ellos por amor de quien me los dio. alla se tornaron mas vanos de lo// que eran. muchas çibilidades les relebe. que non hiziera a vm pariente y que eran// tales que mereçian otro castigo que reprehension de boca. en fin llegaron a tanto que avm// que yo quisera non pudia escusar de non llegar alo que fue. las pesquisas haran fee// si yo miento. alcaronçe en la ysla de Janayca. de que fuy yo tan marabillado como// si los rayos del sol causaran teniebras. yo estaba ala muerte y me martirezaron// cinco meses con tanta crueldad sin causa. en fin yo los tube a todos presos y [lue]go// los di por libres saluo al capitan que yo traya a sus altezas preso. vna suplicaçion// que me hizieron con juramento que con esta te embio te dira largo desto bien que las pesquisas son// las que fablan largo las quales y el escriuano vienen en otro nabio que yo espero de dia en dia// este preso prendio el gobernador en Santo domingo. su cortesia le constringo a fazer esto// yo tenia en my instrucion vm capitulo en que sus altezas mandaban que todos me obedeçiesen y// que tubiese yo la justicia çibil y criminal sobre estos todos que fueron conmigo mas non aprobecho// con este el qual diso que non se entendia en su termino. embiole aca a estos señores que tienen cargo de las//

XXVIb.

At the request of the Treasurer Morales, I left two brothers in the Indies, who are called Porras. The one was captain and the other auditor. Both were without capacity for these positions: and I was confident that they could fill them, because of love for the person who sent them to me. They both became more vain than they had been. I forgave them many incivilities, more than I would do with a relation and their offences were such that they merited another punishment than a verbal reprimand. Finally they reached such a point that even had I desired, I could not have avoided doing what I did. The records of the case will prove whether I lie or not. They rebelled on the island of Jamaica, at which I was as much astonished as I would be if the sun's rays should cast darkness. I was at the point of death, and they martyrised me with extreme cruelty during five months and without cause. Finally I took them all prisoners, and immediately set them free, except the captain whom I was bringing as a prisoner to their Highnesses. A petition which they made to me under oath and which I send you with this letter will inform you at length in regard to this matter, although the records of the case explain it fully. These records and the Notary are coming on another vessel which I am expecting from day to day. The Governor in Santo Domingo took this prisoner. His courtesy constrained him to do this. I had a chapter in my instructions in which their Highnesses ordered all to obey me and that I should exercise civil and criminal justice over all these who were with me: but this was of no avail with the Governor, who said that it was not understood as applying in his territory. He sent the prisoner to these Lords who have charge of the

yndias sin pesquisa ny proçeso ny escrito. ellos non le reçebieron y se van sueltos. non me// marabillo si nuestro señor castiga. ellos fueron alla con sus barbas de poça verguença. ribaldaria tal// ny traycion tan cruel se oyo nunca. yo escriuy desto a sus Altezas con la otra carta y que non era razon// que consintiesen este agrabio. tanbien escriuy al señor tesoyrero que le pedia por merçed que non// diese sentençia en palabras que estos les disesen fasta oyrme. agora sera bien que se le acoerdes// de nuebo. non sey como oxan de yr delante del con tal impresa. yo lo escriuo a el otra vez y le// embio el traslado del juramento como a ty fago y otretanto al dotor an ulo y licenciado çapata en su// merçed de todos me encomienda con abiso que my partida para alla sera brebe.//

"folgara yo en ver carta de sus altezas y saber que mandan. debeslo de procurar si vierdes el remedio// tanbien de me encomendar al señor obispo y a Joan lopez con la memoria de my enfermedad y// del galardon de mys seruicios.//

"Estas cartas que van con esta debes de leer por te conformar con la fabla dellos.// a diego mendez agradesco su carta. non le escruio por que sabra de ti todo y por my mal que me causa// carbajal y

XXVI b.

Indies without inquiry or record or writing. They did not receive him and both brothers go free. It is not wonderful to me that our Lord punishes. They went there with shameless faces. Such wickedness or such cruel treason were never heard of. I wrote to their Highnesses about this matter in the other letter and said that it was not right for them to consent to this offence. I also wrote to the Lord Treasurer that I begged him as a favour not to pass sentence on the testimony given by these men until he heard me. Now it will be well for you to remind him of it anew. I do not know how they dare to go before him with such an undertaking. I have written to him about it again and have sent him the copy of the oath, the same as I send to you and likewise to Doctor Angulo and the Licentiate Zapata. I commend myself to the mercy of all with the information that my departure yonder will take place in a short time.

"I would be glad to receive a letter from their Highnesses and to know what they order. You must procure such a letter if you see the means of so doing. I also commend myself to the Lord Bishop and to Juan Lopez, with the reminder of my illness and of the reward for my services.

"You must read the letters which go with this one in order to act in conformity with what they say. Acknowledge the receipt of his letter to Diego Mendez. I do not write him as he will learn everything from you, and also because my illness prevents it.

"It would be well for Carvajal and

gero-
nimo en tal tiempo estubieran bien en la corte y fablar en nuestros fecho con estos señores y con e[l]// secretario. fecha en Sebilla a .xxi de nouiembre.//

"tu padre que te ama
mas que a si
.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
Xp̃o Ferens./"

XXVI b.

Jeronimo to be at the Court at this time, and talk of our affairs with these Lords and with the Secretary.

"Done in Seville, November 21.

"Your father who loves
you more than himself.
.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
Xp̃o Ferens./"

XXVI c.

"yo torne a escriuir a sus altezas suplicandoles que mandasen aprober de la paga desta gente que// fueron comigo porque son pobres y anda en tres años que desaron sus casas. las// nuebas que les trahen son mas que grandes. ellos han pasado infinitos perigos y trabajos// yo non quise robar la tierra por non escandelizale porque la razon quer que se pueble// y estonçes se habra todo el oro ala mano sin escandalo. fabla dello al secretario// y al señor obispo y a Joan lopez y aquien verdes que conbiene.//" [1]

XXVIc.

"I wrote again to their Highnesses entreating them to order that these people who went with me should be paid, because they are poor and it is three years since they left their homes. The news which they bring is more than extraordinary. They have endured infinite dangers and hardships. I did not wish to rob the country, so as not to cause scandal, because reason advises its being populated and then gold will be obtained freely without scandal. Speak of this to the Secretary and to the Lord Bishop and to Juan Lopez and to whomever you think it is advisable to do so."

[1] These last fifteen lines form the post-scriptum of No. XXVI.

NO. XXVII. LETTER WRITTEN BY CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS TO DON DIEGO

If his last letter is identified as written in the year 1504, this one, likewise *sine anno*, belongs to the same period. Don Diego was with the Court at Medina del Campo, or at least the letter doubtless was addressed to him in that town, as the Admiral did not yet know of the Queen's death. It is the purpose of the Admiral to go to the Court. His bodily infirmities are heavily weighing upon him, and he contemplates travelling in a litter. It was the gout, to which disease the Admiral had long been a victim, which now prevented his putting his feet to the ground or bearing even a portion of his weight upon the stirrup. Bartholomew Columbus, the Adelantado, is also suffering with a less grievous disease, but scarcely less acute in its power for administering pain. The conduct of the Porras brothers is still troubling the spirit of Columbus, and he is anxious that his friends should be at Court in order to counteract the influences of those evil but powerfully protected men.

There are in this letter two expressions difficult to understand. In the original, immediately preceding the word *Paralipomenon* (Book of Chronicles), part of a word is gone, the paper being torn at that point. Navarrete suggests that the missing word may have been *miento*, the last three letters being *ẽto* or *ento*. The passage would then read:

"If I lie, the *Paralipomenon* and the Book of Kings and the *Antiquities* of Josephus with very many others will tell what they know of this."

Again, the Admiral says:

" . . . porque si voy con andas sera creo por la plata": "because if I go in a litter, I believe it will be by La Plata."

Here Navarrete thinks we are to interpret La Plata as the old Roman roadway leading from Merida to Salamanca. The two long lines of white stones laid down by the Romans for their carts and chariots might well have led to calling the road La Plata.

Several characters are here introduced, one or two of whom we have before met. These are the two Carvajals, Alonzo Sanchez de Carvajal, Alderman or Governor of Baeza; and Ferdinand de Carvajal, afterwards Alcalde of the city of San Domingo. Alonzo Sanchez de Carvajal was the business man

or factor of the Admiral. He was with Columbus on his second voyage, and when the Admiral, in April, 1494, departed from Española to explore Cuba, he was left as one of the five governing directors in Isabella. The following year, April, 1495, he returned to Spain bearing letters to the Sovereigns from Columbus. He was also one of the third expedition, and when the Admiral decided at the Canaries to divide his fleet, taking three ships with him and sending three directly to Española, Alonzo Sanchez de Carvajal was made captain of one of these three. In the celebrated Roldan rebellion, Carvajal acted as an intermediary between the Admiral and the leader of the malcontents, and in this capacity aided Columbus in executing a splendid *coup* in reconciling a brave and desperate adventurer, and giving employment to his restless sword on his own side against other enemies. That this Carvajal had a standing on his own account is evident from a Royal Cedula, dated September 27, 1501, in which the Sovereigns order the municipality of Baeza to continue paying him his stipends as Mayor, notwithstanding his absence in the New World, as it was by the will of the Sovereigns that he was in the Indies.

When Columbus compiled the *Book of Privileges*, he caused four copies to be made, three on vellum and one on paper, and this last was intrusted to Carvajal, as the agent of the Admiral, that he might know the terms of agreements and the rights, powers, and privileges granted his master by the Spanish Sovereigns. The factor does not seem to have been confined in his agency to the American affairs of the Admiral, for we find him managing his affairs in Spain. In November, 1503, Alonzo Sanchez de Carvajal was again in Spain, engaged in securing to Columbus those revenues long since due him as his share of the profits arising from the Royal partnership. And now we find him at the Court in the interests of Columbus, whose affairs sadly needed influence and protection.

With the brave Diego Mendez we already have acquaintance, and we never hear his name but we say a word of deserved praise. He was the hero of the fourth voyage, and his daring canoe journey across the stormy gulf between Jamaica and Española will never be forgotten. The picture of a canoe—a log of wood dug into the semblance of a boat—was the central symbol of the coat-of-arms granted him. He, too, was at Court

in the interests of Columbus, but his testimony could have little weight regarding the rebellion of the Porras brothers, as that event occurred subsequent to his departure from Jamaica. However, he had been long on the same expedition, and must have known the general bearing of those men in their relations toward the Admiral.

The Jeronimo of this letter is identified with Jeronimo, or Xeronimo de Aguero, a friend of Columbus, and then and afterwards a property-owner in San Domingo. In his Will, Diego Mendez describes his property as being opposite a piece of land possessed in San Domingo by Xeronimo de Aguero. He had a share in the *repartimiento* made by Pero Ibañez de Ibarra and Rodrigo de Albuquerque, and he is described as a "citizen and alderman of the said city." In his letter to Don Diego dated December 13, 1504, the Admiral commends Jeronimo to his son and associates him in the desert of honour with Carvajal and Mendez. When Don Diego Columbus, the second Admiral of the Indies, made his Will in 1509, in the twenty-ninth clause he assigns to Jeronimo de Aguero and Fernando del Valdes the sum of 400,000 maravedis.

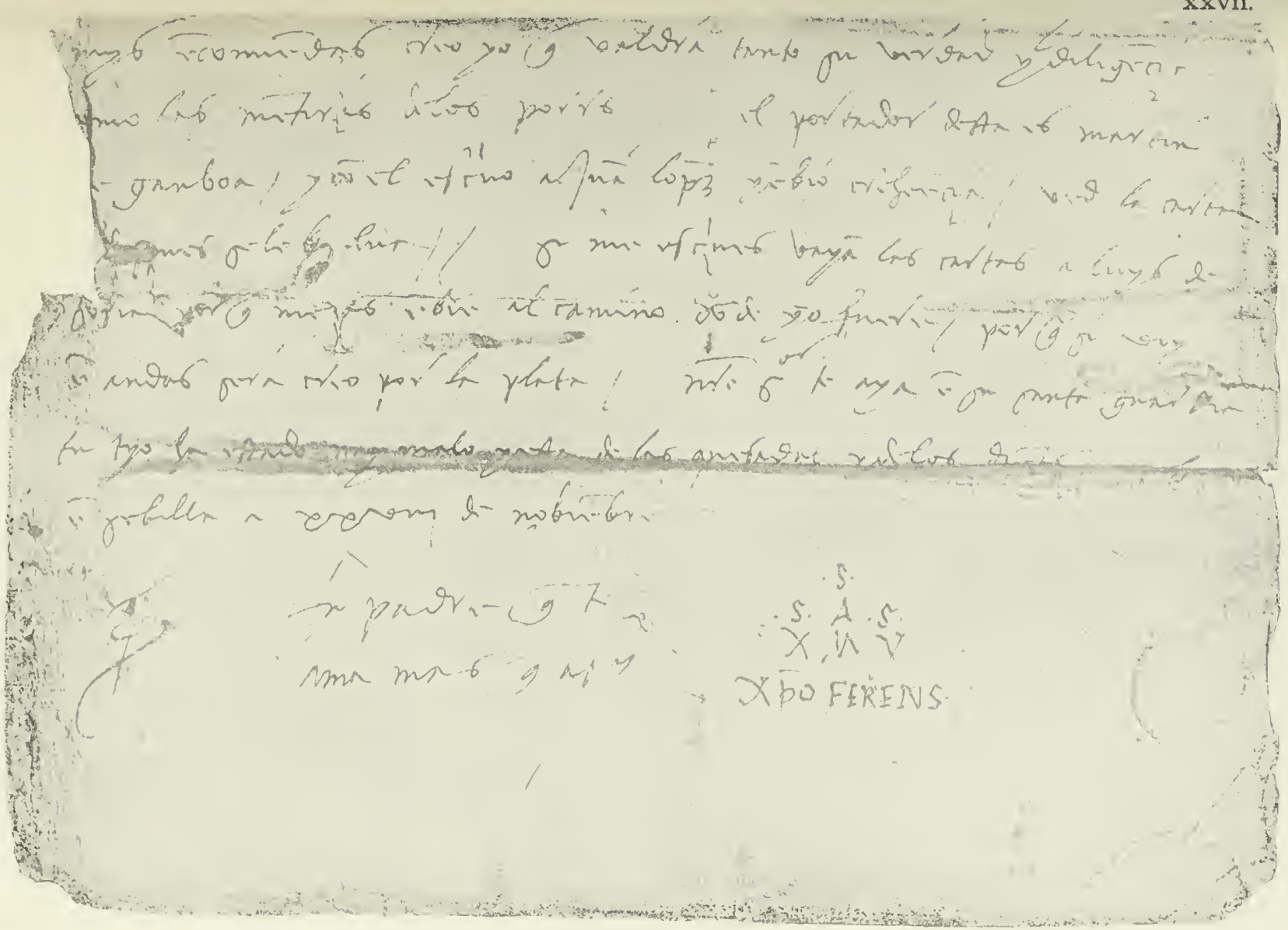
Martin de Gamboa seems to have been a messenger employed by the Admiral. It is said his family followed the profession of courier, and that the business was hereditary, descending in its employment from father to son. We find him established in the Indies in the year 1510, and allusion is made to him in a Royal letter under date of June 15, 1510, and addressed to the General Treasurer. He had a share in the *repartimiento* of Puerto de Plata, a settlement on the north side of Española, and nearly opposite the city of San Domingo, where he had a residence. It is said by some writers that the Gamboa employed in 1568 by Cardinal di Granville to carry important despatches from Rome to the Duke of Alba in the Low Countries was a descendant of this Martin de Gamboa.

In the Archives of the Indies there are several allusions to Juan Lopez as an Accountant, and in an order for payment from the Queen, under date of April 9, 1503, he is called her Secretary. It is from a book of records kept by him that we learn of a payment of 40,000 maravedis granted Bartholomew Columbus in the year 1494, when he went out to join his brother. In another record, taken, as the *Raccolta* says, "from the books

of accounts of Juan Lopez," we read of the confirmation in 1497 of the appointment by Columbus of Bartholomew to be Adelantado. In the list of persons to whom letters were brought in January, 1505, from Flanders by M. de Beyre, Ambassador from Philip I., was Juan Lopez, Accountant. In a Cedula from King Ferdinand, under date of April 11, 1505, in fulfilment of the will of the late Queen Isabella, the sum of 5500 ducats was ordered paid to Juan or Xoan Lopez. Herrera says that on the death, in 1507, of Ximeno de Briviesca, Accountant of the *Casa de Contratacion* of Seville, he was succeeded by Juan Lopez de Recalde. It is not certain that these two names belong to the same individual, but it is not unlikely. Signor de Lollis seems to think that one argument militating against the identity is that Juan Lopez de Recalde was resident at Seville in his position of Accountant, while the Juan Lopez referred to in this letter was at the Court, following it from place to place. In a Royal Cedula dated Segovia, August 25, 1505, the document is *viséd* by Secretary Juan Lopez. This would suggest a different personality from the Sevillian Accountant. It is seen, moreover, that on April 5, 1505, an order was made on the officials of the *Casa de Contratacion* for 2500 ducats to be placed in the hands of Juan Lopez, Secretary, to pay the expenses of the fourth and last voyage of Columbus; and while this sum was consigned to Juan Lopez, it was to be placed at the disposition of the officials of the *Casa de Contratacion*, one of whom was Juan Lopez de Recalde. However, the position of Secretary or Accountant to the *Casa de Contratacion* may not have carried with it an official connection responsible for the distribution of actual cash. The editor of the *Raccolta* rather holds to the opinion that our Juan Lopez was Juan Lopez de Lazarraga, one of the secretaries of the Royal Household, of whom Oviedo speaks in his *Batallas y Quincuagenas:* "Nearly all of the greater part of all the affairs of most importance depended on the Secretary Accountant, Juan Lopez de Lazarraga in Castile, who was a hidalgo, a native of the Province of Guipuzcoa, of pleasant disposition and appearance."[1]

[1] It is reported of Juan Lopez de Lazarraga, that he was so afflicted by his personal loss in the death of the Queen, his mistress, that he fell a-sighing, so acquiring the habit of this deep and unnatural expression of the breath, that his internal organs were affected in such manner that his health gave way, and he literally ended his life sighing.

XXVIII.



No. XXVII. Holograph Letter of Columbus, Signed, Addressed to his Son Diego, Dated Seville, November 28 [1504].
[Archives of the Duke of Veragua at Madrid.]

NO. XXVII.

Transliteration

"muy caro fijo. Reçeby tus cartas de .xv deste. despues te escriuy// oy son ocho dias con vm correo y a otros hartos y las cartas te embie abiertas// porque las viesedes y bistas las diesedes çerradas. bien que esta my// enfermedad me tribule tanto toda via adereço my yda. mucho quisera// la repuesta de sus altezas y que la procurarades y tanbien que proveyeran a la paga// [des]ta gente pobre que han pasado increybles trabajos y les traydo tan altas// nuebas de que deben dar infinitas gracias a dios nuestro señor y estar dellas tan// alegres. si yo . . . ento el paralipemenon y el libro de los reys y Josepio// de antiquitatibus con otros hartos diran lo que desto saben. yo espero en nuestro// señor de partir esta semana que viene ny por esto deues de dexar de// escriuir mas amenudo. de carbajal y de Jeronimo non he sabido. si ali// estan dale mys encomiendas. el tiempo es tal que Carbajal ambos debieran estar// [es] la corte si la enfermedad non los estorba. a diego mendez da mys//

Translation

XXVII.

"Very dear Son:

"I received your letters of the 15th of this month. It is eight days since I wrote you and sent the letter by a courier. I enclosed unsealed letters to many other persons, in order that you might see them, and having read them, seal and deliver them. Although this illness of mine troubles me greatly, I am preparing for my departure in every way. I would very much like to receive the reply from their Highnesses and wish you might procure it: and also I wish that their Highnesses would provide for the payment of these poor people who have passed through incredible hardships and have brought them such great news that infinite thanks should be given to God, our Lord, and they should rejoice greatly over it. If I . . . the *Paralipomenon* and the Book of Kings and the *Antiquities* of Josephus with very many others will tell what they know of this. I hope in our Lord to depart this coming week, but you must not write less often on that account. I have not heard from Carbajal and Jeronimo. If they are there, commend me to them. The time is such that both Carbajals ought to be at Court, if illness does not prevent them. My regards to Diego Mendez.

mys encomiendas creo yo que valdra tanto su verdad y diligençia// como las mentiras de los porres. el portador desta es martin// [d]e ganboa y con el escriuo a Juan lopez y embio creheençia. ved la carta// [y] despues se le b[u]elua. si me escriues vayan las cartas a luys de// soria porque me [as] embie al camino donde yo fuere porque si voy// con andas sera creo por la plata. Nuestro señor te aya en su santa guardia// tu tyo ha estado muy malo y esta de las quesadas y de los dientes. fecha//

"en sebilla a .xxviii de nobiembre.

"tu padre que te
ama mas que a sy.
.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
Xp̃o Ferens./"

XXVII a.

I believe that his truth and efforts will be worth as much as the lies of the Porras brothers. The bearer of this letter is Martin de Gamboa. I am sending by him a letter to Juan Lopez and a letter of credit. Read the letter to Lopez and then give it to him. If you write me, send the letters to Luis de Soria that he may send them wherever I am, because if I go in a litter, I believe it will be by La Plata. May our Lord have you in His holy keeping. Your uncle has been very sick and is now, from trouble with his jaws and with his teeth.

"Done in Seville November 28.

"Your father who loves you
more than himself.
.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
Xp̃o Ferens./"

NO. XXVIII. LETTER WRITTEN BY CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS TO DON DIEGO, HIS SON

It is still a question in this letter of the Admiral's going to Court in a litter, but the roads and weather are still delaying him. The gout holds him in such a painful grasp that he can use his hands only at night.

The Court was at Medina del Campo or Segovia, and Columbus was at Seville. It will give us a slight clue to the time occupied between the two places by the fast courier service, if we recall that one week before the Admiral had started a courier from Seville to go to Don Diego at the Court, and that now, on the expiration of these seven or eight days, he believed his messenger was already on his return journey.

The unsettled affairs of the Admiral are greatly troubling him. His thirds, his eighths, his tenths are still unpaid, if not absolutely unrecognised. It was by a Royal Cedula, dated April 10, 1495,[1] that the Sovereigns opened the Indies to the world,—that is, to the world of Spain. Under this warrant any person could go to Española or to the Indies, dig for gold, and trade in merchandise. One third of the gold found was to belong to the finder, and two thirds to the Sovereigns. One tenth of all the profits arising from bartering was to belong to the Sovereigns, the remainder to the person engaging in trade. There was nothing in all this for Christopher Columbus, the Discoverer and Admiral of the Ocean-sea. He is not absolutely ignored in this Cedula, and in a sense the Sovereigns may be trying fairly to recognise him, although not to the extent of his rights. They provide that for every seven ships so going to the Indies on private account, Christopher Columbus is entitled to load and equip one entire vessel in which to trade. When these grievances became unbearable and complaints were made by the Admiral to the Sovereigns, they issued, June 2, 1497, another Royal Cedula, which may be interpreted as withdrawing the open privilege given to the citizens of Spain in the former document. The reader will remember that it was between these two periods, and just previous to the date of the second Cedula, that Americus Vespucius was employed in his

[1] For the Spanish, see Navarrete, vol. ii., p. 165. For the translation in full of this Cedula, see the Author's *The Continent of America*, p. 65.

famous first voyage, which resulted in the discovery of the continent. The Sovereigns say that the Admiral complains that the first privilege was in prejudice of his rights; and, in the Cedula of June 2, 1497, they say they intend to recognise and confirm his contracts, rights, and grants, and that whatsoever thing is done contrary to these shall be under penalties. But seven and a half years have gone by since these fine words were uttered by the Sovereigns, and the Admiral's share of the revenues has not yet been given him. Therefore he writes Don Diego, his son, bidding him be diligent in their affairs, and first to secure the administration of the Indies that the second step may be more readily taken, which is the adjustment of their revenues. The executive in the New World might well secure a third, an eighth, a tenth, before the remainder was transmitted to the Sovereigns. And to this end he admonishes his son to familiarise himself with the letter written by the Sovereigns March 14, 1502, in which they promise to confirm his privileges and to transmit to Don Diego, his son and heir, and to his successors, all the Admiral's rights, grants, titles, and privileges.

The Admiral, apparently with his mind considering the question of succession to his estates, interrupts his theme for a moment to beg Don Diego to love and cherish his brother Ferdinand. He speaks fondly and favourably of the latter's disposition, and what father ever had a son under his own eyes in more trying circumstances? All through the distressing scenes on the coast of Veragua and the island of Jamaica, when all were in peril from the sea, when rebellion threatened them, when starvation itself was stalking no great distance from their camp, Ferdinand Columbus bore himself like a man and a soldier,—brave, helpful, considerate, hopeful. He was worthy his parentage.

And then the mind of the Admiral returns to thirds and eighths and tenths. These concessions, he repeats, belonged to him by grants from the Sovereigns, and Don Diego is told he will find them in the *Book of Privileges*. The reader will notice that this is the title given that volume of collected documents by the Admiral himself,—*el libro de los privilegios*. Again Columbus commends himself and his affairs to the Bishop of Palencia and to the Lord Chamberlain. We still think that none other than Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca is intended. The

reference farther along in the letter, regarding the appointment of certain bishops [1] for the Indies, is to be referred to the Lord Bishop of Palencia. Now, Diego de Deza would have had nothing to do with the appointment of these bishops, while Juan de Fonseca would have had all to do with such appointments. The latter certainly was not in the Indian Department at Seville at this moment, but at the Court, and this fact was known to the Admiral.

The *Señor Camerero*, Lord Chamberlain, to whom the Admiral sends his greetings, can be none other than Juan Cabrero, whose name is united with that of Diego de Deza as the two individuals influencing and inducing the Catholic Sovereigns to accept the project of Columbus. It will be seen in the letter dated December 21, 1504, that the Admiral divided the glory of having favoured the undertaking between Diego de Deza and the Lord Chamberlain. Las Casas names this last as among the most faithful and constant of the promoters of the project proposed by Columbus, and mentions an autograph letter written by the Admiral to the Sovereigns in which is used the identical expression of obligation to these two patrons, Deza and Cabrero, jointly:

"In a letter written by his hand, by Christopher Columbus, I saw that he said to the King that the aforesaid [former ?] master of the Prince, the Archbishop of Seville, Friar Diego de Deza, and the said Chamberlain, Juan Cabrero, had been the cause of the possession of the Indies by the Sovereigns."

Juan Cabrero, an Aragonese gentleman, was appointed Chamberlain to the King in the year 1486, about the time Christopher Columbus arrived in Spain, and this position he held until his death a year or two before that of Ferdinand, his master. Oviedo, in his *Batallas y Quincuagenas*, speaks of him as a gentle knight, valiant with his lance, a favourite with the Court, affectionate and loyal to his Sovereign, who kept him in

[1] The bishops of whom it is here a question of appointing for Española were Doctor Pedro de Deza, nephew of Diego de Deza, who was to go to the province of Xaragua, in the south part of the island; the Franciscan Garcia de Padilla for the province of Baynua in the north, and the licentiate Alonso Manso, canon of Salamanca, for the province of La Vega and the interior of the island. Their election had been considered in Consistory, November 15, 1504, but the Queen's death interrupted the matter, and it was not again resumed. However, in 1511, Padilla and Deza were given bishoprics in Española, and Alonso Manso was made Bishop of Puerto Rico.

his Secret Council and Council of State. He had an active part in the siege of Granada, and in 1498 he assisted in Saragossa, at the recognition of the Prince Don Michele, son to the King of Portugal, as successor in the kingdom of Aragona.

One of the strangest scenes in Spanish history was that enacted in the little town of Benavente on June 28, 1506, when the King called into his room Juan Cabrero to witness his secret declaration that the formal instrument he was about to execute, giving to his daughter Joanna, and to her husband, Philippe le Beau, the sovereignty of Castile, was not his free and lawful act, but was enacted by him by necessity to prevent civil war.[1] In a Royal Cedula, dated April 11, 1505, he is mentioned in connection with the receipts by the King of 2500 ducats, forming a portion of his revenues from the Indies. Again, on April 23, 1505, he is directed to pay Juan de Oquina the balance due for the hire of one of the vessels of the fourth Columbus expedition.

When, in May, 1508, a Royal grant was made to Americus Vespucius and the pilot, Juan de la Cosa, the execution of the grant was confided to Juan Cabrero. Again, in 1509, when Don Diego, the second Admiral, was going to the Indies as Governor, King Ferdinand imposed upon him, among other conditions, the obligation of giving to "Mosen Cabrero,[2] Chamberlain of the Sovereigns, one of the best Caciques of the island together with his Indians," as an act of gratitude to one of the greatest benefactors of his father. That this order was not immediately fulfilled is apparent from a subsequent letter, dated January 27, 1510, in which the King reproves Don Diego for not having thus favoured Cabrero. This order evidently was regarded, for on July 3, 1510, King Ferdinand thanks Don Diego for having given Cabrero one hundred Indians as slaves, and directs that another lot of one hundred should be confided to the care of a person to be designated by the same Cabrero. Thus the King appears to have been more solicitous for the debts of gratitude due from the Admiral to his protectors and promoters than for

[1] This statement rests on the single authority of Zurita, the official historian. Peter Martyr does not mention the event, nor need we wonder. While Martyr had access to the Court and was *au fait* in its mysteries, this instrument of kingly duplicity was likely to be known to only the chosen few of the Secret Council, and doubtless to only faithful Aragonese and Catalonians.

[2] The title *Mosen* was an ancient Aragonese term for *Sir*.

his own Royal obligations to the Admiral. We have already spoken of the *repartimiento* operated in Española by Pero Ibañez de Ibarra and Rodrigo de Albuquerque in November, 1504, and a large share in this stood in the name of Juan Cabrero. In the latter part of his days his eyes were darkened so that he could not see, and the King, mindful of his past services, preserved for him in his Council a position comfortably within his powers. In the Sovereign's Will, made at Burgos in 1512, the King names Cabrero as his executor. At some time in the year 1514 or 1515, the Chamberlain died, as appears from a memorial addressed by his nephew, Martin Cabrero, to the King, in which the uncle is said to be *now with God;* and the King himself died on January 23, 1516. There was in the succeeding Spanish reign another Doctor Juan Cabrero, also member of the Royal Council, and who, in 1524, was sent by the Emperor Charles V. as Ambassador to the King of Portugal on affairs connected with the Moluccas.[1]

Francisco Pinelo, the father of the messenger bearing to Don Diego the present letter, was an Italian by birth, and had a goodly share in the glory attending the great discovery. He was the Treasurer of the Hermandad from 1491 to 1493, and was associated with Luis de Santangel in securing for the enterprise the loan of the 1,000,000[2] maravedis for equipping the expedition. Zuñiga names Pinelo as a native of Genoa and a member of a well-known Genoese family,—the Pinelli, after whom was named one of the twenty-eight taverns of the city. We notice the numerous and influential Italians, for the most part Genoese, residing in Spain at the time of Columbus, and somehow the apparent loneliness of Columbus in the days preceding his discovery loses something of its severity. When he raised his eighth of the cost of the expedition, we imagine more than the Duke of Medinaceli gave him financial aid, and that part of this came from his compatriots. In several of the documents of the time relating to Seville and preserved in that city, Francisco Pinelo is called *Senator curator æquitatis in ponderibus,*

[1] Herrera takes particular pains to distinguish these two characters from each other, and the editor of the *Raccolta*, exercising the privilege of the after-writer, gently admonishes Henry Harrisse for having assumed in his *Christophe Colomb*, vol. i., p. 377, that the Spanish historian had confounded the two.

[2] The money returned the treasury of the Hermandad was 1,140,000 maravedis, but we believe the 140,000, or a portion thereof, represented the interest account.

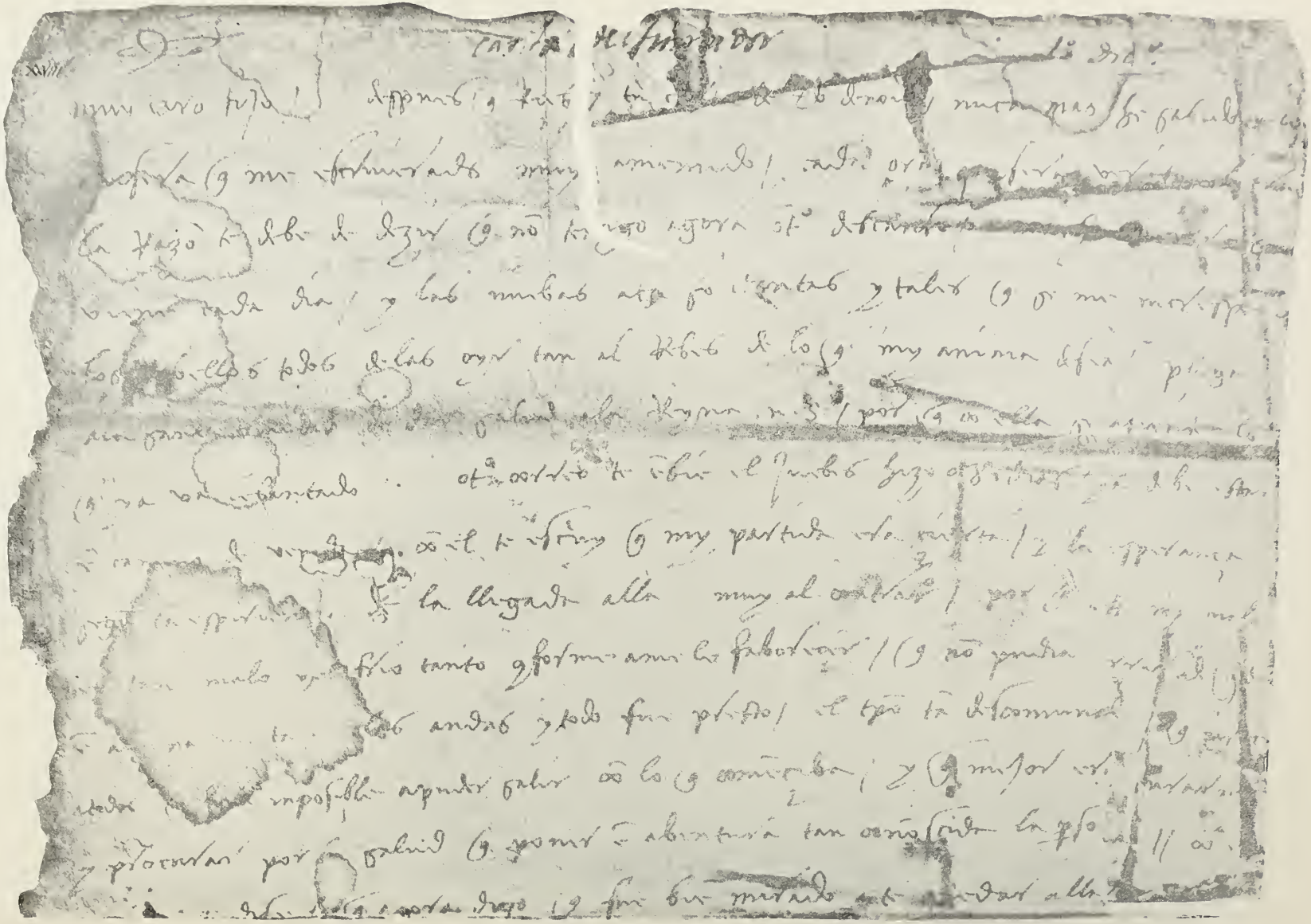
supervisor of weights and measures. He had an important part likewise in equipping the second expedition under Columbus, and either in his personal or official character guaranteed the loan of the Duke of Medina-Sidonia.

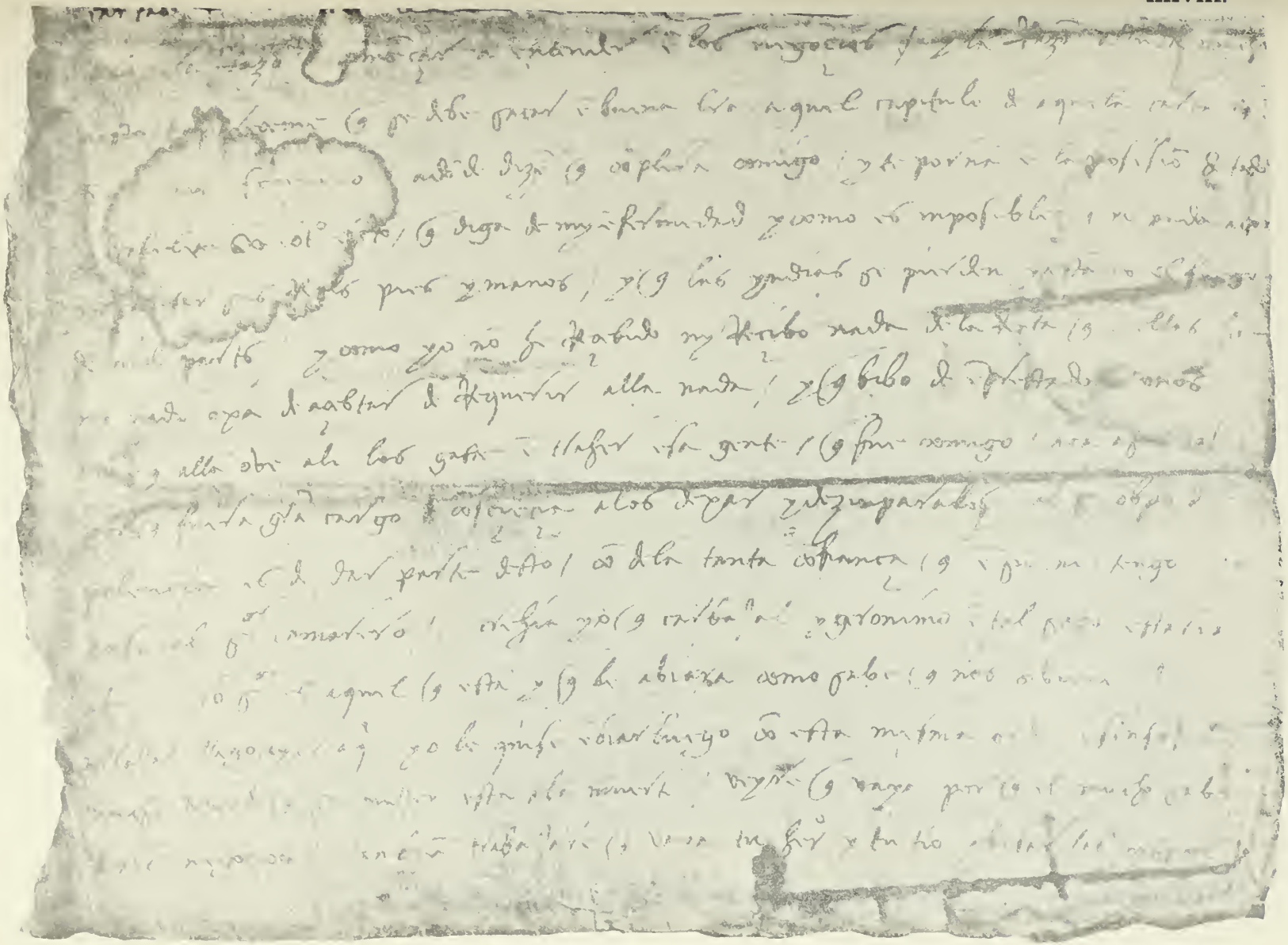
There is a strange and not altogether cheerful connection between this character and a perspective event in the life of Columbus which happily never really came to pass. In this and preceding letters reference is made to the necessity for the Admiral to appear at Court. He was to make no palfreyed journey. His feet could not press the stirrup irons. In this plight he speaks of going in a litter. But this was not a gaily caparisoned palanquin from whose opened sides the Admiral might bow his recognition as he passed, for he himself admits in this particular letter that he is a person of consequence. No, the proposed litter of Columbus was a funeral bier. The Lord Cardinal, Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, the first Duke of Infantado, had been one of the most powerful nobles of Spain. Ferdinand and Isabella incorporated into a dukedom certain possessions belonging aforetimes to the Infantes of Spain, and these estates they presented to their favourite. But he was mortal, and when he died something of the pageantry of his life attended his obsequies. A splendid catafalque was constructed, solemn in its mourning, on which the body of the Cardinal was borne to its tomb. This mortuary carriage belonged to the Cathedral of Seville, and it is probable that Columbus requested its loan for his intended journey. However this may be, at a meeting of the Chapter of the Holy Church of Seville, held on November 26, 1504, the following minute was entered:

"This day [November 26, 1504], their Worships ordered that there should be loaned to the Admiral Columbus the mortuary bier in which was carried the body of the Lord Cardinal Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, whom may God have in His keeping, in order that he may go to the Court, and a guarantee was taken from Francisco Pinelo which assured the return of the said bier to this church in safety."

Fortunately the pathetic picture of this broken man—this man who had given to Castile and Leon a New World—carried along the La Plata road in a funeral bier, suggesting destruction, death, and decay, never was quite painted. The guarantee

of Francisco Pinelo was not required. Before the journey was actually undertaken, the gentle amble of the Andalusian mule was promised him by the Sovereigns; and thus in time, weak but alive, cast down but not destroyed, the Admiral of the Indies made his way northward to Segovia.





No. XXVIII. Holograph Letter of Columbus, Signed, Addressed to his Son Diego, Dated Seville, December 1 [1504].
[Archives of the Duke of Veragua at Madrid.]

NO. XXVIII.

Transliteration

"muy caro fijo. despues que reçeby tu carta de .xv de nouiembre nunca mas he sabido de ty// quisera que me escriuerades muy amenudo. cada ora quisera ver tus letras// la razon te debe de dezir que non tengo agora otro descanso. muchos correos// vienen cada dia y las nuebas aca son tantas y tales que se me increspan// los cabellos todos de las oyr tan al rebes de lo que my anima desea. plega// ala santa trinidad de dar salud ala reyna nuestra señora porque con ella se asiente lo// que ya va lebantado. otro correo te embie el juebes hizo ocho dias. ya debe estar// en camino de venida. con el te escriuy que my partida era çierta y la esperança// segun la espiriençia de la llegada alla muy al contrario porque este mi mal// es tan malo y el frio tanto conforme a me lo faboreçer que non pudia [e]rrar de quedar// en alguna venta. las andas y todo fue presto. el tiempo tan descommunal que pareç[is]// atodos que fuera inposible apuder salir con lo que començaba y que mejor era curarme// y procurar por la salud que poner en abentura tan coñosçida la persona. con esta[s]// cartas te dise lo que agora digo que fue bien mirado a te quedar alla (en tal tiempo)//

Translation

XXVIII.

"Very dear son:

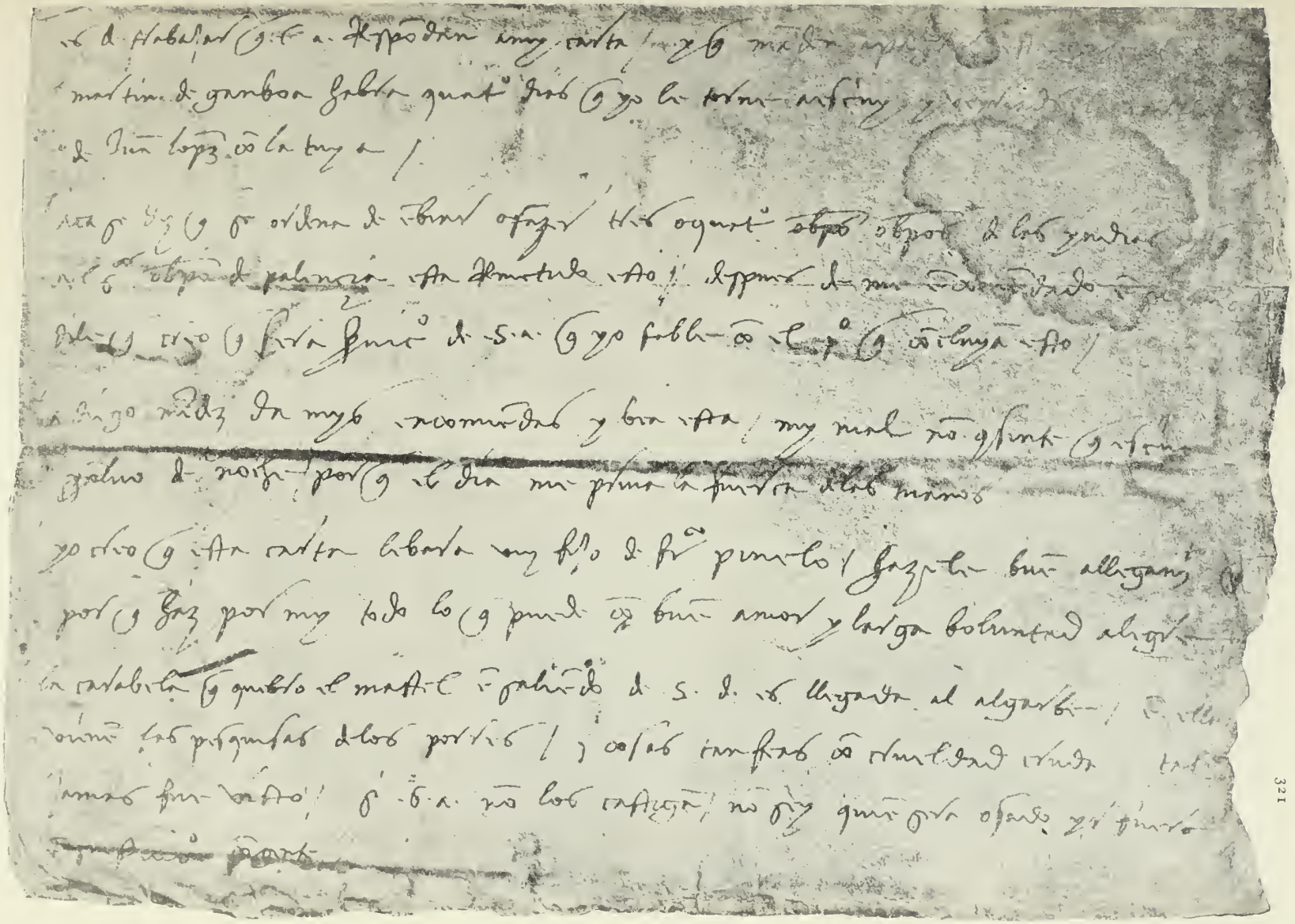
"Since I received your letter of November 15 I have heard nothing from you. I wish that you would write me more frequently. I would like to receive a letter from you each hour. Reason must tell you that now I have no other repose. Many couriers come each day, and the news is of such a nature and so abundant that in hearing it, all my hair stands on end, it is so contrary to what my soul desires. May it please the Holy Trinity to give health to the Queen, our Lady, that she may settle what has already been placed under discussion. I wrote you by another courier Thursday, eight days ago. The courier must already be on his way back here. I told you in that letter that my departure was certain, but that the hope of my arrival there, according to experience, was very uncertain, because my sickness is so bad and the cold is so well suited to aggravate it, that I could not well avoid remaining in some inn on the road. The litter and everything were ready. The weather became so violent that it appeared impossible to every one to start when it was getting so bad, and that it was better for so well-known a person as myself to take care of myself and try to regain my health rather than place myself in danger. I told you in those letters what I now say, that you decided well in remaining there (at such a time)

y que
era razon començar a entender en los negoçios y la razon aiuda mucho// aesto. pareçeme que se debe sacar en buena letra aquel capitulo de aquela carta que// sus altezas me escriuyeron adonde dizen que conpliran comigo y te pornan en la posesion de todo// y dasela con otro escrito que diga de my enfermedad y como es inposible que yo puda agora// yr abesar sus reales pies ymanos y que las yndias se pierden y estan con el fuego// de mil partes y como yo non he reçebido ny reçibo nada de la renta que en ellas ha// ny nadi oxa de açebtar de requerir alla nada y que bibo de enprestado. vnos// dineros que alla ove ali los gaste en traher esa gente que fue comigo aca a sus casas// porque fuera gran cargo de consciençia alos dexar y dezinparalos. al señor obispo de// palençia es de dar parte desto con de la tanta confiança que en su merced tengo y// ansi al señor camarero. crehia yo que carbajal y geronimo en tal sazon estarian// ali. nuestro señor' es aquel que esta y que le abiara como sabe que nos conbiene// carbajal llego ayer aqui. yo le quise enbiar luego con esta mesma orden escusoseme// mucho diziendo que su mujer esta ala muerte. veyre que vaya porque el mucho sabe// destos negoçios. tanbien trabajare que vaya tu hermano y tu tio abesar las manos//

XXVIII.

and that it was right to commence occupying yourself with our affairs: and reason strongly urges this. It appears to me that a good copy should be made of the Chapter of that letter which their Highnesses wrote me where they say they will fulfil their promises to me and will place you in possession of everything: and that this copy should be given to them with another writing telling of my sickness and that it is now impossible for me to go and kiss their Royal feet and hands and that the Indies are being lost and are on fire in a thousand places, and that I have received nothing and am receiving nothing from the revenues derived from them, and that no one dares to accept or demand anything there for me, and I am living upon borrowed funds. I spent the money which I got there in bringing those people who went with me back to their homes, for it would be a great burden upon my conscience to have left them there and to have abandoned them. This must be made known to the Lord Bishop of Palencia, in whose favour I have so much confidence, and also to the Lord Chamberlain. I believed that Carbajal and Jeronimo would be there at such a time. Our Lord is there and He will order everything as He knows it to be best for us. Carbajal reached here yesterday. I wished to send him immediately with this same order, but he excused himself profusely, saying that his wife was at the point of death. I shall see that he goes because he knows a great deal about these affairs. I will also endeavour to have your brother and your uncle go to kiss the hands

XXVIII b.



a sus altezas y les dar cuenta del viaje si mis cartas non abastan. de tu hermano haz mucha cuenta el// tiene buen natural y ya desa las moçedades. diez hermanos non te serian demasiados. nunca// yo falle mayor amigo a diestro y siniestro que mis hermanos.// es de trabajar en haber la gobernaçion de las indias y despues el despacho de la renta// ala te dese vm memorial que dezia lo que me pertençe dellas. lo que despacharon a// carbajal es nada y en nada se ha tornado. quien quera leba mercadurias// y ansi el ochabo es nada porque sin contribuyr en el puedo yo enbiar a mercadear// sin tener cuenta ny compañia con nadi. harto dise yo esto en tiempo pasado que la// contribuyçion del ochabo vernia a nada. el ochauo y el resto me perteneçe por// ta razon de la merçed que sus altezas me hizieron como te dese aclarado en el libro de mis// priuylegios y ansi el terçio y diezmo del qual diezmo non reçibo saluo el diezmo delo que// sus altezas reçiben y ha de ser de todo el oro y otras cosas que se fallan y se aquiren por qua[l]-//quera forma que sea adentro ese almirantado y el diezmo de todas las mercadurias// que van y bienen de alla sacado las custas. ya dise que en el libro delos priuilegios esta// [bien aclar] ado la razon desto y del resto con del juzgado aqui en sebilla delas yndias//

XXVIIIb.

of Their Highnesses and give them an account of the voyage if my letters are not sufficient. Take good care of your brother. He has a good disposition and is no longer a boy. Ten brothers would not be too many for you. I never found better friends to right or to left than my brothers. We must strive to obtain the government of the Indies and then the adjustment of the revenues. I gave you a memorandum which told you what part of them belongs to me. What they gave to Carbajal was nothing and has turned to nothing. Whoever desires to do so takes merchandise there, and so the eighth is nothing, because, without contributing the eighth I could send to trade there, without rendering account or going in company with any one. I said a great many times in the past that the contribution of the eighth would come to nothing. The eighth and the rest belongs to me by reason of the concession which their Highnesses made to me, as set forth in the book of my Privileges: and also the third and the tenth. Of the tenth I received nothing, except the tenth of what their Highnesses receive: and it must be the tenth of all the gold and other things which are found and obtained, in whatever manner it may be, within this Admiralship, and the tenth of all the merchandise which goes and comes from there, after the expenses are deducted. I have already said that in the *Book of Privileges* the reason for this and for the rest which is before the Tribunal of the Indies here in Seville, is clearly set forth.

"es de trabajar que sus altezas respondan any carta y que manden apagar esta gente. con// martin de ganboa habra quatro dias que yo le torne a escriuy y veyriades la carta// de Juan lopez con la tuya.//

"aca se diz que se ordena de enbiar o fazer tres o quatro obispos de las yndias y que// al señor obispo de palençia esta remetido esto. despues de me encomendado en su merçed// dile que creo que sera seruicio de sus altezas que yo fable con el primero que concluyan esto.//

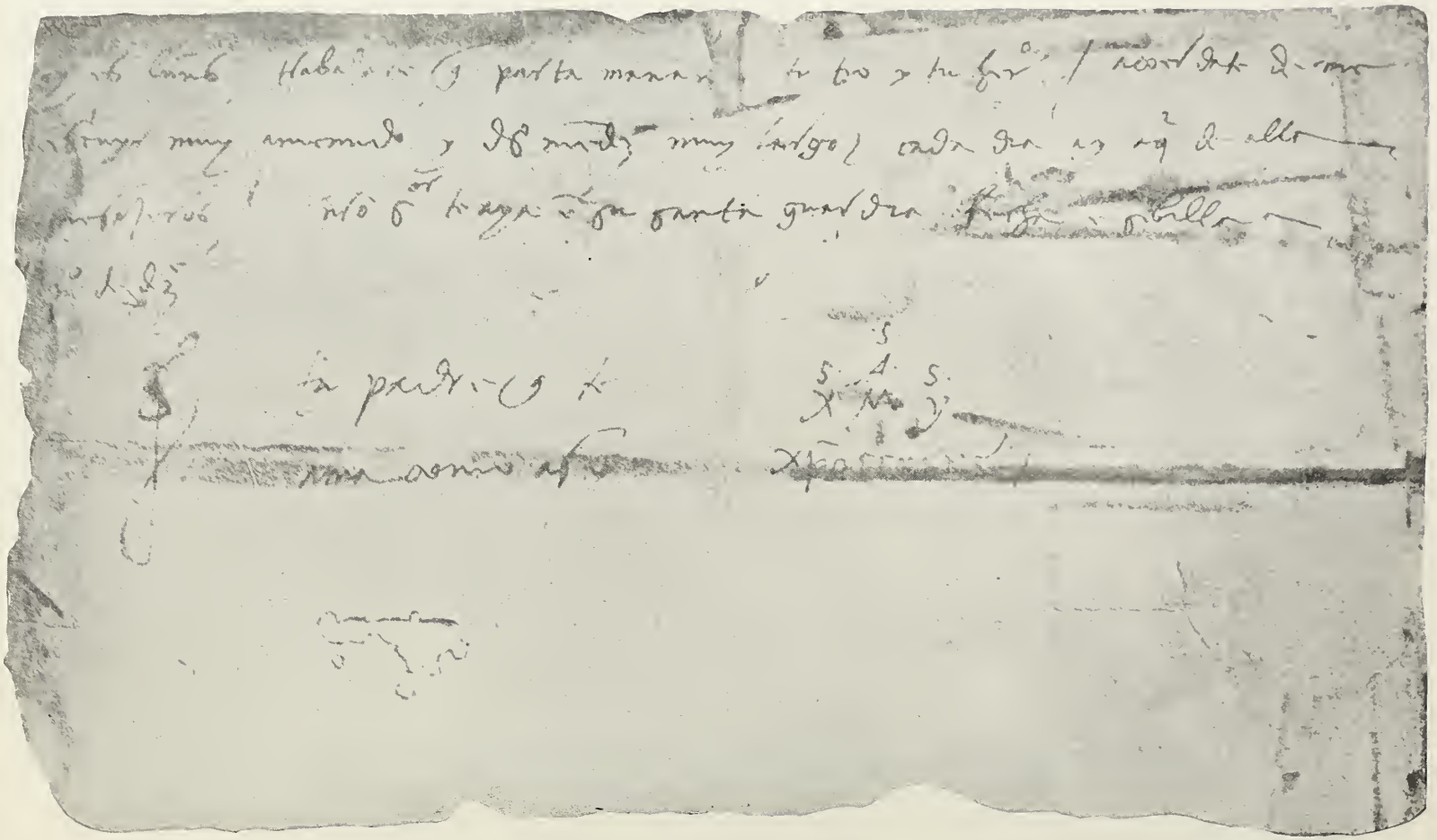
"a diego mendez da mys encomiendas y bea esta, my mal non consinte que escriua// saluo de noche porque el dia me priua la fuerca delas manos// yo creo que esta carta lebara vm fijo de francisco pinelo. hazele buen allegamiento// porque haz por my todo lo que puede con buen amor y larga boluntad alegre// la carabela que quebro el mastel en saliendo de Santo domingo es llagada al algarbe. en ella// vienen las pesquisas de los porres. cosas tan feas con crueldad cruda tal// jamas fue visto. si sus altezas non las castigan non sey quien sera osado yr fuera// en su seruicio con gente//

XXVIII b.

"We must strive to obtain a reply to my letter from their Highnesses, and to have them order that these people be paid. I wrote in regard to this subject four days ago and sent the letter by Martin de Gamboa, and you must have seen the letter of Juan Lopez with your own.

"It is said here that it has been ordered that three or four Bishops of the Indies shall be sent or created, and that this matter is referred to the Lord Bishop of Palencia. After having commended me to his Worship, tell him that I believe it will best serve their Highnesses for me to talk with him before this matter is settled.

"Commend me to Diego Mendez and show him this letter. My illness permits me to write only at night, because in the daytime my hands are deprived of strength. I believe that a son of Francisco Pinelo will carry this letter. Entertain him well because he does everything for me that he can, with much love and a cheerful good-will. The caravel which broke her mast in starting from Santo Domingo has arrived in the Algarves. She brings the records of the case of the Porras brothers. Such ugly things and such grievous cruelty as appear in this matter, never were seen. If their Highnesses do not punish it, I do not know who will dare to go out in their service with people.



"oy es lunes trabajare que parte mañana tu tio y tu hermano. acoerdate de me// escriuyr muy amenudo y diego mendez muy largo. cada dia ay aqui de alla// mesajeros. nuestro señor te aya en su santa guardia fecha en sebilla a//

"primero de deziembre.

tu padre que te
ama como asy.

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
Xp̃o Ferens./"

XXVIII c.

"To-day is Monday. I will endeavour to have your uncle and brother start to-morrow. Remember to write me very often and tell Diego Mendez to write at length. Each day messengers go from here yonder. May our Lord have you in His holy keeping.

Done in Seville December 1.

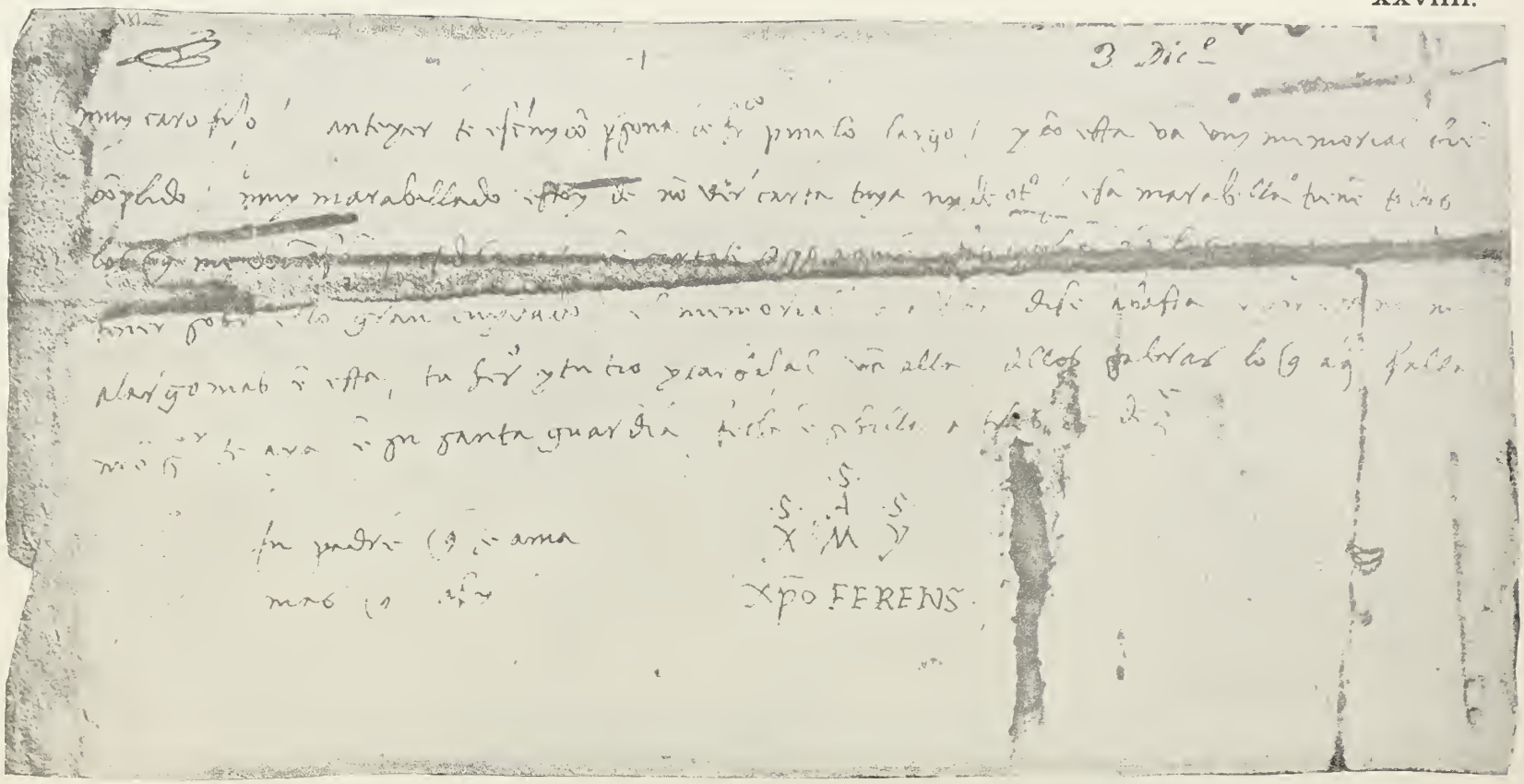
"Your father who loves
you as himself.

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
Xp̃o Ferens./"

NO. XXVIIII. (INCLUDING THE MEMORANDUM NO. XXX). LETTER WRITTEN BY CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS TO DON DIEGO, HIS SON

Sometime between Deeember 1 and the date of this letter, December 3, 1504, the Admiral, through other sources, learned of the death of Queen Isabella, his friend and patroness. He expresses astonishment at not having had any letter from Court, especially none from Don Diego. Others in Seville, with less right of expectation, receive frequent eommunications from their friends in Medina del Campo and Segovia. Don Bartholomew, the Adelantado, Ferdinand, the son of the Admiral, and Alonzo Sanehez de Carvajal, are soon to depart for the Court, and Don Diego will learn through them certain matters which are not openly diseussed in the Department of the Indies at Seville. He has already drawn up his memorandum, and in it he feelingly and piously pays tribute to the memory of the Queen, whose funeral cortège was even then making its perilous journey southward.

The abrupt transition from the death-chamber of Queen Isabella to the treasure-house of the King will offend some persons. "The Queen is dead," says Columbus; "give me of maravedis." For ourselves we believe we have long since come to understand this man and the juxtaposition of piety and colonial affairs does not seem so incongruous. To Columbus the Queen was pledged to the great work of bringing the natives into the Church, and to the other object of rapidly and skilfully gathering gold for employment in the new Crusade to be undertaken in the name of the Church for the delivery into its hands of the Holy Land, an incident which Columbus believed the Prophecies taught must precede the millennium. The Queen was dead, but the King and he yet lived. The death of one could not entirely dissolve the partnership of the three. The great work must go on, with all the greater speed and energy from the lesson of mortality the remaining partners had received. Gold and gold alone will bring to Christendom the barren land of Palestine.



No. XXVIIII. Holograph Letter of Columbus, Signed, to his Son Diego, Dated Seville, December 3, 1504.
[*Archives of the Duke of Veragua at Madrid.*]

NO. XXVIIII.

Transliteration

"muy caro fijo. anteyer te escriuy con persona de françisco pinelo largo y con esta va vm memorial bien// conplido. muy marabillado estoy de non ver carta tuya ny de otro. esa marabilla tienen todos// los que me coñosçen. todos aca tienen cartas & yo a quien mas cumplia non las veo. era de// tener sobre ello gran cuydado. el memorial que a riba dise abasta y por esto non me// alargo mas en esta. tu hermano y tu tio y carbajal van alla. dellos sabras lo que aqui falta// nuestro señor te aya en su santa guardia. fecha en sebilla a tres de deziembre//

"tu padre que te ama
mas que asy.

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
Xp̃o Ferens."

Translation

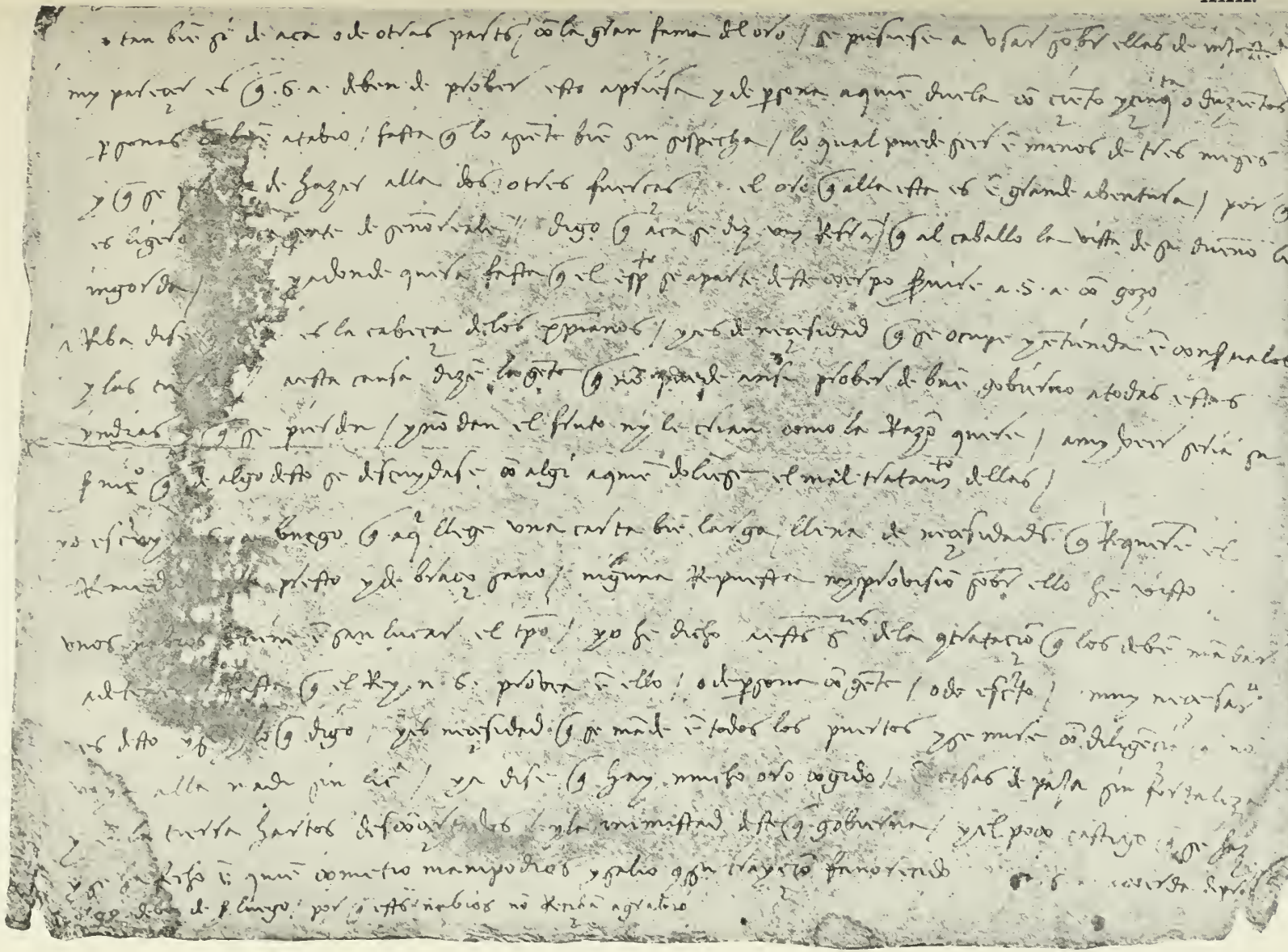
XXVIIII.

"Very dear son. I wrote you at length day before yesterday and sent it by Francisco Pinelo and with this letter I send you a very full memorandum. I am very much astonished not to receive a letter from you or from any one else, and this astonishment is shared by all who know me. Every one here has letters and I, who have more reason to expect them, have none. Great care should be taken about this matter. The memorandum of which I have spoken above, says enough, and on this account I do not speak more at length here. Your brother and your uncle and Carbajal are going yonder. You will learn from them what is not said here. May our Lord have you in His Holy keeping. Done in Seville, December 3.

"Your father who loves you
more than himself.

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
Xp̃o Ferens."

XXX.



No. XXX. Holograph Document of Columbus, Addressed to his Son Diego, and Intended to Accompany the Preceding Letter. [*Archives of the Duke of Veragua at Madrid.*]

NO. XXX.

Transliteration

"memorial para ty muy caro fijo don diego delo que al presente me ocorre que se ha de hazer// lo principal es de encomendar efetuosamente con mucha deboçion el anima de la reyna nuestra señora a dios// su vida siempre fue catolica y santa y prunta a todas las cosas de su santo seruicio y por esto se// debe creher que esta en su santa gloria y fuera del deseu deste aspero y fatigoso mundo. despues// es de entodo y por todo de se desbelar y esforçar en el seruicio del rey nuestro señor y trabar de le quitar// de enojos. so alteça es la cabeça de la christiandad. ved el proberbio que diz quando la cabeça// duele todos los miembros duele. ansi que todos los buenos christianos deben suplicar por su// larga vida y salud. y los que somos obligados a le seruir mas que otros debemos aiudar a esto// con grande estudio y diligençia. esta razon me movio agora con my fuerte mal a te escriuir esto que// aqui escriuio porque su alteza lo probea como fuere su seruicio y por mayor complimiento embio alla a tu//hermano que bien que el sea niño en dias non es ansi en el entendimiento y embio a tu tio y carbajal porque si// este my escriuir non abasta que todos con ty juntamente probeays con palabra. por manera que su alteza reçiba seruicio// a my veer nada tiene tanta necesidad de se probeer y remediar como las yndias. alla debe agora// de tener su alteza

Translation

XXX.

"A memorandum for you, my very dear son, Don Diego, of what occurs to me at the present time which must be done:—The principal thing is to affectionately and with great devotion commend the soul of the Queen, our Lady, to God. Her life was always Catholic and Holy and ready for all the things of His holy service, and for this reason it must be believed that she is in His holy glory and beyond the desires of this rough and wearisome world. Then the next thing is to be watchful and exert one's self in the service of the King, our Lord, and to strive to keep him from being troubled. His Highness is the head of Christendom. See the proverb which says that when the head aches, all the members ache. So that all good Christians should entreat that he may have long life and health: and those of us who are obliged to serve him more than others must join in this supplication with great earnestness and diligence. This reason prompts me now with my severe illness to write you what I am writing here, that his Highness may dispose matters for his service: and for the better fulfilment I am sending your brother there, who, although he is a child in days, is not a child in understanding; and I am sending your uncle and Carbajal, so that if this, my writing, is not sufficient, they, together with yourself, can furnish verbal evidence. In my opinion there is nothing so necessary for the service of his Highness as the disposition and remedying of the affair of the Indies.

"His Highness must now have

mas de quarenta o. Lta. myl pesos de oro. coñosçi que el gobernador quando yo estaba alla non// tenia mucha gana de los embiar. tan bien en la otra gente se crehe que habra otros çiento y çinquenta// mil pesos y las minas en gran vigor y fuerça. la gente que alla en los mas son de comun y de poco// saber y que poco estiman los casos. el gobernador es de todos muy mal quisto. es de temer que e [sta]// gente non tomen algun rebes. si esto seguyese lo que dios non quera seria despues malo de adobar//

XXX.

there more than 40,000 or 50,000 gold pieces. I learned when I was there that the Governor had no desire to send it to him. It is believed among the other people as well that there will be 150,000 pesos more, and the mines are very rich and productive. Most of the people there are common and ignorant and care very little for the circumstances. The Governor is very much hated by all of them and it is to be feared that they may at some time rebel. If this should occur, which God forbid, the remedy for the matter would then be difficult:

y tan bien si de aca o de otras partes con la gran fama del oro se pusiese a vsar sobre ellas de injustiçia// my pareçer es que sus altezas deben de probar esto apriesa y de persona a quien duela con çiento y çinquenta o duzientas// personas con buen atabio fasta que lo asiente bien sin sospecha lo qual puede seer en menos de tres meses// y que se probea de hazer alla dos o tres fuerças. el oro que alla esta es en grande abentura por que// es ligero con poca gente de señoreale. digo que aca se diz vm refran que al caballo la vista de su dueño le// ingorda aca y adonde quera fasta que el espiritu se aparte deste coerpo seruire a sus altezas con gozo//.

XXX.

and so it would be if injustice were used toward them, either here or in other places, with the great fame of the gold. My opinion is that his Highness should investigate this affair quickly and by means of a person who is interested and who can go there with 150 or 200 people well equipped, and remain there until it is well settled and without suspicion, which cannot be done in less than three months: and that an endeavour be made to raise two or three forces there. The gold there is exposed to great risk, as there are very few people to protect it. I say that there is a proverb here which says that the presence of the owner makes the horse fat. Here and wherever I may be, I shall serve their Highnesses with joy, until my soul leaves this body.

"a riba dise que su alteza es la cabeça de los christianos y es de neçesidad que se ocupe y entienda en conserualos// y las tierras a esta causa dizen la gente que non puede ansi prober de buen gobierno a todas estas// yndias y que se pierden y non dan el fruto ny le crian como la razon quere, a my veer seria su// seruicio que de algo desto se descuydase con algi a quien doliese el mal tratamiento dellas.//

"Above I said that his Highness is the head of the Christians, and that it is necessary for him to occupy himself in preserving them and their lands. For this reason people say that he cannot thus provide a good government for all these Indies, and that they are being lost and do not yield a profit, neither are they being handled in a reasonable manner. In my opinion it would serve him to intrust this matter to someone who is distressed over the bad treatment of his subjects.

"yo escriuy a su alteza luego que aqui llege vna carta bien larga llena de neçesidades que requeren el// remedio cierto presto y de braço sano. niguna repuesta ny provision sobre ello he visto.// vnos nabios detiene en san lucar el tiempo.

"I wrote a very long letter to his Highness as soon as I arrived here, fully stating the evils which require a prompt and efficient remedy at once. I have received no reply nor have I seen any provision made in the matter. Some vessels are detained in San Lucar by the weather.

xxx.

yo he dicho a estos señores de la contrataçion que los deben mandar// a detener fasta que el rey nuestro señor provea en ello o de persona con gente o de escrito. muy neçesario// es desto y sey lo que digo y es neçesidad que se mande en todos los puertos y se mire con diligençia que no// vaya alla nadi sin licencia. ya dise que hay mucho oro cogido en casas de paja sin fortaleza// y en la tierra hartos desconçertados y la inimistad deste que gobierna y el poco castigo que se haz// y se ha fecho en quien cometio manipodios y salio con su trayçion fauoreçido.

I have told these gentlemen of the Board of Trade that they must order them held until the King, our Lord, makes provision in the matter, either by some person with other people, or by writing. This is very necessary and I know what I say. It is necessary that the authorities should order all the ports searched diligently, to see that no one goes yonder to the Indies without licence. I have already said that there is a great deal of gold collected in straw houses without any means of defence and there are many disorderly people in the country and that the Governor is hated, and that little punishment is inflicted and has been inflicted upon those who have committed crimes and have come out with their treasonable conduct approved.

si su alteza acoerda de pro[veer]// algo debe de ser luego porque estos navios non reçiban agrabio.//

"If his Highness decides to make some provision, it must be done at once, so that these vessels may not be injured.

XXXb.

xxxf.

Memorial del d.o de Medel
para Su Sito de Sp.a Colon. &c.

"yo he oydo que estan para elegir tres obispos para enbiar ala española. si plaz a su alteza de me oyr antes// que esto concluyan que dire con que dios nuestro señor sea bien seruido y su alteza y contento//

yo me he detenido en el prober de la española.//"

XXXb.

" I have heard that three Bishops are to be elected and sent to Española. If it pleases his Highness to hear me before concluding this matter, I will tell in what manner God, our Lord may be well served and his Highness served and satisfied.

"I have given lengthy consideration to the provision for Española."

NO. XXXI. LETTER WRITTEN BY CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS TO DON DIEGO, HIS SON

This letter is written eight days after the departure of the brother and the younger son of the Admiral, and of his friend Carvajal, the illness of whose wife had prevented an earlier start. Don Ferdinand, the son, carried the purse, and in it were one hundred and fifty gold ducats; and besides the gold was a letter of credit. We have been taught to look upon Columbus in his latter days as bereft of friends, helpless, and in poverty. Throughout this Work we have endeavoured to draw attention to his real situation. He certainly had ready money, itself a denial of poverty. His gift of one hundred and fifty ducats did not impoverish him, for he speaks of sending more if he had a trusty messenger. His credit is good, and the Italian bankers at Seville did not hesitate to commend him to their correspondents at the north. It will be remembered that when he died, the household of the Admiral indicated generous provision and elaborate service, and directly after we find Don Diego possessed of considerable money. All things in life are relative, and it may be that, compared to what was his due, Columbus possessed but little. Compared to many of his Sevillian neighbours, hidalgos and grandees, we dare to say his state seemed fortunate and great. We must not give weight to the Admiral's words when, on his last voyage, in pain of body and in anguish of spirit, he declared he had no place to lay his head and no pence to pay his tavern score. These expressions, like those concerning Cathay, we throw into the great ocean of irresponsible and unmeaning words coming from the mouth of man since first he learned to talk.

Three men are here mentioned by Columbus as able greatly to help him in adjusting his interest in the revenues from the Indies,—Carvajal, now on his way to Court, and Miguel Diaz and Velasquez, both of whom are still in Española. These men, Columbus says, dare not mention to Ovando, the Governor, the subject of his claims. It is doubtful if either of these men was accredited to Ovando by Columbus or his agents. Indeed, they were not quite of the class from which ambassadors are drawn. The one, Miguel Diaz, may be looked upon as the discoverer of the site, if not the founder, of San Domingo, the capital of the

island of Española. The other, Diego Velasquez, was the coloniser of the island of Cuba and the founder of Havana, its beautiful capital. Therefore the union of these two men in the affairs of the Discoverer is strange enough to arrest attention.

Miguel Diaz, an Aragonese, had been servant to Bartholomew Columbus, the Adelantado. He was a man of spirit withal, brave and adventurous. In a quarrel with another Spaniard he so severely wounded him that he believed his antagonist to be dead, and, to escape the judgment of Bartholomew Columbus, then in command in Española, he fled with half a dozen of his friends. They made their way around the eastern end of the island, turning southward until they came to where the river Ozama enters the ocean. Here was an Indian settlement, over which reigned a female cacique. And now occurred the first romance in the New World in which a European had a part. The native Princess fell violently in love with the Spanish outcast, and he was in no wise indifferent to her advances. After the manner of those who live without forms, they were espoused, and for a time the lovers—Spaniard and Indian—basked in an Eden of delight. In time the heat of love became less hectic, the colour of the fruit lost something of its sheen, feasts no longer entertained, the quiet of the glade no longer soothed. The Spaniard longed for his own people, for the streets and squares and taverns of Isabella, for the tingle of red wine, for new velvets, the songs of Spain, the swish of the rapier,—the old life among his kind. The first Indian woman to love a Spaniard was possessed of wit, which is the nurse and guardian of love. She read his thoughts, and taking him, as all persuaders ever have done, up to a high place, she pointed to the beauties of her home, the safe harbour, the tireless river, the responsive fields, and the mines of gold. "Here," she cried; "here bring thy people and here found a new city." Miguel, still the lover and yet the loyal Spaniard, hastened across the fields and hills to Isabella, to find that the wounds given his antagonist had not been fatal and that peace was within his grasp. His tale of the Ozama village, of the plenitude of gold, aroused the Adelantado, who long had contemplated, as had the Admiral, removing the colony to a more salubrious spot. Bartholomew and a retinue accompanied him back to the home of the Princess, and in a few months the city of New Isabella, or San Domingo, began to rise

in wood and brick and stone. The best of the story is the faithfulness of the first lovers, for they lived in harmony, and the children and mother must have been baptised into the Church, as Oviedo ever speaks of the Princess as Catalina, a Christianised name. Miguel Diaz was Alcalde of the new city of San Domingo and commander of the fortress when, on the morning of August 24, 1500, Don Francisco de Bobadilla, with his three warrants from the Sovereigns, halted before that small garrison and demanded its surrender. The new Governor's authority was denied by Miguel Diaz; but as the Alcalde had nothing wherewith to resist save his own sword and a few guards, whose duty was rather to keep a few prisoners within than to repel an invasion from without, the defence was perfunctory, and Bobadilla had small difficulty in entering. The new Governor could not have entertained personal hostility toward Diaz, for we find the administration licensing him to search the island for gold. It was this same Miguel Diaz who, in the year 1502, discovered the largest nugget of gold yet found,—a monstrous block weighing thirty-five pounds. He was still in Española when this present letter was written, in 1504, and still devoted to the service of the Admiral. In 1509, when Don Diego was second Admiral and Governor of the Indies, he made Miguel Diaz High Constable of Puerto Rico, under the Governor Juan Ponce de Leon. A misunderstanding arising between them, Diaz was sent back to Española a prisoner, but through his patron, the second Admiral, he was permitted to return and resume the functions of his office. When, on August 1, 1511, Bartholomew Columbus made a codicil to his Will, he recognised himself indebted to him for the sum of fifty ducats.

Diego Velasquez, the other resident of Española on whom the Admiral relied for promoting his interests in common with Miguel Diaz, had been first servant to Columbus himself and afterwards to the Adelantado. While Oviedo calls him a poor hidalgo of Spain, he made his mark in the New World, and his career was brilliant, even if its end was somewhat in darkness. When Ovando became Governor, he showed Velasquez great favour, and employed him in the year 1503 to subjugate the southern provinces of the island. Already, in 1504, he had become rich and powerful, and within a few years afterward was accounted one of the wealthiest subjects in the New World. In

1511 Don Diego Columbus sent him to Cuba to found a colony, and this he established after some contests with the natives. Under him were some men destined to make names for themselves,—Pánfilo de Narvaez, his nephew Juan de Grijalva, and Hernando Cortés. In the year 1518, Velasquez sent out an exploring expedition, placing his nephew Grijalva in charge, and when they returned to Cuba they reported a rich and beautiful country, which was none other than Mexico. The report of this new land fired the imagination of Cortés, and without authority from Velasquez he fitted out an expedition for its conquest. Peter Martyr pictures Cortés and his followers as halting between consulting Velasquez, the Governor of Cuba, and undertaking the expedition without his authority, looking to the King in Spain for higher authority. The latter view prevailed, and there began a feud between Cortés and Velasquez which led to the downfall of the latter. When Velasquez sent an armed force against his former subordinate, that one had so strengthened himself in New Spain and with the Emperor at home that it was Velasquez himself who was deposed from his place of power in Cuba. No sooner had power fled from him than his riches likewise spread their wings and followed his disappearing honours. Peter Martyr tells us, in his *Seventh Decade*, that he died "brought down to poverty from exceeding great riches and now at length dead." From a stone tablet greatly broken, the date of his death has been assumed to be 1522:

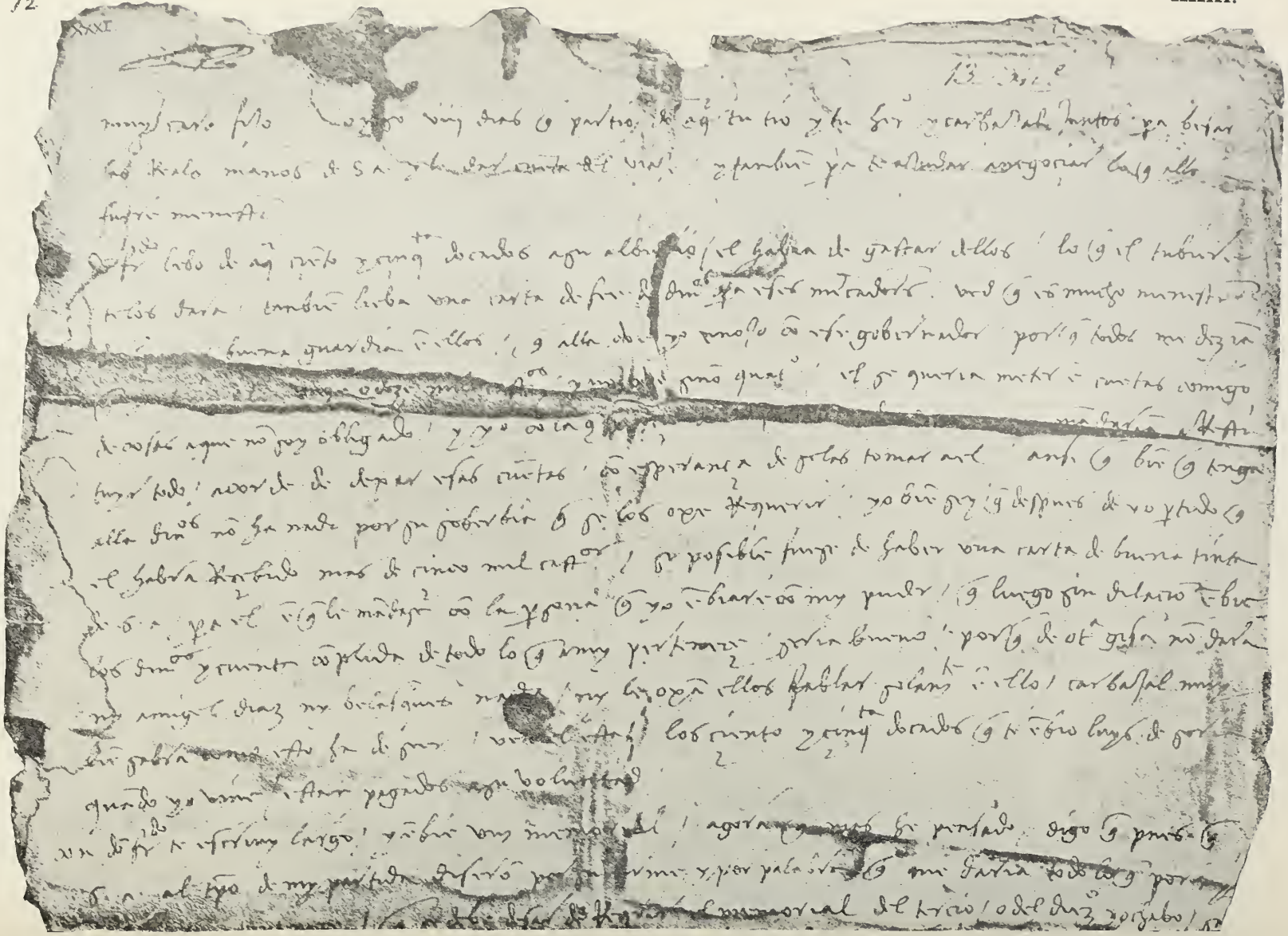
"Hic jacet Nobilissimus Ac Magnificentissimus Dominus Didacus Velasquez insularem Jucatani Præses, Qui eas summo opere Debellabit in Honorem Dei Omnipotentis Ac . . . [here the stone is broken] Cui Regis D. . . . [here also the stone is broken] ivit in Anno Domi M.D.XXII. . . . [here likewise the stone is crumbled]."

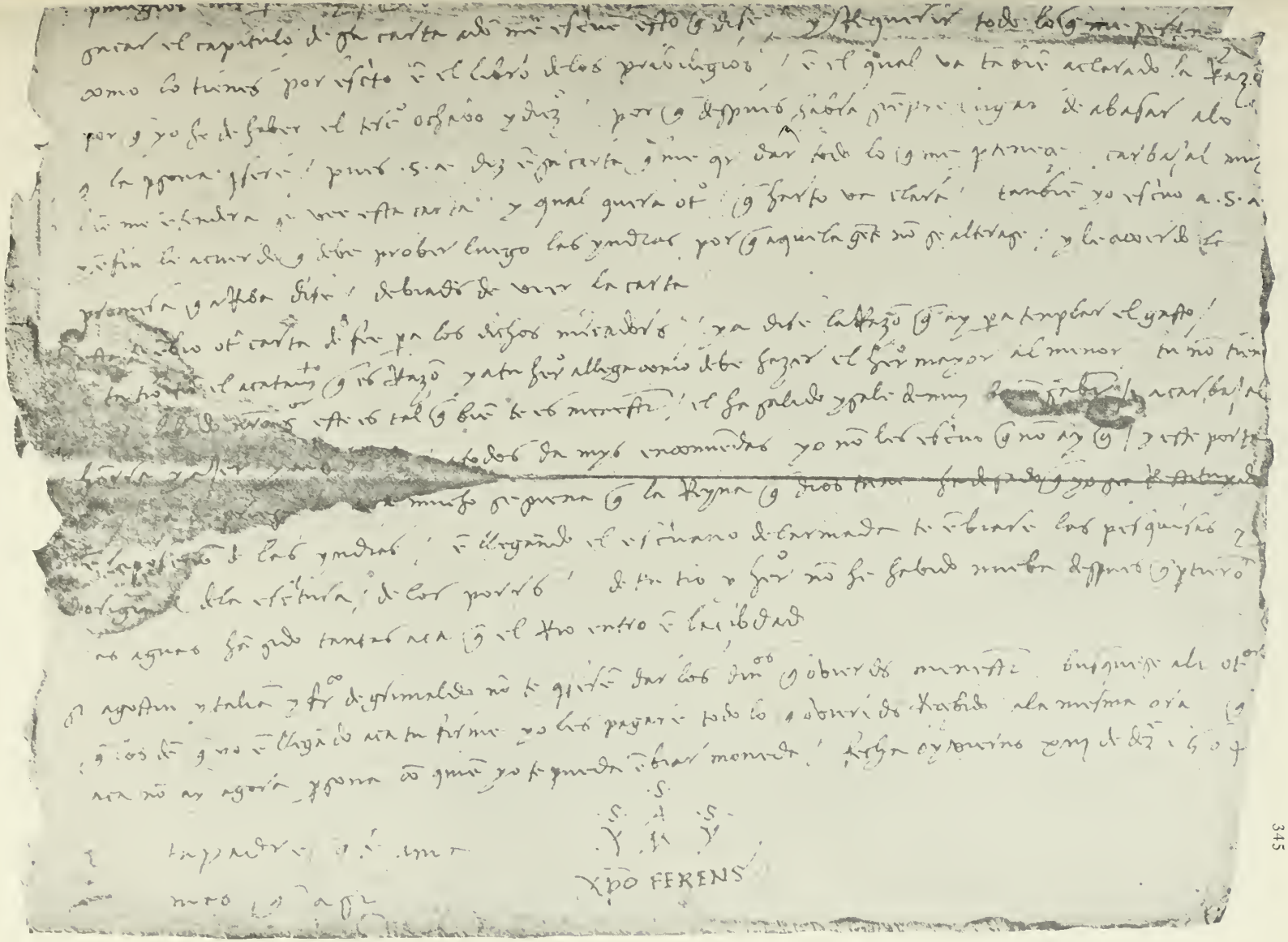
While the Roman numerals at present on the stone make the date 1522, it is possible and probable that the part which was crumbled carried with it two other figures, which would have made the whole read M.D.XXIIII. Oviedo wrote of him:

"The Adelantado Diego Velasquez was one of those poor hidalgos who came over on the second voyage to this island of Española. . . . Later, in the year 1524, having resolved to go in person to make complaint of Cortés to the Emperor . . . death the final disposer of quarrels, crossed his plans and his days ended. And so died the Adelantado Diego Velasquez."

Moreover, from some of his own letters or narratives, Hernando Cortés seems to assume that, in October, 1524, Diego Velasquez was still alive.

The letters of credit mentioned by the Admiral in this letter were drawn upon Agostin Italián and Francisco de Grimaldo. In a Royal Cedula dated October 9, 1497, one Pantaleon Italián is ordered to place the sum of 824,336 maravedis in the hands of Juan de Fonseca and the Admiral in connection with fitting out the third expedition. It is certain that this Agostin Italián was a member of that house. The Italián family, written sometimes Interiano, belonged to the Genoese nobility, and gave its name to one of the city's inns. The second of these bankers is probably Juan Francisco de Grimaldo, with whom Don Diego, brother to the first Admiral, at the time of making his Will in February, 1515, had on deposit the handsome sum of two thousand ducats. This last sum Don Ferdinand Columbus collected in December, 1520.





S.
S A S
X M Y
Xpo FERENS

No. XXXI. Holograph Letter of Columbus, Signed, Addressed to his Son Diego, Dated December 13, 1504.
[Archives of the Duke of Veragua, at Madrid.]

NO. XXXI.

Transliteration

"muy caro fijo. oy son. viii. dias que partio de aqui tu tio y ul hermano y carbajal juntos para besar// las reales manos de su alteza y le dar cuenta del viaje ytanbien para te aiudar a negoçiar lo que alla// fuere menester.//

"don fernando lebo de aqui çiento y cinquenta docados asu albidrio. et habra de gastar dellos lo que el tubiere// te los dara. tanbien lieba vna carta de fee de dineros para eses mercadores. ved que es mucho menester// de poner buena guardia en ellos que alla ove yo enojo con ese gobernador porque todos me dezian// que yo tenia ali vnze o doze mil castellanos y non ove sinon quatro. el se queria meter en cuentas comigo// de cosas aque non soy obligado y yo con la confiança [de la promesa de sus altezas que me] mandarian a resti-//tuyr todo acorde de dexar esas cuentas con esperança de se las tomar a el ansi que bien que tenga// alla dineros non ha nadi por su soberbia que se los oxe requerir. yo bien sey que despues de yo partido que// el habra reçebido mas de cinco mil castellanos si posible fuese de haber vna carta de buena tinta// de su alteza para el en que lo mandase con la persona que yo embiare con my puder que luego sin dilaçion embie// los dineros y cuenta complida de todo lo que amy perteneçe seria bueno porque de otra gisa non dara// ny amigel diaz ny belasques nada ny le oxan ellos fablar solamente en ello. carbajal muy// bien sabra como

Translation

XXXI.

"Very dear son:

"It is now eight days since your uncle and your brother and Carbajal left here together, to kiss the Royal hands of his Highness and to give an account of the voyage and also to aid you in the negotiation of whatever may prove to be necessary there.

"Don Ferdinand took from here 150 ducats to be expended at his discretion. He will have to spend some of it, but he will give you what he has remaining. He also carries a letter of credit for these merchants. You will see that it is very necessary to be careful in dealing with them because I had trouble there with the Governor, as every one told me that I had there 11,000 or 12,000 castellanos and I had only 4000. He wished to charge me with things for which I am not obligated, and I, confiding in the promise of their Highnesses, who ordered everything restored to me, decided to leave these charges in the hope of calling him to account for them. If any one has money there, they do not dare ask for it on account of his haughtiness. I very well know that after my departure he must have received more than 5000 castellanos. If it were possible for you to obtain from his Highness an authoritative letter to the Governor, ordering him to send the money without delay and a full account of what belongs to me, by the person I might send there with my power of attorney, it would be well; because he will not give it in any other manner, neither to my friend Diaz or Velasquez and they dare not even speak of it to him. Carbajal will very well know how this

XXXI.

esto ha de ser. vea el esta. los çiento y çinquenta docados que te embio luys de soria// quando yo vine estan pagados a su voluntad.//

"con don fernando te escriuy largo y embie vm memorial. agora que mas he pensado digo que pues que// sus altezas al tiempo de my partida diseron por su firme y por palabra que me darian todo lo que por mys// priuilegios me perteneçe que se debe desar de requerir el memorial del terçio o del diezmo y ochabo sa[luo]//

must be done. Let him see this letter. The 150 ducats which Luis de Soria sent you when I came are paid according to his desire.

"I wrote you at length and sent the letter by Don Ferdinand, also a memorandum. Now that I have thought over the matter further, I say that, since at the time of my departure their Highnesses said over their signature and verbally, that they would give me all that belongs to me, according to my privileges—that the claim for the third or the tenth and eighth mentioned in the memorandum must be relinquished,

[End of 18th line.]

sacar el capitulo de su carta adon me escriuen esto que dise y requerir todo lo que me pertene[ȩe]// como lo tienes por escrito en el libro de los privilegios en el qual va tanbien aclarado la razon// por que yo he de haber el tercio ochabo y diezmo. porque despues habra sienpre lugar de abasar alo// que la persona quisiere pues su alteza diz en su carta que me quer dar todo lo que me perteneȩe. carbajal muy// bien me entendera si vee esta carta y qualquera otro que harto va clara. tanbien yo escriuo a su alteza// y enfin le acuerdo que debe prober luego las yndias por que aquela gente non se alterase y le acoerd la// promesa que ariba dise. debiades de veer la carta.

"con esta te enbio otra carta de fee para los dichos mercadores. ya dise la razon que ay para tenplar el gasto.// a tu tio tien el acatamiento que es razon y a tu hermano allega como debe hazer el hermano mayor al menor. tu non tien[es]// otro y lobado nuestro señor este es tal que bien te es menester. el ha salido y sale de muy buen saber. a carbajal// honrra y a jeronimo y a diego mendez. atodos da mys encomiendas yo non les escriuo que non ay que. y este porta-//dor ua de priesa. aca mucho se suena que la reyna que dios tiene ha desado que yo sea restituydo// en la posesion de las yndias. en llegando el escriuano delarmada te enbiare las pesquisas y// original dela escritura

XXXI.

and instead the chapter of their letter must be shown where they write what I have said, and all that belongs to me must be required, as you have it in writing in the *Book of Privileges* in which is also set forth the reason for my receiving the third, eighth, and tenth; as there is always an opportunity to reduce the sum desired by a person, although his Highness says in his letter that he wishes to give me all that belongs to me. Carbajal will understand me very well if he sees this letter, and every one else as well, as it is very clear. I also wrote to his Highness and finally reminded him that he must provide at once for this affair of the Indies, that the people there may not be disturbed, and also reminding him of the promise stated above. You ought to see the letter.

"With this letter I send you another letter of credit for the said merchants. I have already explained to you the reasons why expenses should be moderated. Show your uncle due respect and treat your brother as an elder brother should treat a younger. You have no other brother, and praised be our Lord, he is such a one as you need very much. He has proved and proves to be very intelligent. Honour Carbajal and Jeronimo and Diego Mendez. Commend me to them all. I do not write them as there is nothing to write and this messenger is in haste. It is frequently rumoured here that the Queen, whom God has, has left an order that I be restored to the possession of the Indies. On arrival, the notary of the fleet will send you the records and the original writing of the case of the

delos porres. de tu tio y hermano non he habido nueba despues que partieron// las aguas han sido tantas aca que el rio entro en la çibdad.//

"si agostin ytalian y francisco de grimaldo non te quiseren dar los dineros que ovierdes menester busquense ali otros// que los den que yo en llegando aca tu firme yo les pagare todo lo que ovierdes reçebido ala mesma ora. que// aca non ay agora persona con quien yo te pueda enbiar moneda.

fecha oy viernes .xiii. de deziembre .1504.//

"tu padre que te ama
mas que asi.

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
Xp̃o Ferens."

XXXI.

Porras brothers. I have received no news from your uncle and brother since they left. The water has been so high here that the river entered the city.

"If Agostin Italian and Francisco de Grimaldo do not wish to give you the money you need, look for others there who are willing to give it to you. On the arrival here of your signature I will at once pay them all that you have received: for at present there is not a person here by whom I can send you money.

"Done to-day, Friday, December 13, 1504.

"Your father who loves you
more than himself.

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
Xp̃o Ferens."

NO. XXXII. LETTER WRITTEN BY CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS TO HIS SON, DON DIEGO

What we learn principally from this letter is the comfortable financial condition of the Discoverer. He is not in poverty. He is in no wise cramped for ready money. We find him on December 6, 1504, handing Don Ferdinand 150 ducats for his journey to the Court and for the expenses of himself and Don Diego, and in his letter of December 13, 1504, we find him announcing a cash payment to Luis de Soria of another 150 ducats. Therefore, he had in his purse not less than 112,500 maravedis, or, as we calculate the value of a maravedi in our money of to-day, $694.12, or something over £143. When we consider the relative purchasing power of money and cost of living at that time, we do not hesitate to pronounce the apparent financial condition of the Admiral as particularly happy. His credit is good, and the bankers in Seville will pay large sums of money on his account to whomsoever holds his promises or orders. That he had been sometime in possession of ready money is apparent from his having expended out of the 4000 castellanos recently collected at Española the sum of 1200 castellanos for transporting his crew from San Domingo to Spain. It is possible in the reference the Admiral here makes to the Lord Bishop of Palencia that Diego de Deza is intended. It was this good man of whom it might be said that he "caused the possession of the Indies by their Highnesses." Except for this allusion we should fix the reference at the door of Fonseca. In any event, the previous references, we think, are certainly to the latter. It is true that formal possession of the Bishopric of Palencia was only taken by the uncle of Don Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca on his behalf in January, 1505, but the appointment had long before been known. Sometime in December, 1504, the Bull was sent from Rome, formally appointing Diego de Deza, who had been Bishop of Palencia, to the Archbishopric of Seville. It is probable the Admiral was not over-careful in distinguishing these two men, the one laying down, and the other just taking up, the ecclesiastical authority of the Palencian See.

The Camacho here mentioned is believed to be the same Gonzalo Camacho who made part of the crew of the ship *Gallego* on the fourth voyage, where he is entered as *escudero*, or squire,

and who showed himself more than once indifferent to the interests of the Admiral. He was with Hojeda in 1499, and naturally was taught to be unfriendly to Columbus. That he had been in the good graces of the Admiral may be inferred from the reference to him when, in writing to Father Gaspar Gorricio, under date of May 24 (1501), he is recommended as competent to make a copy of the Majorat. Therefore he was something more than an ordinary seaman or adventurer. When, afterwards, he found himself on the island of Jamaica, with insurrectionary and rebellious companions, he encouraged and abetted the dissensions. It may be doubted, however, if the character of Camacho was inherently mischievous or if he had any personal animosity against the interest of the Columbus family, for we find him a witness before the Fiscal on June 16, 1512, having been summoned by Don Diego, the second Admiral. On January 3, 1514, at Seville, he was examined before the Fiscal, and again on December 31, 1535, at Seville. It was on this occasion that he announced himself as fifty years of age. Thus he would have been about eighteen years old when he was on the coast of Veragua with Columbus.

It is a curious circumstance that Navarrete should call him Gregorie. Navarrete followed Muñoz, and, it is believed, interpreted a contraction or abbreviation to mean *Gregorio*. We can hardly believe that this was the same youth Gregorio who accompanied the Admiral on his fourth voyage, and then years afterwards was of such service to Nicuesa and his companions at Porto Bello, finding for them a spring of water which he remembered the Admiral's having discovered during the fourth voyage. That Gregorio was a Genoese and a servant to Columbus. The Pedro Camacho whose name appears in the *repartimiento* of Puerto de Plata made December 7, 1514, was probably a relative of Gonzalo.

The expression *Santo Padre* is rather puzzling. Since Alexander VI. had called Christopher Columbus, in his Bull of May, 1493, "his beloved son," two other Bishops of Rome had occupied St. Peter's chair,—Pius III. for a few days, and Julius II. for something over a year. If we are to interpret this expression as meaning that the Admiral had been called upon to communicate with the Pope, had failed in properly complying with the request, and thereupon had been duly chided for his delin-

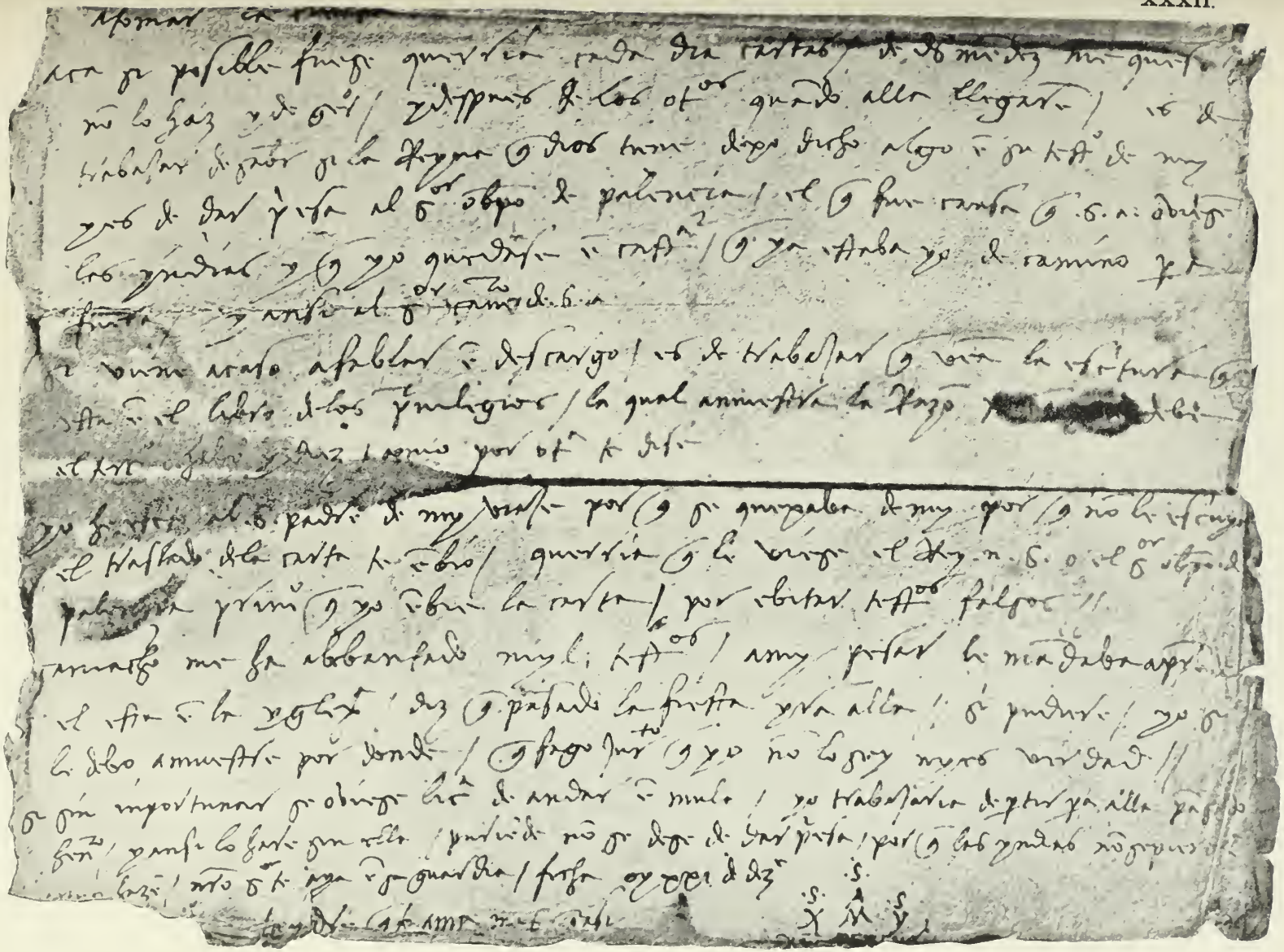
quency, where had there been time for all this since the arrival of the Admiral from his last voyage? If, on the other hand, the expression refers to Father Gaspar Gorricio, why should King Ferdinand and the Bishop of Palencia be expected to peruse and correct a letter written to a mere subordinate priest,—a personal friend and agent? It is true that Father Gaspar Gorricio was then at Court attending to the affairs of the Admiral. But it does not seem to us that he was important enough to be in communication with the King.

We find Pope Julius II. at an early period active in the affairs of the New World. It will be remembered that the Admiral was already acquainted with the plan for erecting three or four bishoprics in Española and Puerto Rico. It is quite likely, therefore, that he had already communicated with Rome. On November 15, 1504, the Pope had a communication relative to the appointment of three of these Bishops, and this document is still on file in the *Archivio Concistoriale*. It is possible that a correspondence with the Holy See began immediately after Columbus returned to Spain.

We have already discussed the application of the Admiral for a permit to use a mule in travelling to the Court.[1] The condition of the roads was such that only the gentle amble of the sure-footed Andalusian mule could afford ease and safety to one so grievously afflicted with the gout as was the Admiral. It is pleasant to know that it needed only an application on his part to secure a privilege granted only to nobles and the highest ecclesiastics.

[1] See vol. i., p. 271.

XXXII.



No. XXXII. Holograph Letter of Columbus, Signed, Addressed to his Son Diego, Dated December 21 [1504], Including a Postscriptum Addressed to his Son Diego at Court. [Archives of the Duke of Veragua at Madrid.]

NO. XXXII.

Transliteration

"muy caro fijo. el señor adelantado y tu hermano y carbajal// partieron oy son .xvi. dias para alla. nunca mas me han escrito// don fernando lebada .CL. ducados. el habis de gastar lo que oviese menester// y leba vna carta para que los mercadores que te provean de dineros// otra te embie despues con fee de miçer francisco de ribarol con çamora// correu y dise que si por my carta te habia proveydo que no vsa-//sedes de la de francisco de ribarol ansi como agora digo de otra carta que te// embio con esta de myçer francisco doria la qual te embio a mayor// abondançia por que non falte que tu non seas proveydo. ya// dise como es neçesario de poner buen recabdo en los dineros// fasta que sus altezas nos den ley y asiento. tanbien te dise que yo he// gastado para traher esa gente a castilla mil y duzientos castellanos los quales// me debe su alteza la mayor parte dellos y por esto le escriuy que me mandase//

Translation

XXXII.

"Very dear son:

"The Lord Adelantado and your brother and Carbajal left here sixteen days ago to go to the Court. They have not written me since. Don Ferdinand carried 150 ducats. He must spend what is necessary and he carries a letter, that the merchants may furnish you with money. I have sent you another letter since, with the endorsement of Mr. Francisco de Ribarol, by Zamora, the courier and told you that if you had made provision for yourself by means of my letter, not to use that of Francisco de Ribarol. I say the same now in regard to another letter which I send you with this one, for Mr. Francisco Doria, which letter I send you for greater security that you may not fail to be provided with money. I have already told you how necessary it is to be careful in the expenditure of the money, until their Highnesses give us law and justice. I also told you that I had spent 1200 castellanos in bringing these people to Castile, of which his Highness owes me the greater part and I wrote him in regard to it asking him to order

atomar
la cuenta.//

"aca si posible fuese querria cada dia cartas. de diego mendez me queso que// non lo haz y de geronimo y despues de los otros quando alla llegaren. es de// trabajar de saber si la reyna que dios tiene dexo dicho algo en su testamento de my// y es de dar priesa al señor obispo de palençia el que fue causa que sus altezas oviesen// las yndias y que yo quedase en castilla que ya estaba yo de camino para// fuera y ansi al señor camarero de su alteza// si viene acaso afablar en descargo es de trabajar que vean la escritura que// esta en el libro de los priuilegios la qual amuestra la razon por que se me debe// el tercio ochabo y diezmo como por otra te dise//

"yo he escrito al santo padre de my viaje porque se quexaba de my por que non le escriuya// el traslado dela carta te embio. querria que le viese el rey nuestro señor o el señor obispo de// palencia primero que yo embie la carta por ebitar testimonios falsos.//

"camacho me ha alebantado myl testimonios. amy pesar le mandaba aprender// el esta en la yglexia. diz que pasado la fiesta yra alla si pudiere. yo si// le debo amuestre por donde. que fago juramento que yo non lo sey ny es verdad.//

"si sin importunar se oviese licencia de andar en mula yo trabajaria de partir para allá pasado// henero y ansi

XXXII.

the account settled.

"If possible I should like to receive letters here each day. I complain of Diego Mendez and of Jeronimo, as they do not write me: and then of the others who do not write when they arrive there. We must strive to learn whether the Queen, whom God has in His keeping, said anything about me in her will and we must hurry the Lord Bishop of Palencia, who caused the possession of the Indies by their Highnesses and my remaining in Castile, for I was already on my way to leave it. And the Lord Chamberlain of his Highness must also be hurried. If by chance the affair comes to discussion, you must strive to have them see the writing which is in the *Book of Privileges*, which shows the reason why the third, eighth and tenth are owing me, as I told you in another letter.

"I have written to the Holy Father in regard to my voyage as he complained of me because I did not write him. I send you a copy of the letter. I would like to have the King, our Lord, or the Lord Bishop of Palencia see it before I send the letter, in order to avoid false representations.

"Camacho has told a thousand falsehoods about me. To my regret I ordered him arrested. He is in the church. He says that after the Holidays are past, he will go there if he is able. If I owe him, he must show by what reason; for I make oath that I do not know it, nor is it true.

"If without importunity, a licence can be procured for me to go on mule-back I will try to leave for the Court after January and I will even

XXXII.

lo haré sin ella. puriende non se dese de dar priesa porque las yndias non se pierdan// como hazen. nuestro señor te aya en su guardia, fecha oy .xxi. de deziembre.//

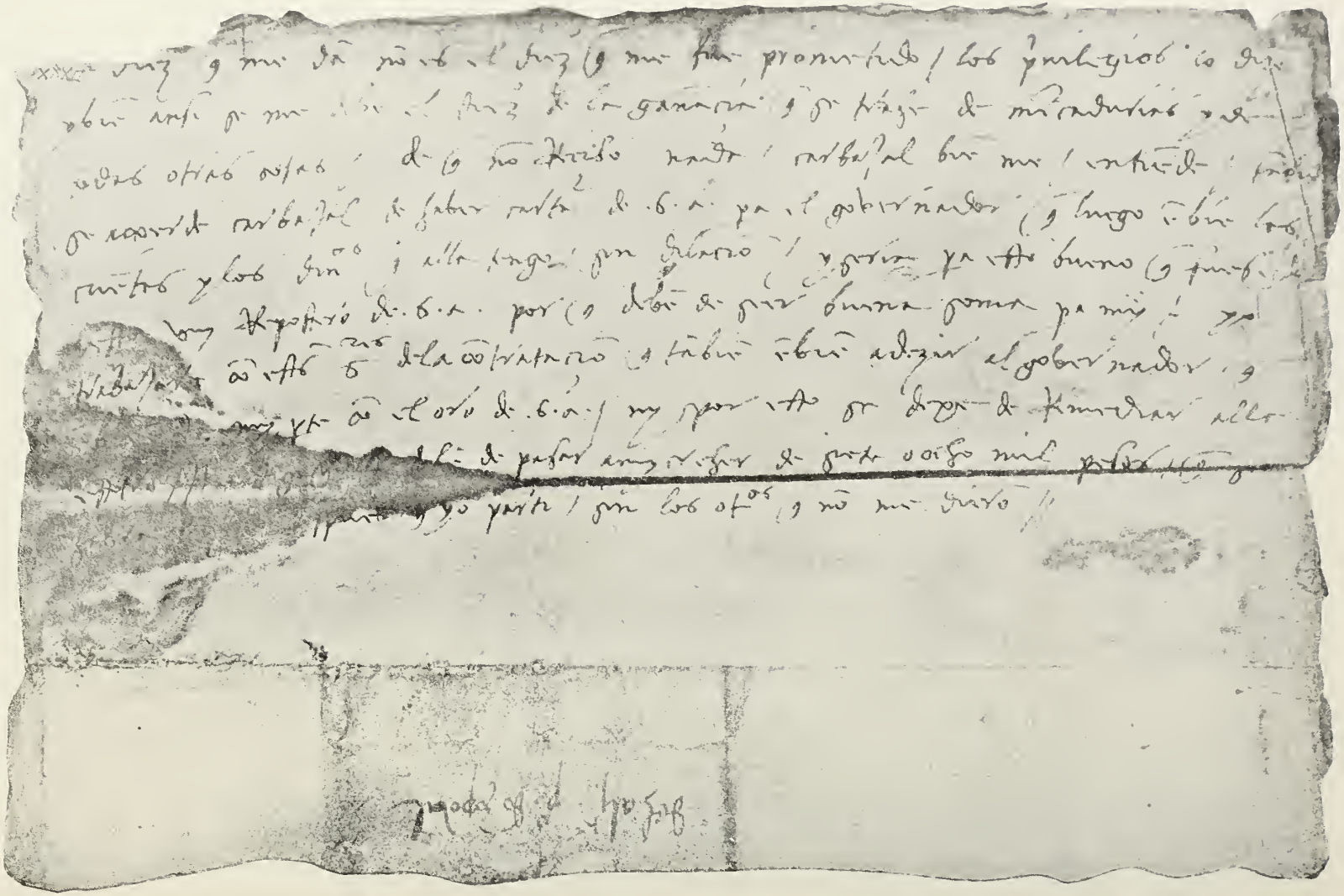
" tu padre que te ama mas que asi.//

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
Xp̃o Ferens."

go without this licence. But haste must be made that the loss of the Indies, which is now imminent, may not take place. May our Lord have you in His keeping. Done to-day, December 21.

"Your father who loves you more than himself.

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
Xp̃o Ferens."



"[este] diez [mo] que me dan non es el diezmo que me fue prometido. los priuilegios lo dizen// y bien ansi es me debe el diezmo de la ganançia que se trahe de mercadurias y de// todas otras cosas de que non reçibo nada. bien carbajal me entiende. tambian// se acoerde carbajal de haber carta de su alteza para el governador que luego embie las// cuentas y los dineros que alla tengo sin dilacion y seria para esto bueno que fuese// a esto vm repostero e su alteza porque deben de seer buena soma para my. yo// trabajare con estos señores de la contrataçion que tambien embien adezir al gobernador que// embie esta my parte con el oro de sus altezas ny por esto se dexe de remediar alla// estotro. digo que alla deben de pasar amy creher de siete o ocho mil pesos que se// habran reçibido despues que yo parti sin los otros que non me dieron.//

"a my muy caro
fijo don diego
en la corte."

XXXIIa.

"This tenth which they give me is not the tenth which was promised me. The *Privileges* tell what it is and there is also due me the tenth of the profit derived from merchandise and from all other things, of which I have received nothing. Carbajal understands me well. Also remind Carbajal to obtain a letter from his Highness for the Governor, directing him to send his accounts and the money I have there, at once. And it would be well that a *Repostero* of his Highness should go there to receive this money as there must be a large amount due me. I will strive to have these gentlemen of the Board of Trade send also to say to the Governor that he must send my share together with the gold belonging to their Highnesses. But the remedy for the other matter must not be neglected there, on this account. I say that 7,000 or 8,000 pesos must have passed to my credit there, which sum has been received since I left, besides the other money which was not given to me.

"To my very dear
son Don Diego
at the Court."

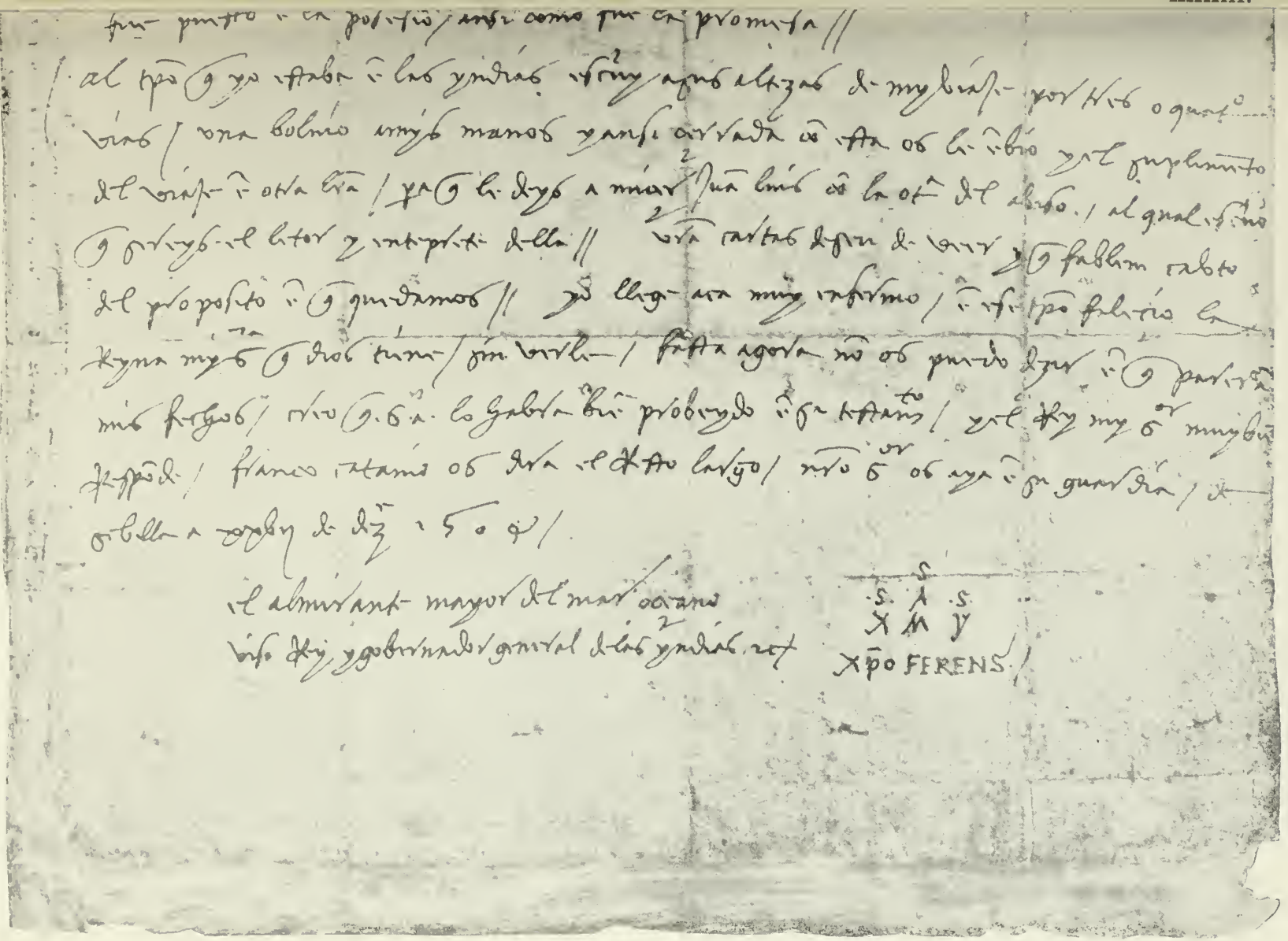
NO. XXXIII. LETTER WRITTEN BY CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS TO NICOLÒ ODERIGO AT GENOA

After more than two years the Admiral has not yet received the answer made by the Governors of the Bank of St. George, under date of December 8, 1502, to his important letter in which he gave that institution one tenth of his entire revenue from the New World, in trust, to reduce the tax on corn, wine, and other provisions. It is no wonder that Columbus expresses himself strongly as to the apparent neglect and failure to appreciate an act which without false modesty he might well characterise as of extraordinary generosity. What other man born within its walls had ever offered Genoa so splendid a gift? She had not been without public benefactors. Other patriots had remembered her while living and through bequests when they had passed away. But no Genoese had ever promised one tenth of all the thirds and eighths and tenths of a New World, with its countless wealth. And here the proposed beneficiaries of his prospective bounty seemed to ignore the philanthropist. It was the fault of Don Diego, his son. The offer had been received and grateful acknowledgments had been forwarded. These were directed, however, to Don Diego, for when the Bank was inditing its reply, the Admiral was on the New Continent, battling with winds and waves, with broken ships and straitened supplies, with treacherous servants and unfriendly natives, with disease of body and distress of mind. No copy had been sent him by his son, for he knew not where his father was. And now, after two years, Don Diego doubtless had forgotten the correspondence, and the old Admiral is chewing the cud of resentment and inveighing against the ingratitude of man.

The red bag of Cordova leather is still in existence, together with its precious contents, the *Book of Privileges*, and is carefully preserved in the National Archives at Paris. But the lock and clasp of silver have long since disappeared.

The Marquis Marcello Staglieno, as well as Harrisse, may be cited as identifying this Juan Luis mentioned in the text with Gian Luigi Fieschi, well known in Genoese history, although of secondary importance to his nephew of the same name who performed some signal services for his State. This former Fieschi is said to have possessed great popularity among his country-

men, particularly in the neighbourhood of Fontabuona, and his services as arbiter were as constant and as binding as the offices of the Court.



No. XXXIII. Holograph Letter of Columbus, Signed, to Nicolò Oderigo, Dated Seville, December 27, 1504.
[*Municipal Palace at Genoa.*]

NO. XXXIII.

Transliteration

"Virtuoso señor. quando yo parti para el viaje de adonde yo vengo// os fable largo. creo que de todo esto estobistes en buena memoria. crehi que en// llegando falleria yo vuestras cartas y avm persona con palabra. tanbien a ese tiempo// dese a françisco de ribarol vm libro de traslados de cartas y otro de mis priuilegios// en vna barjaca de cordoban colorado con su çerradura de plata y dos cartas para el ofiçio// de San georgi al qual atribuya yo el diezmo de my renta para en descuento de los drechos// del trigo y otros bastimentos. de nada desto todo sey nuebas. miçer françisco dix// que todo llego alla en saluo. si ansi es descortesia fue deses señores de san georgi de// non haber dado respuesta ny por ello han acresçentado la hazienda y esto es [causa]// que se diga que quien sirue a comun non sirue a nigun. otro libro de mys priuilejios// como lo sobre dicho dese en calis a franco catanio portador desta para que tanbien// os enbiase. el vno y el otro fuesen puestos en buen recabdo adonde a vos fuese// bien visto. vna carta reçeby del rey y de la reyna mys señores a ese tiempo de my// partida. ali esta escrita. vedela que vino muy buena. puriende don diego non//

Translation

XXXIII.

"Virtuous sir:

"When I departed for the voyage from which I now come, I talked with you at length. I believe that you well remember all that was said then. I believed that on arriving I would find letters from you and a person with a message. Also at that time I left with Francisco de Ribarol a book of copies of letters and another book of my *Privileges* in a case of red Cordovan leather with a silver lock: and I left two letters for the Bank of St. George, to which I assigned the tenth of my revenue, for the reduction of taxes on wheat and other provisions. To nothing of this have I had any reply. Mr. Francisco says that everything reached there in safety. If there is discourtesy in the matter it was on the part of the gentlemen of St. George in not having replied, and their fortune is not increased thereby. And this is the reason for its being said that whoever serves all serves no one. Another book of my *Privileges* like the aforesaid I left in Cadiz with Franco Catanio, the bearer of this letter, that he might send it to you. Both were to be placed in safekeeping wherever you might consider it best. I received a letter from the King and Queen, my Lords, at the time of my departure. It is written there. Look at it and you will find it very good. Nevertheless Don Diego was not

fue puesto en la posesion ansi como fue la promesa.//

"al tiempo que yo estaba en las yndias escriuy a sus altezas de my viaje por tres o quatro// vias. vna boluio a mys manos y ansi çerrada con esta os le enbio y el suplimento// del viaje en otra letra para que le deys a miçer Juan Luis con// la otra del abiso al qual escriuo// que sereys el letor y enteprete della. vuestra cartas deseu de veer y que fablem cabto// del proposito en que quedamos. yo llege aca muy enfermo. en ese tiempo faleçio la// reyna my señora que dios tiene sin verla. fasta agora non os puedo dezir en que pareran// mis fechos. creo que su alteza lo habra bien probeydo en su testamento y el rey my señor muy bien// responde. franco catanio os dira el resto largo. nuestro señor os aya en su guardia.

de// sebilla a .xxvii. de deziembre .1504.//

"el almirante mayor del mar oçeano

"viso rey y gobernador general de las yndias, &c.

.S.
S. A .S.
X M Y
Xp̃o Ferens."/

XXXIII.

placed in possession according to the promise.

"During the time I was in the Indies I wrote to their Highnesses about my voyage, by three or four different ways. One letter was returned to me, and sealed as it was I send it to you with this. In another letter I send you the supplement to the description of the voyage, for you to give it to Mr. Juan Luis together with the other letter of information, and I have written him that you will be the reader and interpreter of the letters.

"I would like to receive letters from you and desire that they speak cautiously of the purpose to which we have agreed.

"I arrived here very sick. At this time occurred the death of the Queen, my Lady, whom God has, without my seeing her. Up to the present I cannot tell you what will be the result of my achievements. I believe that her Highness will have provided well for me in her will and the King my Lord answers very well.

"Franco Catanio will tell you the rest at length. May our Lord have you in His keeping.

"From Seville, December 27, 1504.

"The High Admiral of the Ocean-Sea

"Vice-Roy and Governor-General of the Indies, etc.

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
Xp̃o Ferens."

NO. XXXIIII. LETTER WRITTEN BY CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS TO DON DIEGO, HIS SON

From this letter it is evident the *Santo Padre* can be none other than Pope Julius II., although, as we said before, it does not appear how there could have been time for much of a correspondence between Rome and the Admiral after the latter's return from his final voyage. Columbus is extremely anxious that before his communication is forwarded to the Pope, it be submitted to King Ferdinand and to Juan de Fonseca. The learned editor of the *Raccolta* regards this communication as covering the relation of the Admiral's fourth voyage, but we doubt if it related to other matter than the appointment of the three Bishops for Española. Before he sailed on his fourth voyage, in February, 1502, Columbus had prepared the *Commentaries*, as he called them, of his three voyages, but hoped himself to go to Rome and present them to Pope Alexander VI. Now, however, there is a new Pope, and a new question as to ecclesiastical government is raised.

Again, the Admiral, ever thoughtful for his men and the companions of his dangers, commends them to his son and urges him to present their claims to the government. These poor men are making ready to go themselves to the Court to plead their own cause. The Admiral is dismayed at the apparent injustice he sees. On the one hand, the faithful members of his exploring expedition—the loyal companions of his last voyage—are unpaid and unrewarded; while, on the other, he beholds the mutinous and rebellious going unpunished and protected. He sees the young Gonzalo Camacho fleeing to the asylum of a church and there hiding for eight days. This Gonzalo Camacho, in addition to his other mischievous behaviour, is suspected by Columbus of having attempted to obtain the inheritance of Pedro de Terreros by false means. This last was captain of the ship *Gallego*, upon which Camacho had been entered as an *escudero*. He was taken ill and died on the island of Jamaica May 29, 1504, and Camacho produced a sort of will making him his heir. Columbus asserts that the relatives of Terreros — his natural heirs — possess a later will, and he is prepared to support them in their endeavour to secure their kinsman's estate.

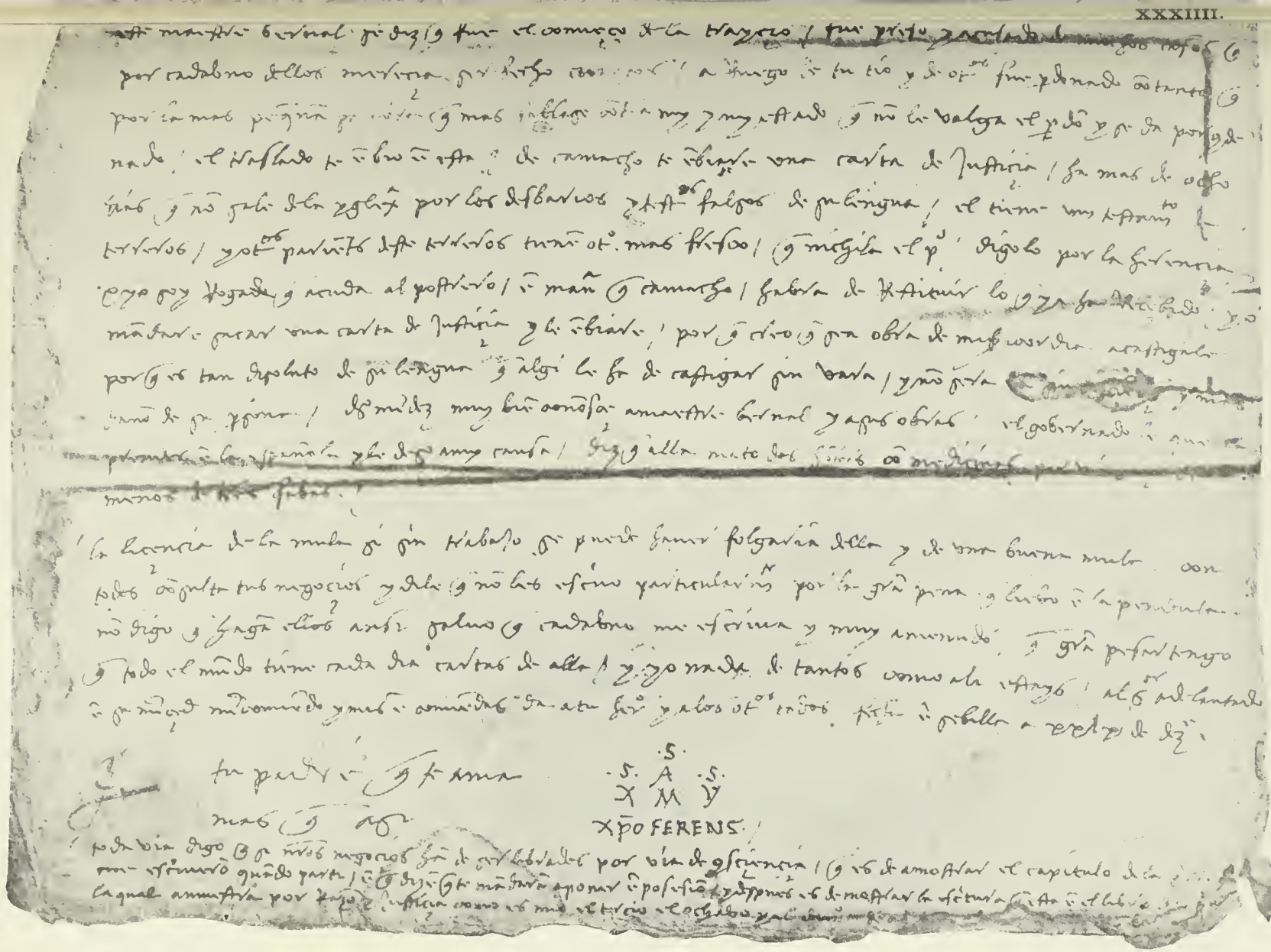
We have a further interest in this Pedro de Terreros, for it was he who, in August, 1498, in the Gulf of Paria, performed the solemn function of taking possession of the continent in the name of the Spanish Sovereigns, the Admiral being too ill to leave his ship. It was he, also, who acted as the mouthpiece of the Admiral, when, on June 29, 1502, at the port of San Domingo, he went ashore in one of the ship's boats and sought to exchange a small vessel which had proved unseaworthy for a better ship, and to beg that the little fleet might take refuge in the harbour during the coming storm. The reader will recall that the request was refused, and will remember the terrible sea tragedy which so shortly followed.

There was certainly a strange delay in settling the pay of the members of the fourth voyage. The *Casa de Contratacion* seemed to object to certain items, and, while acknowledging his claims in general in Royal Cedulas dated February 24 and 28, 1505, the King desires the Board to interview the Admiral as to details. Finally, on April 11, 1505, an order is made on Gonzalo Gomez de Puerto to furnish the sum of fifteen hundred ducats to pay what is owing for the expenses of the last voyage. On April 23 there is a subsequent order for paying Juan de Oquina twenty thousand maravedis for the rent of his ship.

Master Bernal was much in evidence in the affairs of the New World and had the unhappy faculty of making much trouble. He had first gone to Española on the second voyage with Columbus, and had a part in formulating, in 1494, the first positive accusations against the Admiral. Just at that period in his career he is said by Columbus to have killed by poison two men for a trifling offence. He was certainly a physician or apothecary. On the fourth voyage he was entered as one of the *escuderos* on board the caravel *Capitana*. It does not appear, that he had a part in the Porras rebellion, but it does appear, on the authority of Ferdinand Columbus in the *Historie*, that he was just preparing another insurrection when the relief ships reached Jamaica. With him, also entered as an *escudero* on the same ship, was Alonzo de Zamora and Pedro de Villatoro, who was entered on the caravel *Santiago de Palos* as one of the *grumetes* or cabin boys. These three, after matters had quieted from the disturbance of the Porras brothers, meditated a new outbreak which might well have so reinforced the other rebel-

lious spirits that the Admiral and the Adelantado would have failed to overcome them. But their conspiracy was too late in hatching, and before their plans were ready for execution there came to the shores of Jamaica the two ships sent by Ovando and Diego Mendez. There is no doubt the Admiral in referring to Bernal, is reminded of some delinquencies antedating this conspiracy, for he mentions Diego Mendez as being conversant with them; and this brave and loyal man was not in Jamaica when Bernal and Zamora and Villatoro plotted against their chief. The names of these men must be entered by history in the catalogue of early American rebels.

We do not know if one of these conspirators, Alonzo de Zamora, is the same who, at the time of this letter, is in the employ of the Admiral as a messenger and courier.



No. XXXIIII. Holograph Letter of Columbus, Signed, Addressed to his Son Diego, Dated Seville, December 29 [1504], Including a Post-scriptum. [Archives of the Duke of Veragua at Madrid.]

NO. XXXIIII.

Transliteration

"muy caro fijo. con don fernando te escriuy largo el qual partio para alla oy son .XXIII. dias con el señor// adelantado y con carbajal de los quales non he despues sabido nada. despues oy son .XVI. dias// te escriuy con çamora el correu y te enbie vna carta de fee para eses mercadores que te diesen los// dineros que le pidiesedes con fee de francisco de ribarol y depues con otro correu habra ocho dias con// otra fee de francisco doria estas van dirrigidas a pantaleon y agostin ytalian para que telas den y con// ellas va vm treslado de vna carta que escriuo al santo padre delas cosas delas yndias por que// non se quese mas de my. este traslado enbio para que le vea su alteza o el señor obispo de palençia// por ebitar testimonios falsos. la paga desta gente que fue comigo ha tardado. aca los he provey[do]// de lo que he pudido. ellos son pobres y han de yr aganar su vida. acordaron de yr alla. aca// seles ha dicho que le faran el fabor que sea posible y ansi es razon bien que entrellos ay que// mas mereçieran castigo que mercedes. esto se diz por los alçados. yo le di vna carta para el// señor obispo de palençia. vedela y begala tu tio y hermano y carbajal que si fuere menester que estos que// van ayan de dar pitiçion a su alteza que della le saquen y aiudale todos lo que

Translation

XXXIIII.

"Very dear son:

"I wrote you at length and sent it by Don Ferdinand, who left to go yonder twenty-three days ago to-day, with the Lord Adelantado and Carbajal, from whom I have since heard nothing. Sixteen days ago to-day I wrote you and sent it by Zamora, the courier, and I sent you a letter of credit for these merchants endorsed by Francisco de Ribarol, telling them to give you the money you might ask for. And then, about eight days ago, I sent you by another courier a letter endorsed by Francisco Soria and these letters are directed to Pantaleon and Agostin Italián, that they may give it to you. And with these letters goes a copy of a letter which I wrote to the Holy Father in regard to the affairs of the Indies that he might not complain of me any more. I sent this copy for his Highness to see, or the Lord Bishop of Palencia, so as to avoid false representations. The payment of the people who went with me has been delayed. I have provided for them here what I have been able. They are poor and are obliged to go in order to earn a living. They decided to go yonder. They have been told here that they will be dealt with as favourably as possible and this is right, although among them, there are some who merit punishment more than favours. This is said of the rebels. I gave these people a letter for the Lord Bishop of Palencia. Read it and if it is necessary for them to go and petition his Highness, urge your uncle and brother and Carbajal to read it also so that you can all help them as

XXXIIII.

pudierdes que es razon// y obra de misericordia porque jamas nadi gano dineros con tantos perigos y penas y que aya fecho tan grande seruiçio como estos. alla// diz camacho y mæstre bernal que queren yr dos criaturas por quien dios haz pocos milagros. ellos ma[s]// van si fueren para dañar que non ha hazer bien. poco pueden por que la verdad sienpre vençe como hizo// de la española que ribaldos fizieron con sus falsos testimonios que non se oviese fasta agora provecho della//

much as possible. It is right and a work of mercy, for no one ever earned money with so many dangers and hardships and no one has ever rendered such great service as these people. It is said that Camacho and Master Bernal wish to go there—two creatures for whom God works few miracles: but if they go, it will be to do harm rather than good. They can do little because the truth always prevails, as it did in Española, from which wicked people by means of falsehoods have prevented any profit being received up to the present time.

este mæstre bernal se diz que fue el comienço de la trayçion. fue preso y acusado de muchos casos que// por cadavno dellos mereçia ser fecho cuartos. a ruego de tu tio y de otros fue perdonado con tanto que// por la mas pequeña palabra que mas fablase contra my y my estado que non le valga el perdon y se da por conde-//nado. el traslado te enbio en esta. de camacho te enbiare vna carta de justiçia. ha mas de ocho// dias que non sale dela yglexia por los desbarios y testimonios falsos de su lengua. el tiene vm testamento de// terreros y otros parientes deste terreros tienen otro mas fresco que nichila el primero digolo por la herençia// & yo soy rogado que acuda al postrero en manera que camacho habra de restituir lo que ya ha reçebido. yo// mandare sacar vna carta de justiçia y le enbiare porque creo que sea obra de misericordia a castigale// porque es tan disoluto de su lengua que algi le ha de castigar sin vara y non sera tan sin consciençia y mas// daño de su persona. diego mendez muy bien coñosce a mæstre bernal y asus obras. el gobernado le queria// prender en la española y le deso any causa. diz que alla mato dos hombres con mediçinas por vin[ganҫa de]// menos de tres fabas.// la liçencia de la mula si sin trabajo se puede hauer folgaria della y de vna buena mula. con// todos consulta tus negoçios y dile que

XXXIIII.

It is said that this Master Bernal was the beginning of the treason. He was taken and accused of many misdemeanours for each one of which he deserved to be quartered. At the request of your uncle and of others he was pardoned on condition that if he ever said the least word against me and my state, the pardon should be revoked and he should be under condemnation. I send you a copy of the case in this letter. I send you a legal document about Camacho. For more than eight days he has not left the church on account of his rash statements and falsehoods. He has a will made by Terreros, and other relatives of the latter have another will of more recent date which renders the first will null, as far as the inheritance is concerned: and I am entreated to enforce the latter will so that Camacho will be obliged to restore what he has received. I shall order a legal document drawn up and served upon him because I believe it is a work of mercy to punish him as he is so unbridled in his speech that some one must punish him without the rod: and it will not be so much against the conscience of the chastiser and will injure him more. Diego Mendez knows Master Bernal and his works very well. The Governor wished to imprison him at Española and left him to my consideration. It is said that he killed two men there with medicines in revenge for something of less account than three beans. I would be glad of the licence to travel on mule-back and of a good mule, if they can be obtained without difficulty. Consult all about our affairs and tell them that

non les escriuo particularmente por la gran pena que liebo en la pendula// non digo que hagan ellos ansi saluo que cadavno me escriua y muy amenudo. que gran pesar tengo// que todo el mundo tiene cada dia cartas de alla y yo nada de tantos como ali estaya. al señor adelantado// en su merçed mencomiendo y mis encomiendas da a tu hermano y a los otros todos fecha en sebilla a .xxix. de deziembre.//

"tu padre que te ama
mas que asi
.S.
S. A .S.
X M Y
Xp̃o Ferens.

XXXIIII.

I do not write them in particular on account of the great pain I feel when writing. I do not say that they must do the same but that each one must write me and very often, for I feel great sorrow that all the world should have letters from there each day, and I have nothing, when I have so many people there. Commend me to the Lord Adelantado in his favour, and give my regards to your brother and to all the others. Done at Seville December 29.

"Your father who loves you
more than himself.
.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
Xp̃o Ferens."

"todavia digo que si nuestros negoçios han de ser librados por via de consçiençia que es de amostrar el capitulo de la que sus altezas// me essciuieron quando parti es que dizen que te mandaran aponer en posesion y despues es de mostrar la escritura que esta en el libro de los pri[uilegios]// la qual amuestra por razon y justiçia como es mio el tercio el ochabo y el diezmo. de [aqui siempre habra lugar de abajar.]"//

"I say further that if our affairs are to be settled according to conscience, that the chapter of the letter which their Highnesses wrote me when I departed, in which they say they will order you placed in possession,—must be shown: and the writing must also be shown which is in the *Book of Privileges*, which shows how in reason and in justice the third and eighth and the tenth are mine. There will always be opportunity to make reductions from this amount."

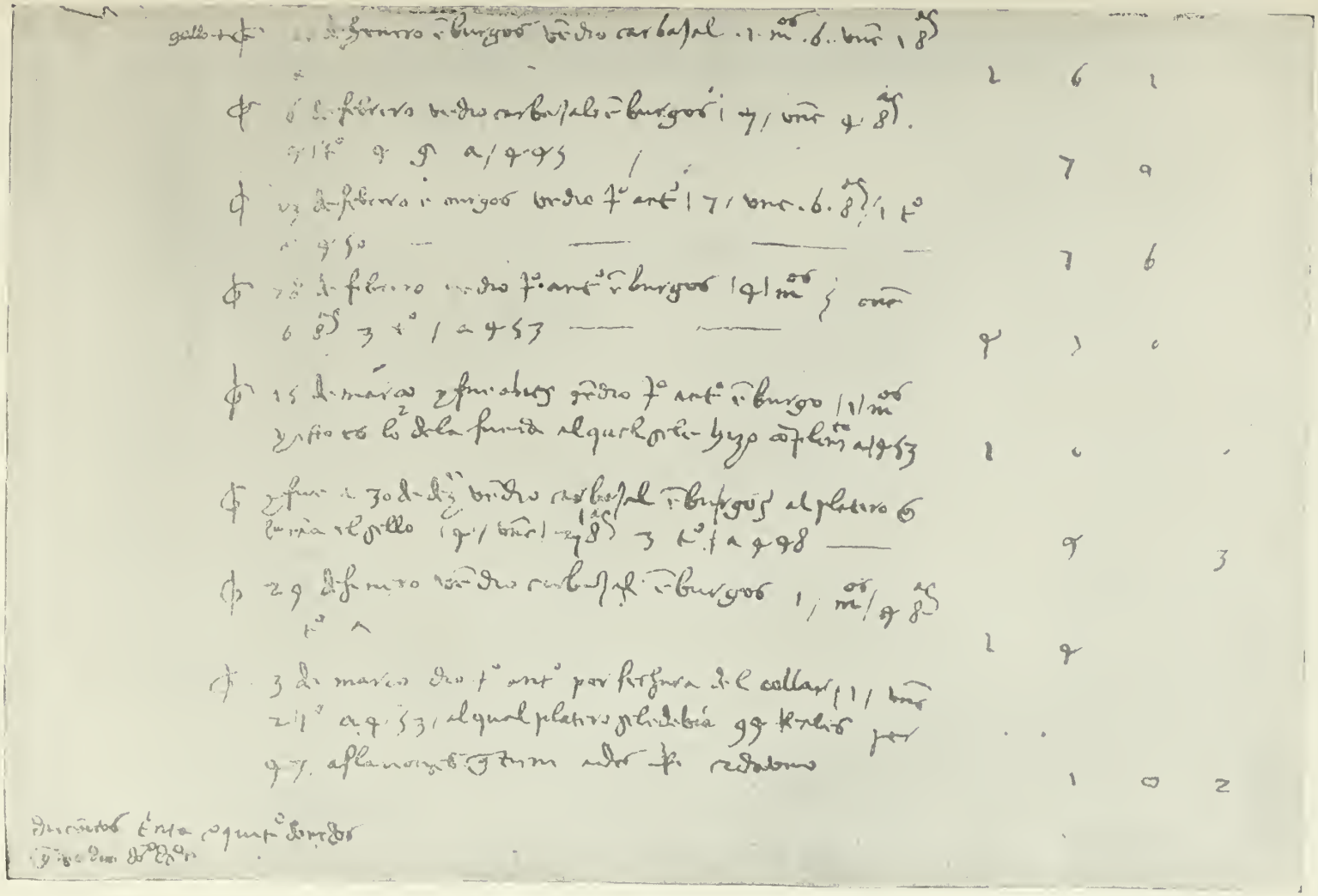
NO. XXXV. HOLOGRAPH DOCUMENT, IN RELATION TO THE SALE OF GOLD, WRITTEN BY CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS AND ASSIGNED TO THE END OF THE YEAR 1504

The first fact which presents itself to us in this fragment of his accounts is that Columbus had actual gold in considerable quantities in his possession, which from time to time he sold, or caused to be sold, for coins of the realm. The learned editor of the *Raccolta* assigns these several items to the years 1502–1503. Although there were two Carvajals in the service of Columbus, this is doubtless Alonzo Sanchez de Carvajal, who formed one of the Governing Council at Isabella in 1494, while the Admiral was exploring Cuba, and who commanded one of the three ships going directly to Española from the Canaries on the third voyage. He was busy for many years about the affairs of the Admiral, and it becomes necessary, in fixing a date for this document, to establish what years he could have been in Spain, into which may be fitted the days and the months given in the memorandum. It appears from a mention in one of the *probanzas* of the Fiscal trial or inquiry that Carvajal was in Spain at or about the time the Admiral sailed on his fourth and last voyage. It is probable he remained in Spain from that time until some time after February 6, 1503, the date on which he sold at Burgos some gold for the account of the Admiral. As there is a gap in the occurrence of the names in the accounts between February 6, 1503, and December 30, 1503, when Carvajal again sold at Burgos some gold to a silversmith, the inference is that the intervening time was spent in Española. This inference is confirmed by certain cedulas dated in November, 1503, in which mention is made of certain claims in behalf of the Admiral, presented by Carvajal to Ovando the Governor, and to the *Casa de Contratacion*, all indicating that the complaints are based upon discoveries Carvajal himself has made relative to the unfulfilled rights and privileges of the Admiral. On the same day, November 27, 1503, a fifth cedula permits the departure for Spain of three servants of Carvajal, presumably on the attendance of their master.

The last sale of gold mentioned in this account is dated March 5, belonging beyond doubt to the year 1504. Columbus arrived in Spain, at San Lucar de Barrameda, Thursday, No-

vember 7, 1504, and it is probable that within a reasonably short time he received and copied in his own hand a fragmentary account of sales of gold made on his behalf while he was absent. We may then assign this document to the end of the year 1504, or to the beginning of the year 1505.

XXXV.



No. XXXV. Holograph Document of Columbus, Containing Statement of Gold Brought from America and Sold by him in Castile. [*Archives, House of Alba, Madrid.*]

NO. XXXV.

Transliteration

RELACIÓN DEL ORO VENDIDO EN CASTILLA

"13 [Mos uncs 8as to g.]

"Á .XX. de julio, en Sebilla, vendió Cristóbal de Torres .2. marcos .7. unças, .4. ochavas de oro á .453. el peso del castellano..... 2 7 4

"Á .12. d'agosto, en Valladolid, vendió Carbajal .2. marcos, .6. uncias, .4. ochavas, .3. tomines, y lo dió casi todo en pago de ropa que se compró..... 2 6 4 3

".11. de setiembre, en Arcos, vendió Carbajal .6. uncias, .2. ochavas, .1. tomín, .3. granos, vendiólo á.... 6 [2] 1 [3]

"+ 19 de setiembre, en Burgos, se pesó .4. uncias, .7. ochavas, .3. tomines..... 4 7 3

"Grano . . . , á .7. de otubre, en Burgos, vendió Carbajal .7. uncias, .4. ochavas, .5. tomines, .3. granos á 445..... 7 4 5 [3]

"25 d'otubre, en Burgos, vendió Carbajal .7. uncias, .4. ochavas, .1. tomín, .10. granos, á 445..... 7 4 1 10

".12. de noviembre, en Burgos, vendió Carbajal .1. marcos, .6. uncias, .7. ochavas menos .14. granos, á 448... 1 6 6 4

".17. de deziembre, vendió, en Burgos,Carbajal .7. uncias, .5. ochavas, .3. tomines, á 446..... 7 [5 3]

Translation

REPORT OF GOLD SOLD IN CASTILE

XXXV.

"13

"July 20 Cristobal de Torres sold in Seville 2 marks, 7 ounces, 4 ochavos of gold at 453, the weight of the castellano.

"August 12, Carbajal sold in Valladolid, 2 marks, 6 ounces, 4 ochavos, 3 tomins, nearly all of which he gave in payment for clothing which he purchased for himself.

"September 11 in Arcos, Carbajal sold 6 ounces, 2 ochavos, 1 tomin, 3 grains. He sold it at....

"September 19, in Burgos, 4 ounces, 7 ochavos, 3 tomins were weighed.

"Grano . . . October 7, in Burgos, Carbajal sold 7 ounces, 4 ochavos, 5 tomins, 3 grains at 445.

"October 25, in Burgos, Carbajal sold 7 ounces, 4 ochavos, 1 tomin, 10 grains, at 445.

"November 12, in Burgos, Carbajal sold 1 mark, 6 ounces, 7 ochavos less 14 grains, at 448.

"December 17, Carbajal sold in Burgos, 7 ounces, 5 ochavos, 3 tomins at 446.

	[Mos	uncs	8as	to	g.]	
						XXXV.
"Gallo + .10. de henero, en Burgos, vendió Carbajal .1. marcos, .6. uncias, .1. ochavas, á	1	6	1			"Gallo January 10, Carbajal sold in Burgos, 1 mark, 6 ounces, 1 ochavo at....
".6. de febrero, vendió Carbajal, en Burgos, .7. uncias, .4. ochavas, .4. tomines, .4. granos, á 445.....		7	4	[4	4]	"February 6, Carbajal sold in Burgos, 7 ounces, 4 ochavos, 4 tomins, 4 grains, at 445.
".13. de febrero, en Burgos, vendió Juan Antonio .7. uncias, .6. ochavas, .1. tomín, á .450.		7	6	1		"February 13, Juan Antonio sold in Burgos 7 ounces, 6 ochavos, 1 tomin at 450.
"28 de febrero, vendió Juan Antonio en Burgos, .4. marcos, .5. uncias, .6. ochavas, .3. tomines, á 453.....	4	5	[6	3]		"February 28, Juan Antonio sold in Burgos, 4 marks, 5 ounces, 6 ochavos, 3 tomins, at 453.
".15. de março, y fué antes [?], vendió Juan Antonio, en Burgo[s], .1. marcos, y esto es lo de la funda, al qual se hizo complimiento, á 453.....	1	0	[0	0]		"March 15, and before, Juan Antonio sold in Burgos, 1 mark, and this covers the smelting which was done free, at 453.
"Y fué á .30. de deziembre, vendió Carbajal, en Burgos, al platero que hazia el sello .4. uncias, .2. ochavas, .3. tomines, á 448.....		4	[2]	3		"December 30, in Burgos Carbajal sold to the silversmith who made the seal 4 ounces, 2 ochavos, 3 tomins, at 448.
".24. de henero, vendió Carbajal, en Burgos, .1. marcos, .4. ochavas, [.3.] tomines, á.....	1	[0]	4	3		"January 24, Carbajal sold in Burgos, 1 mark, 4 ochavos [3] tomins at....
".3. de março, dió Juan Antonio por fechura del collar .1. uncia, .2. tomines, á 453., al qual platero se le debia .94. reales por .47. aslavones que tiene á .2. reales cada uno....		1	0	2		"March 3, Juan Antonio gave to the silversmith for making the necklace 1 ounce, 2 tomins, at 453. There was owing to the silversmith 94 reals for 47 links in the necklace at 2 reals each.
"Ducientos treinta & quatro doredos que me dió don Diego á...						"234 doredos which Don Diego gave me at....
"Memorial del oro que se ha vendido en Castilla fasta el mes de"						"Memorandum of the gold which has been sold in Castile up to the month of"

NO. XXXVI. LETTER WRITTEN BY CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS TO FATHER DON GASPAR GORRICIO

We interpret this letter to mean that Father Gaspar Gorricio was at the Court, and that the Admiral is anxious to communicate to him by word of mouth something which cannot well be written. His reference to his illness leads us to suppose him still at Seville, and if the good friar was at the monastery of Las Cuevas across the river, there should be little difficulty in their meeting. The communication of the writer at the end of the brief note to the Father Prior, and the religious members must express the Admiral's desire to be remembered to the Carthusian brethren in Segovia or at a monastery of the Order in some place near, where he supposes the Court then was. However this may be, we find the Admiral, at the beginning of the year, somewhat mending of his ailment. He is anxious to see the copy of the *Book of Privileges* which Father Gaspar Gorricio has in his care. This would seem as if at that time the papers of Columbus, or at least this particularly important *Codex*, were in the individual care of Father Gaspar, and not in that of the Order at the monastery of Las Cuevas.

XXXVI.

NO. XXXVI.

Transliteration

"Reberendo y muy deboto padre. diego mendez es venido// de la corte. don diego queda bueno. el señor adelantado y don fernando non// eran llegados. yo os le enbiare alla con las nuebas de todo yo// non sey ya que diga a my deseu de veros y comunicar algo que non// es de pendula. las escrituras que teneys querrialas ver y eses// priuilegios querria mandar a hazer vna casa de corcha enforrada de çera// pidos por merçed que si el donato aquel hombre honrrado oviere de// venir aca que con el me enbieys todo o con andrea hermano de Juan antonio// portador desta. de my mal cada dia estoy mejor gracias a nuestro señor// al padre priol en su merçed mencomiendo y de todos eses religiosos//

"fecha oy sabado. iiii. de henero//

"alo que vuestra Reuerencia// mandare//

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
:Xp̃o Ferens./"

Translation

XXXVI.

"Reverend and very devout Father:

"Diego Mendez has come from the Court. Don Diego remains and is well. The Lord Adelantado and Don Ferdinand had not arrived.

"I will send them to you there with news of everything. I do not know yet how to tell you of my desire to see you and communicate something which is not to be written. I would like to see the writings and those privileges which you have, and I would like to order a box made of cork and lined with wax to hold them. I ask you as a favour, if the lay-brother, that honest man, is to come here,—to send them all to me, or by Andrea, brother of Juan Antonio, the bearer of this letter. I am better of my illness each day, thanks to our Lord. Commend me to the favour of the Father Prior and to all those religious members of your house.

"Done to-day, Saturday January 4:

"I am at the command of your Reverence.

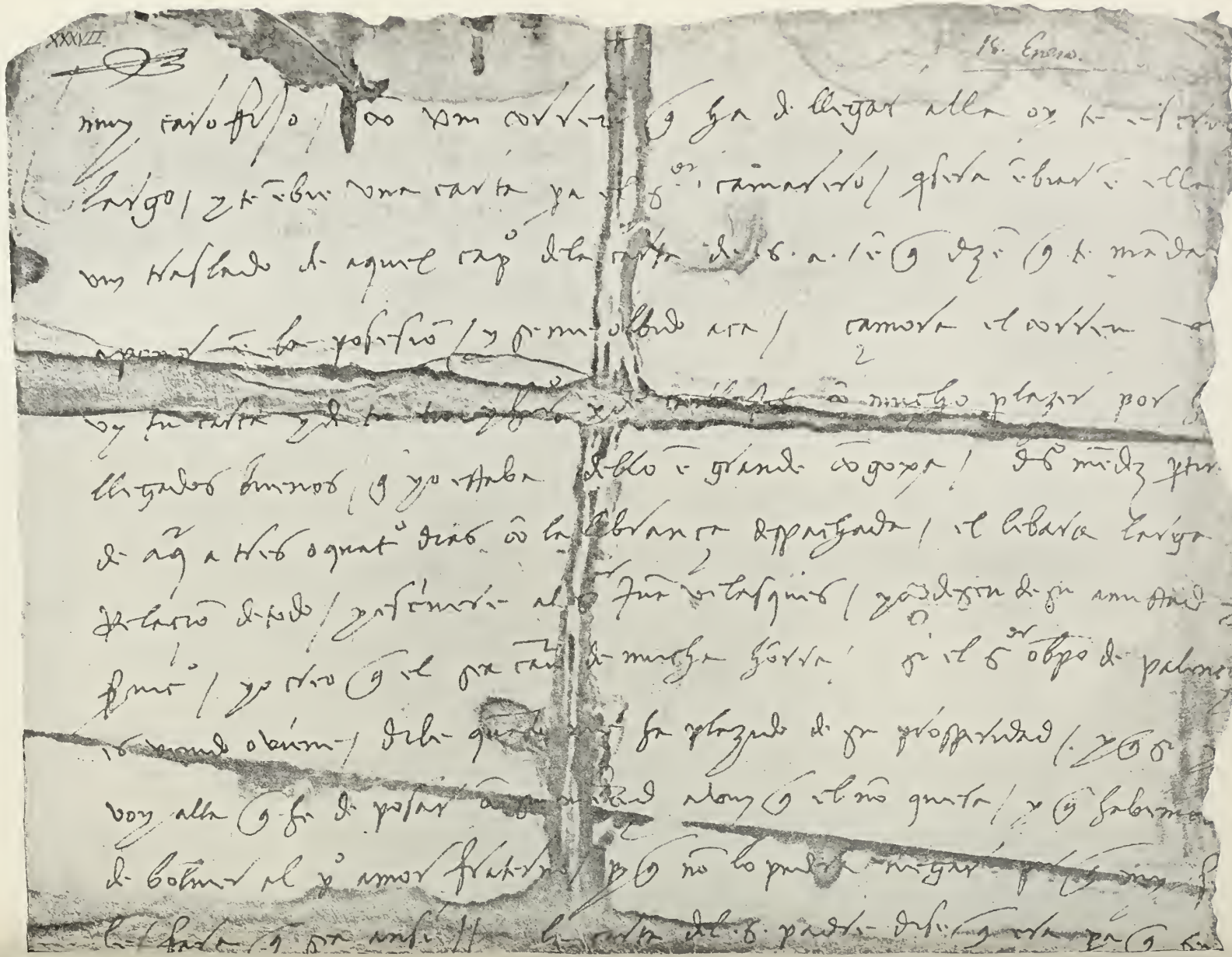
.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
:Xp̃o Ferens./"

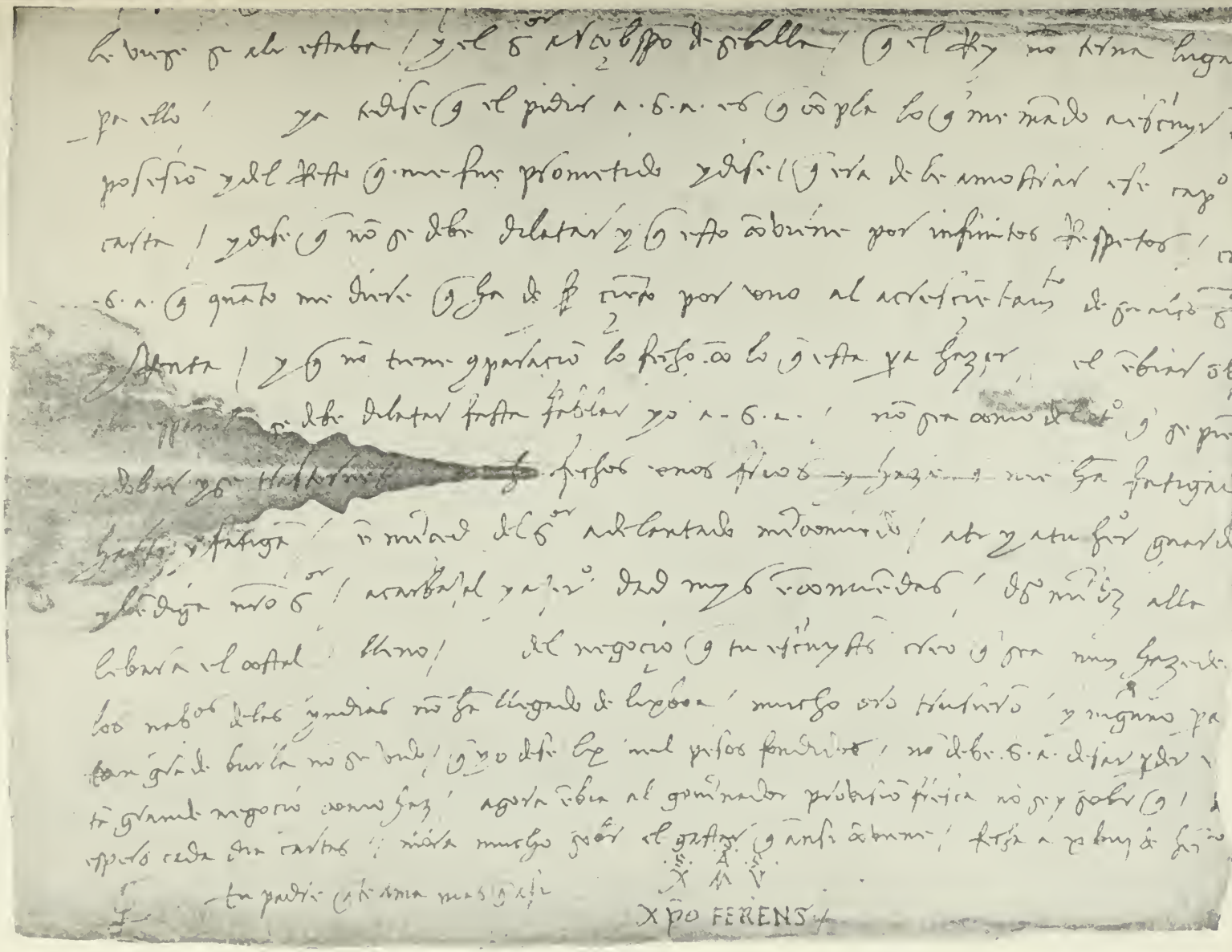
NO. XXXVII. LETTER WRITTEN BY CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS TO DON DIEGO, HIS SON

The importance of this letter lies in the fact that it plainly distinguishes by their ecclesiastical titles between Diego de Deza, Archbishop of Seville, and Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca, Bishop of Palencia. Whatever doubt one may entertain respecting the identity of the Bishop of Palencia in the former letters written by the Admiral, there can here be absolute certainty that it is Juan de Fonseca, the chief personage in activity and influence in the affairs of the Indies. The tone of the letter indicates friendliness toward the Bishop on the part of Columbus. When he goes to Court he will do himself the honour of stopping with him as an old friend. There has long been fraternal sentiment between them, strained now and then, perhaps, with differences as to executive management in the new colonies, but never quite broken, and certainly never entirely destroyed through the enmity with which history has credited Fonseca. The memory of Columbus was ever long. His tongue was used to speaking the thoughts of his heart. Had the Bishop of Palencia been a bitter foe, he would have announced it to all the world.

At this time the Admiral does not know the errand upon which Juan de Fonseca has gone into the Low Countries. In one of his former letters the Admiral asks Don Diego to have his letter written to Pope Julius II. read both by the King and by the Bishop of Palencia. He now increases the number who shall peruse this important document to three,—the King, the Bishop of Palencia, and the Archbishop of Seville. We may infer, then, with some degree of certainty, that the Bishop of Palencia, in the letters of December 13 and 21, 1504, is none other than Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca, the friend, and not the enemy, of Christopher Columbus.

Again, we notice that the financial condition of the Admiral is suggested by the fact that when he came away from Española, there was left behind him not less than sixty thousand pesos worth of smelted gold. It is true that at this moment he is not touching this wealth. It is not yet in a vault which his key alone unlocks. But Spain owns the Indies, and, with the Spains for his debtor, any banker in Seville or Barcelona, in Genoa or in Florence, will gladly become his creditor.





No. XXXVII. Holograph Letter of Columbus, Signed, Addressed to his Son Diego, Dated January 18 [1505].
[Archives of the Duke of Veragua at Madrid.]

NO. XXXVII.

Transliteration

"muy caro fijo. con vm correu que ha de llegar alla oy te escriu [y// largo y te embie vna carta para el señor camarero. quisera embiar en ella// vm traslado de aquel capitulo de la carta de sus altezas en que dizen que te manda [ran]// a poner en la posesion y se me olbido aca. çamora el correu vi [no]// vy tu carta y de tu tio y hermano y de carbajal con mucho plazer por h[aber]// llegados buenos que yo estaba dello en grande congoxa. diego mendez partir [a]// de aqui a tres o quatro dias con la librança despachada. el lebara larga// relaçion de todo y escriuere al señor Juan velasques. yo deseu de su amistad y// seruiçio. yo creo que el sea cauallero de mucha honrra. si el señor obispo de palençi[a]// es venido o viene dile quanto me ha plazido de su prosperidad y que si y [o]// voy alla que he de posar con su merçed avm que el non quera y que habemos// de boluer al primero amor fraterno y que non lo pudera negar porque my ser[uicio]// le fara que sea ansi. la carta del santo padre dise que era para que su [merced]//

Translation

XXXVII.

"Very dear son:

"I wrote you at length by the courier who will arrive there to-day and sent you a letter for the Lord Chamberlain. I intended to inclose in it a copy of that chapter of the letter from their Highnesses in which they say they will order you placed in possession; but I forgot to do it here. Zamora, the courier, came. I read your letter and also those of your uncle and brother and Carbajal and felt great pleasure in learning that they had arrived well, as I had been very anxious about them. Diego Mendez will leave here in three or four days with the order of payment prepared. He will take a long statement of everything and I will write to Juan Velasquez. I desire his friendship and service. I believe that he is a very honourable gentleman. If the Lord Bishop of Palencia has come, or comes, tell him how much pleased I have been with his prosperity and that if I go there, I must stop with his Worship even if he does not wish it and that we must return to our first fraternal love. And that he could not refuse it because my service will force him to have it thus. I said that the letter for the Holy Father was sent that his Worship

le viese si
ali estaba y el señor arçobispo de sebilla que el rey non terna luga [r]// para ello. ya te dise que el pidir a sus altezas es que compla lo que me mando a escriuyr d[e la]// posesion y del resto que me fue prometido y dise que era de la amostrar ese capitulo d[e la]// carta y dise que non se debe dilatar y que esto conviene por infinitos respetos. cre[a]// su alteza que quanto me diere que ha de ser çiento por vno al acresçientamiento de su alto señorio// y renta y que non tiene comparacion lo fecho con lo que esta para hazer. el embiar obispo// a la española se debe dilatar fasta fablar yo a su alteza nou sea como del otro que se piens[e]// adobar y se trastorne. [aca] han fechos vnos frios y hazen que me han fatigado// harto y fatigan. en merced del señor adelantado mencomiendo. a ti y a tu hermano guarde// y bendiga nuestro señor. a carbajal y a jeronimo dad mys encomiendas. diego mendez alla// lebara el costal lleno. del negoçio que tu escriuystes creo que sea muy hazede[ro]// los nabios de las yndias non han llegado de lixboa. mucho oro trusieron y ninguno para [mi]// tan grande burla non se vido que yo dese .lx. mil pesos fondidos. non debe su alteza desar perder . . .// tan grande negoçio como haz. agora embia al gouernador

XXXVII.

might see it if he was there, and also the Lord Archbishop of Seville, as the King might not have opportunity to read it. I have already told you that the petition to their Highnesses must be for the fulfilment of what they wrote me about the possession and of the rest which was promised me. I said that this chapter of the letter must be shown them and said that it must not be delayed, and that this is advisable for an infinite number of reasons. His Highness may believe that however much he gives me, the increase of his exalted dominions and revenue will be in the proportion of 100 to 1, and that there is no comparison between what has been done and what is to be done. The sending of a Bishop to Española must be delayed until I speak to his Highness. It must not be as in the other cases when it was thought to mend matters and they were spoiled. There have been some cold days here and they have caused me great fatigue and fatigue me now. Commend me to the favour of the Lord Adelantado. May our Lord guard and bless you and your brother. Give my regards to Carbajal and Jeronimo. Diego Mendez will carry a full pouch there. I believe that the affair of which you wrote can be very easily managed. The vessels from the Indies have not arrived from Lisbon. They brought a great deal of gold and none for me. So great a mockery was never seen, for I left there 60,000 pesos smelted. His Highness should not allow so great an affair to be ruined, as is now taking place. He now sends to the Governor a

XXXVII.

provision fresca non sey sobre que d [e]. . .// espero cada dia cartas. mira mucho sobre el gastar que ansi conviene.

"fecha a .xviii. de henero//

"tu padre que te ama mas que a si//

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
Xp̃o Ferens./"

new provision. I do not know what it is about. I expect letters each day. Be very careful about expenditures, for it is necessary.

"Done January 18.

"Your father who loves you more than himself.

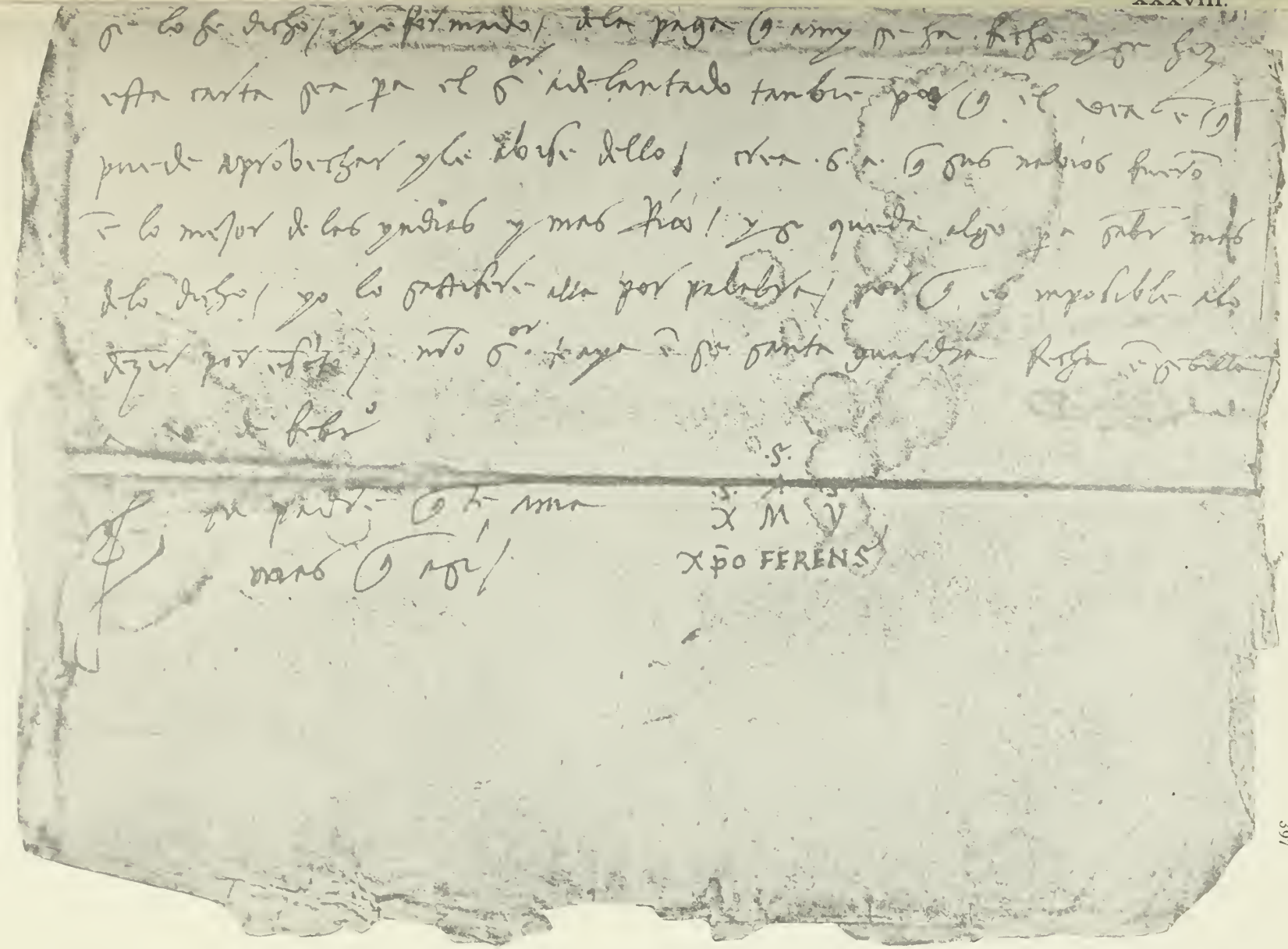
.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
Xp̃o Ferens./"

NO. XXXVIII. LETTER WRITTEN BY CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS TO DON DIEGO, HIS SON

In the whole range of Columbian correspondence there is no letter which so stirs our hearts as this. Here we have the great Discoverer speaking generously and affectionately of the great Explorer. Christopher Columbus, the Genoese, first revealed a New World. Americus Vespucius, the Florentine, with the thread in his hand first traversed a great portion of its length and measured upon its side nearly a fourth part of the circle of the globe. Columbus, the Discoverer! Vespucius, the Explorer! In another work we have remarked that, while the unities of the drama might require the New World to be named after Christopher Columbus, the Discoverer, negatively at least there was no great impropriety in calling it after him who, on four several voyages, ranged its shores for almost ninety degrees of latitude. Columbus was deprived of the honour of having his name given to the New World. It was an injustice. But this injustice lies not at the door of Vespucius. He had nothing whatsoever to do with the august baptism, except so far as his vivid relations of what he had done and seen on his four voyages fired the imagination of the St. Dié coterie and magnified his name in the Vosgian mountains.

It is pleasant to know that these two men are friends. It is gratifying to hear the testimony of Columbus as to the character of Vespucius, and to learn that the latter is desirous now, as he always has been, of serving the Admiral. Great things are not often done by small men. Something of a man's good purpose or the importance of the errand on which he goes clears his character and makes it clean. There was naught of guile in Americus Vespucius. There was nothing of jealousy in Christopher Columbus. Their names are for ever identified and connected with the discovery and opening of the Western Hemisphere. History is not deceived by names. Men and things, sooner or later, are given the fame that belongs to them. The true historian is an attendant at the Mills of the Gods.

XXXVIII.



No. XXXVIII. Holograph Letter of Columbus, Signed, Addressed to his Son Diego, Dated at Seville, February 5 [1505].
[Archives of the Duke of Veragua at Madrid.]

NO. XXXVIII.

Transliteration

"muy caro fijo. diego mendez partio de aqui lunes. iii. deste mes. despues de// partido fable con amerigo vespuchi portador desta el qual va alla// llamado sobre cosas de nabigaçion. el siempre tubo deseu de me hazer// plazer. es mucho hombre de bien. la fortuna le ha sido contraria como// a otros muchos. sus trabajos non le han aprovechado tanto como la razon// requiere. el va por myo y en mucho deseu de hazer cosa que redonde// a my bien si a sus manos esta. yo non sey de aqua en que yo le emponga// que amy aprobeche porque non sey que sea lo que alla le queren. el va// determinado de hazer por my todo lo que a el fuere posible. ved// alla en que puede aprobechar y trabajad por ello que el lo hara todo// y fablera y lo porna en obra y sea todo secretamente por que non se// aya del sospecha. yo todo lo que se aya pudido dezir que toque a esto//

Translation

XXXVIII.

"Very dear son:

"Diego Mendez left here Monday, the 3rd of this month. After his departure I talked with Americus Vespucius, the bearer of this letter, who is going yonder where he is called in regard to matters of navigation. He was always desirous of pleasing me. He is a very honourable man. Fortune has been adverse to him as it has been to many others. His labours have not profited him as much as reason demands. He goes for me and is very desirous of doing something to benefit me if it is in his power. I do not know of anything in which I can instruct him for my benefit, because I do not know what is wanted of him there. He is going with the determination to do everything for me in his power. See what he can do to profit me there and strive to have him do it; for he will do everything and will speak and will place it in operation: and it must all be done secretly so that there may be no suspicion.

se lo he dicho y enformado de la paga que a my se ha fecho y se haz// esta carta sea para el señor adelantado tanbien por que el vea en que// puede aprovechar y le abise dello. crea su alteça que sus navios fueron// en lo mejor de las yndias y mas rico y si queda algo para saber mas// de lo dicho y lo sastifere alla por palabra por que es inposible a lo// dezir por escrito. nuestro señor te aya en su santa guardia. fecha en sebilla//a. V. de febrero.

"tu padre que te ama
mas que asi.
.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
Xp̃o Ferens."

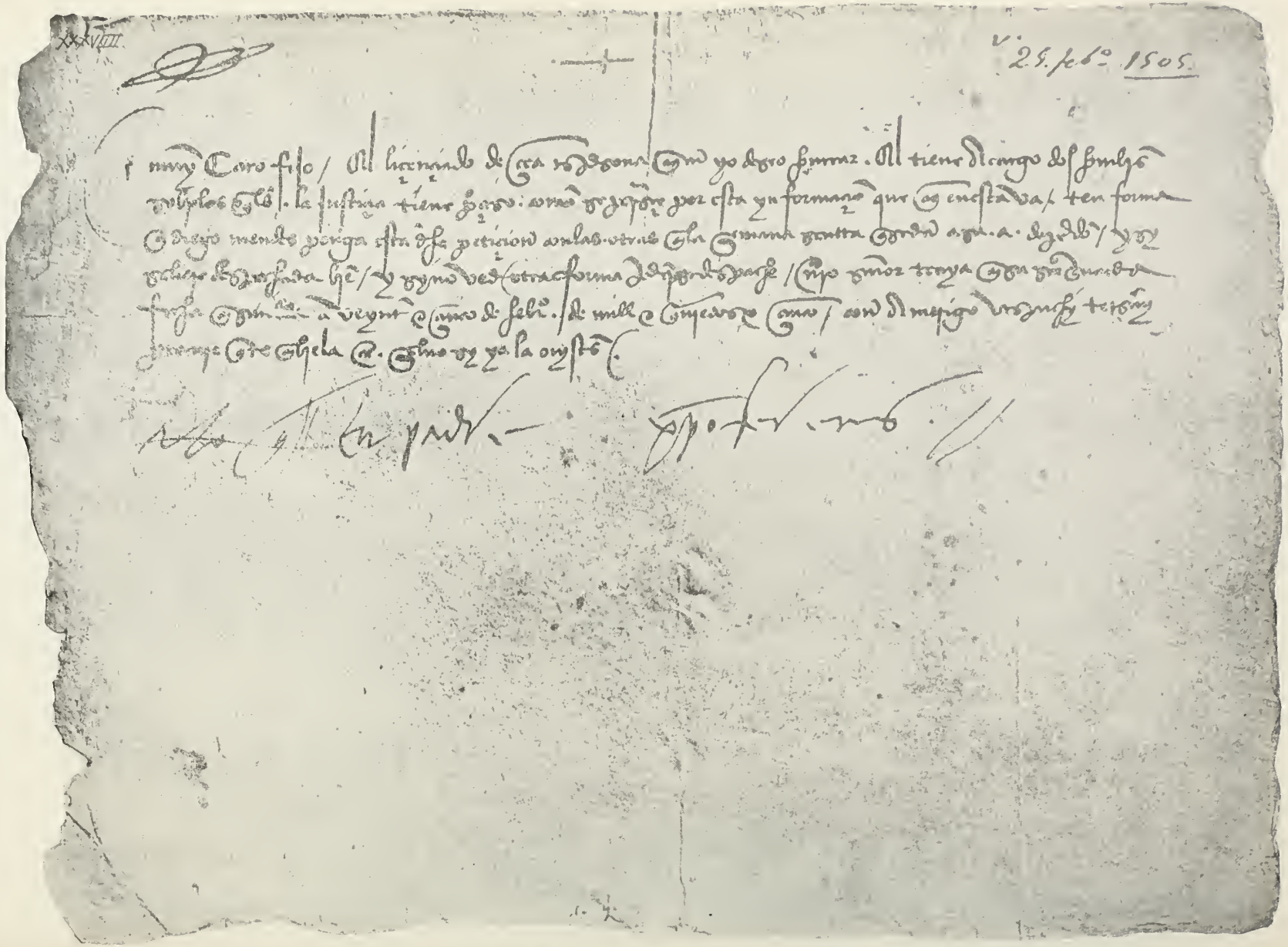
XXXVIII.

I have told him all that could be told regarding this matter and have informed him of the payment which has been made to me and is being made. This letter is for the Lord Adelantado also that he may see how Americus Vespucius can be useful and advise him about it. His Highness may believe that his ships went to the best and richest of the Indies, and if anything remains to be learned more than has been told, I will give the information yonder verbally because it is impossible to give it in writing. May our Lord have you in His holy keeping. Done in Seville February 5.

"Your father who loves you
more than himself.
.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
Xp̃o Ferens."

NO. XXXVIIII. LETTER SIGNED BY CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS TO DON DIEGO, HIS SON

This is the latest of the Admiral's letters in point of date. He is still in Seville, and while his permission to make use of a mule is not yet received, his health precludes his departing in any event. It was only on the 25th of this same month of February that the King issued his authority to employ this coveted, but generally forbidden, vehicle of travel. Las Casas tells us that it was not until May that the Admiral set out from Seville to go northward in search of the Court. He is at Segovia late in the summer and makes a will on August 25, 1505. From Segovia the Court moved to Salamanca in the latter part of October, 1505. The thoughts of the King are fastened on a maid in France, Germaine de Foix, soon to become his wife. It is no time to treat with Columbus. The Court is at Valladolid by February 10, 1506, as we learn from Peter Martyr. Here the Admiral followed and here he died a few months later. We regard it as strange that history records no contemporary notice of his death, but this is due, we think, to the mysterious loss of such notices and not to any neglect or oblivion into which the Admiral had fallen. He was a man of influence and consequence to the day of his death.



No. XXXVIIII. Letter of Columbus, Signed, Addressed to his Son Diego, Dated at Seville, February 25, 1505. The Body of this Letter is in the Hand of Diego de Penalosa, Escribano de Camera, or Private Secretary to the Catholic Sovereigns,

[*Archives of the Duke of Veragua at Madrid.*]

NO. XXXVIIII.

Transliteration

"muy caro fijo. El liçençiado de çea es presona a quien yo deseo honrrar. El tiene a cargo dos hombres// sobre los quales la justiçia tiene proçeso como se paresçe por esta ynformaçion que aqui en esta va. ten forma// que diego mendez ponga esta dicha petiçion con las otras en la semana sancta que se dan a su alteza de perdon y sy// saliese despachada bien y sy no ved otra forma por que se despache. nuestro señor te aya en su sancta guarda// fecha en seuilla a veynte & çinco de febrero de mill & quinientos & çinco. con Amerigo Vespuchy te escriui// procure que te enbie la carta saluo sy ya la ouistes//

"a lo que tu padre
xp̃o Ferens.//"

Translation

XXXVIIII.

"Very dear son:

"The Licentiate de Zea is a person whom I desire to honour. He has in his charge two men who are under prosecution at the hands of justice, as shown by the information which is inclosed in this letter. See that Diego Mendez places the said petition with the others, that they may be given to his Highness during Holy Week, for pardon. If the pardon is granted, it is well, and if not, look for some other manner of obtaining it. May our Lord have you in His holy keeping. Done in Seville, February 25, 1505. I wrote you and sent it by Americus Vespucius. See that he sends you the letter unless you have already received it.

"Your father
xp̃o Ferens.//"

NO. XXXX. HOLOGRAPH DOCUMENT OF COLUMBUS SIGNED, BEING A QUOTATION FROM THE PSALMS

This holograph document of Columbus, signed, has been lately found on the recto of the first folio of an example of the celebrated edition of Ptolemy, printed at Rome in 1478. This volume was formerly in the possession of General San Roman, and is now preserved in the archives of the Academy of History at Madrid.

The line of writing is a quotation from the xcii. Psalm:

"*Myrabiles elationes maris myrabilis in altis dominus.*"

The use of the monogram shows that the line was written subsequent to his discovery of the New World. This line, in some of the later editions of St. Jerome's version, changes the word *elationes* to *electiones*, but we do not find this last reading in any Bible prior to 1492.

Holograph Document of Columbus Signed.

NO. XXXX.

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
:Xp̃o FERENS./
" myrabiles elationes maris myrabilis in altis
dominus."

NO. XXXXI. HOLOGRAPH DOCUMENT OF COLUMBUS, REGARDING WRONGS SUFFERED BY HIM

Similar in its tone to our No. XV. is the following additional memorial of the Admiral, concerning injuries which he has received. It begins with the usual invocation, *Jhesus cum Maria sit nobis in via*, but is not signed. The invocation is repeated twice at the upper left-hand corner of the page.

There is no doubt that this document is holograph. It appears to be a rough draft, which the Admiral expected afterwards to present in a formal state to the Sovereigns. While it carries no date, it undoubtedly was written previous to the compilation of the *Book of Privileges*, and therefore immediately preceding his fourth and last voyage.

XXXXI

+ ihs cū mª sit nob̄ba
+ ihs cū mª sit nob̄ba
+ ihs cū mª sit nob̄ba

8. h.

26

en mūbre de dō xpoual colō/ 2ª

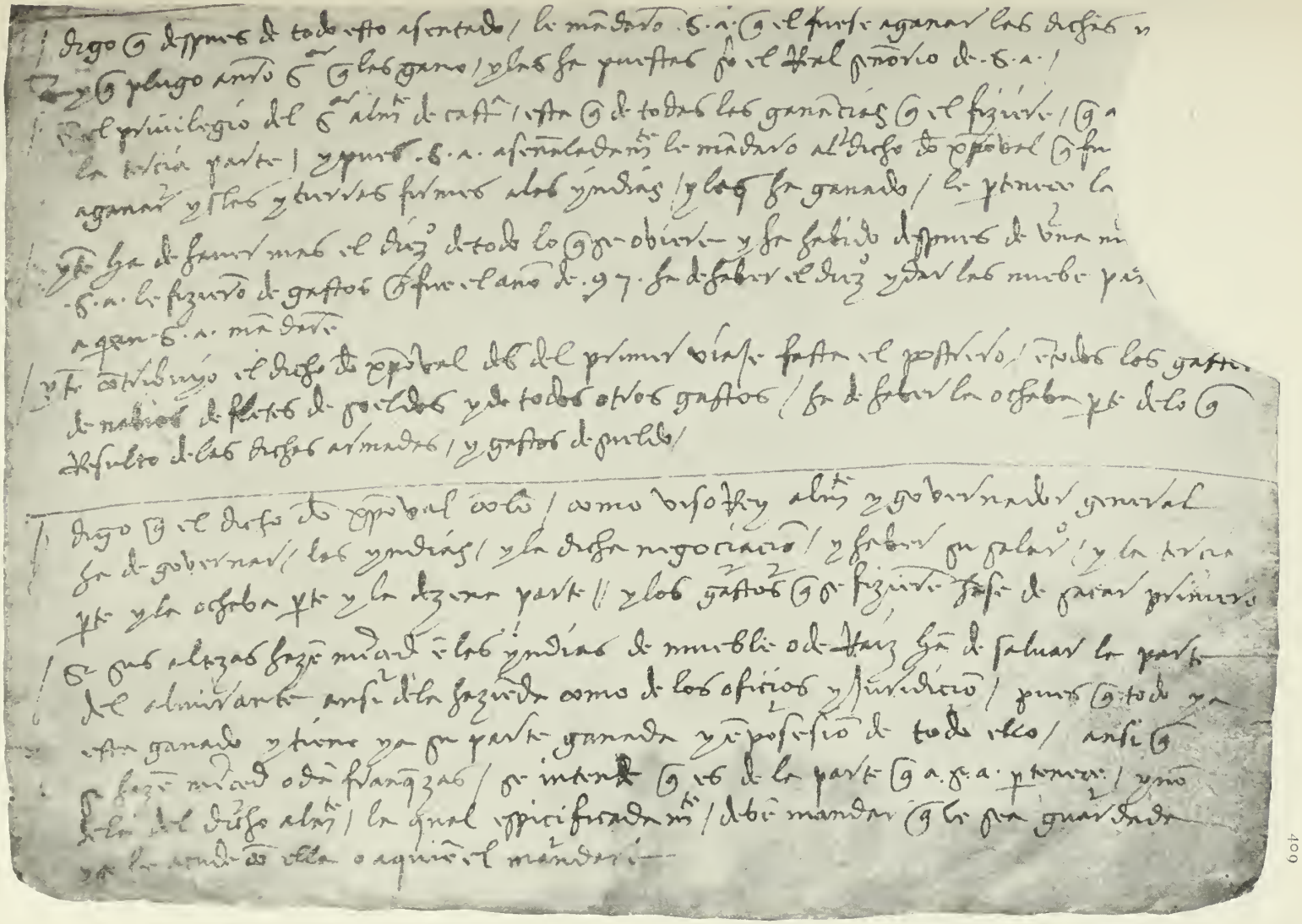
Digo q̄ el dho q̄ el vino a sus altezas cō la empresa de las indias / q̄ el dmā de abra por memorial sus muchas cosas / y stuuo .7. ys y mostro colomā / los quales entendiā en ello
la cōquista / en esta man

primeramē q̄ .s.a. le fizies alm̄ visorey y gouernador general de las ysdias / y le fiziesse merced de todos los oficios / como mas largo pares por el dho asiento / y obiesse el cō el dho almirante todos los mares y tierra q̄ descubriesse el s̄or alm̄ de castilla cō su distrito

y q̄ por q̄ el dho dō xpoual dzia q̄ era poco lo q̄ daba .s.a. al s̄or alm̄ de castilla / dzyendo q̄ el
yba a ganar su persona aventura / y daba las ysdias a .s.a. / y q̄ dellas mismas dmās daba
la setima parte / pidio mas el duq̄ de medina / y .s.a. gelo otorgo / sacādo q̄ nuestro las costas /

y q̄ cōplido a .s.a. le diesse lugar ya vezinos acā / q̄ entendiesse en las pleytos de las
mercaderias / y negocios de las indias / despedirlo .s.a. le plazia q̄ entretanto el tal oficio
2
se fuesse justo

y q̄ por q̄ acā se dudaba y dzia q̄ esta empresa era burla y q̄ dios nunca sabia dado
tierra al genoues / .s.a. le diesse cō su gasto / y el gasto q̄ estouiesse y el de adelante mandasse
a fazer ya las dichas ysdias / por la ofrecian y.s. / y q̄ obiesse el la ofrecida y.s. de todo lo
q̄ descubriesse dello / como de todo lo susodicho pares mas largo por el asiento q̄ cō el se tomo



No. XXXXI. Holograph Document. Memorial of the Admiral in Relation to the Injuries which he has Received.
[Found on pp. 29, 30, 31, of Duchess of Alba's "Nuevos Autografos," Madrid, 1902.]

NO. XXXXI.

Transliteration

"*Jhesus cum Maria sit nobis in via*[1]

"En nombre de don cristobal Colon &c.

"digo que al tiempo que el vino a sus altezas con la inpresa de las yndias que el demandara por vm memorial suyo muchas cosas y fray juan perez y monsen coloma, los quales entendian en ello, le concertaron en esta manera.

"primeramente que s. a. le ficiesen almirante, viso rey y gobernador general de las yndias y le ficiesen merced de todos los oficios, como mas largo parese por el dicho asiento, y oviese el en el dicho almirantado las mercedes y renta que ha y tiene el señor almirante de castilla en su distrito.

"ytem por que el dicho don cristobal dezia que era poco lo que daban s. a. al señor almirante de castilla, diziendo que el yba a poner su persona a bentura y daba las yndias a s. a., y que dellas mesmas demandaba la satisfacion, pidio mas el diezmo de todo y s. a. se le otorgaron, sacando primero las custas.

"ytem suplico a s. a. que le diesen lugar para vm juez aca que entendiese en los pleytos de las mercadurias y negocios de las yndias: respondieron s. a. que le plazia si pertenecia al tal oficio y si fuese justo.

"ytem por que aca se dudaba

Translation

XXXXI.

"*Jhesus cum Maria sit nobis in via*

"In the name of Don Christopher Columbus, etc.

"I say that at the time when he came to their Highnesses with the undertaking of the Indies, he demanded many things, according to a memorandum of his, and Friar Juan Perez and Monsen Coloma, who occupied themselves with the matter, made an agreement with him in this manner:

"First, that their Highnesses should make him Admiral, Viceroy and Governor-General of the Indies, and should grant all the offices to him, as appears more at length from the said contract, and he should have in the said Admiralship the same privileges and revenue which the Lord Admiral of Castile has and holds in his territory.

"Item, as the said, Don Christopher said that what their Highnesses gave to the Lord Admiral of Castile was not much, saying that he was going to risk his person and give the Indies to their Highnesses and that he demanded satisfaction for the same, he asked besides, the tenth of everything, and their Highnesses granted it to him, the expenses being first deducted.

"Item, he entreated their Highnesses to give him a place for a judge here who should occupy himself with the law-suits relating to merchandise and the affairs of the Indies. Their Highnesses responded that it pleased them if it belonged to such office and if it was just.

"Item, because he was doubted

[1] This invocation is twice repeated at the top of the page.

XXXXI.

y dezia que esta impresa era burla y que dios nunca habia dado tierra al poniente, suplico a s. a. que le recebiesen en el gasto que estonces y dende adelante mandasen a hazer para las dichas yndias por la ochaba parte, y que oviese el la ochaba parte de todo lo que resultase, desto, como de todo lo suso escrito, parece mas largo por el asiento que con el se tomo.

here and it was said that this undertaking was a hoax and that God had never placed land to the westward, he entreated their Highnesses to allow him to assume the eighth part of the expense which then and thenceforward they should order incurred for the said Indies: and that he should have the eighth part of all that should result from this, as appears more at length with all the above written, by the contract which he made with them.

"digo que despues de todo esto asentado, le mandaron s. a. a señaladamente que el fuese á ganar las dichas yn[dias] . . . y que plugo a n. s. que las gano y las ha puestas so el real señorio de s. a.

"en el priuilegio del señor almirante de castilla esta que de todas las ganancias que el fiziere que a[ya] . . . la tercia parte, y pues s. a. aseñaladamente le mandaron al dicho don cristobal que fue[se] . . . a ganar yslas y tierras firmes a las yndias y las ha ganado, le pertenece la . . .

"ytem ha de haver mas el diezmo de todo lo que se oviere y ha habido despues de una m . . . s. a. le fizieron de gastos que fue el año de 97, ha haber el diezmo y dar las nueve par[tes] a quien s. a. mandare.

"ytem contribuyo el dicho don cristobal desdel primer viaje fasta el postrero en todos los gastos de nabios, de fletes, de sueldos y de todos otros gastos: ha de haber la ochaba parte de lo que resulto de las dichas armadas y gastos de sueldo.

"digo que el dicho don cristobal colon, como viso rey, almirante y gobernador general, ha de gobernar las yndias y la dicha negociacion, y haber su salario y la tercia parte y la ochaba parte y la decena parte y los gastos que se ficieren hanse de sacar primero, si sus altezas hacen merced en las yndias de mueble o de raiz, han de saluar la parte del almirante, ansi de la hazienda

XXXXI.

"I say that after all this was agreed, their Highnesses appointed him especially to go and acquire the said Indies . . . and it pleased our Lord that he acquired them and has placed them under the Royal dominion of their Highnesses.

"It is contained in the privilege of the Lord Admiral of Castile that of all the profits he shall acquire, he may have . . . the third part, and since their Highnesses especially directed the said Don Christopher to go . . . to acquire islands and mainlands in the Indies, and he has acquired them, there belongs to him the . . .

"Item, he is to have besides, the tenth of all that shall be received and has been received since a . . . their Highnesses made him of expenses which was the year 97. He is to have the tenth and give the nine parts to whomever their Highnesses shall direct.

"Item, the said Don Christopher contributed from the first voyage to the last, to all the expenses for vessels, freightage, wages, and to all the other expenses: he is to have the eighth part of all that shall result from the said fleets and expenditures for wages.

"I say that the said Don Christopher Columbus, as Viceroy, Admiral and Governor-General is to govern the Indies and control the said negotiation and have his salary and the third part and the eighth part and the tenth part and the expenses which shall be incurred shall first be deducted. If their Highnesses make any grant in the Indies of movable property or real estate the part belonging to the Admiral must be reserved, both of the land

XXXXI.

como
de los oficios y juridicion, pues que todo ya esta ganado y tiene ya su parte ganada, y en posesion de todo ello; ansi que si hacen merced o dan franquezas, se intende que es de la parte que a s. a. pertenece, y non de la del dicho almirante, la qual espicificadamente deben mandar que le sea guardada y se le acuda con ella o a quien el mandare.

and of the offices and jurisdiction, since all is already acquired and he already has his part acquired and is in possession of it all; so that if they make grants or give franchises, it is understood that it is from the share which belongs to their Highnesses and not from the share of the said Admiral, and they must specifically order that his share be preserved and made over to him or to whomever he shall authorise.

Q̃ dho alcayde mãde a fazer alguna innouacõ ẽ la mar o ẽ la tierra dhos dhos yndios
ssin Q̃ sea por mano y consentimiento del dho alm[irante] / y Q̃ pueda poner todos
sus officios y cargo y otra q̃ quisyda /

Q̃ el a. mãde gente a sacar oro o otros bienes o abrir en las indias / y Q̃ traya Q̃ mãde a los
tales y sus bienes Q̃ acuda y sea acudir dla ganancia Q̃ obiere / dla tercia parte y sea
parte y la otra q̃ el alm[irante] / salvo q̃ el obiere q̃ sienta ẽ los dhos mandes ofrezcan

quando el alm[irante] fuere a sentar y capitular cõ el a. q̃ entienda Q̃ toda esta negociacõ
q̃ sabia de tratar y negociar por mano del y el q̃ quiere que pueda tubiese / assi en
yndias como acá en castilla / y Q̃ no obiese de acá y alla navios ni gente ni mercaderias
ni otras cosas / sin forma alguna / y q̃ se mesmo dalla acá / y sabia de probar ẽ los
officios dla mar y dla tierra / y assi los probó hasta agora / poco q̃ el o[bispo]
obpo de cordoba los probe por mãdado del a. //

Suplico ẽ nõbre del dho alm[irante] a. Q̃ le mãde tornar la posesiõ de sus officios
de q̃ fue dho q̃ el alm[irante] y el gobernador general y Q̃ use dello como usaba /

y q̃ suplico a. Q̃ mãde Q̃ no haya navios dentro ẽ el dho almirantado ni otros
yndios / sin despacho del dho alm[irante] como solia hazer / y q̃ pueda el contribuir ẽ lo
Q̃ quisiere y sea suyo dello Q̃ obiere su parte

na probisiõ mãdando sobre esto ẽ merced / a. y q̃ el o[bispo] y q̃ quiere entienda
en esto ẽ los casos dlos yndios / y Q̃ no entienda ẽ ellos el dho alm[irante] / o otros

"si sus altezas mandan a hazer alguna innovacion en la mar o en la tierra de las dichas yndias, sin que sea por mano y consentimiento del dicho almirante, recibe agrabio, porque puderia ser contra sus oficios y cargo y contra su hazienda.

"si s. a. mandan gente a sueldo o a descobrir, o a bebir en las indias, es razon que manden a las tales personas que acudan y fagan acudir de la ganancia que ovieren de la tercia parte y ochava parte y dezima parte al almirante, saluo si el oviese consentido en las dichas mercedes o franquezas.

"quando el almirante fizo asiento y capitulo con su alteza, se entendia que toda esta negociacion se habia de tratar y negociar por mano del y de quien su puder tubiese, ansi en las yndias como aca en castilla, y que no oviese, de aca yr alla nabios, ny gente, ny mercadurias, ni otras cosas sin firma suya, y ansi mismo de alla aca, y habia de prover en los oficios de la mar y de la tierra, y ansi los provio fasta agora poco ha que el señor obispo de cordoba los prove por mandado de s. a.[1]

XXXXIa.

"If their Highnesses order any innovations to be made on the sea or on the land of the said Indies, without it be by means of, and consent of the said Admiral, he is wronged, because it might be contrary to his offices and charge, and against his property.

"If their Highnesses send paid persons either to make discoveries or to live in the Indies, it is right that they send such persons as will make over to the Admiral, and cause to be made over to him, the third part and eighth part and tenth part of what shall be received, unless he shall have consented to the said grants and franchises.

"When the Admiral made the contract and agreement with their Highnesses it was agreed that all this business was to be negotiated and managed by him and by whomever should possess his authority, both in the Indies and here in Castile, and that ships were not to go there or people or merchandise or other things without his signature, and likewise that they were not to come here, from there, and that he was to dispose of the offices on sea and on land; and he thus disposed of them up to a short time ago since which the Lord Bishop of Cordova disposes of them by command of their Highnesses.

[1] "Las yndias son de su alteza: descobrioselas y gano el almirante contra la opinion de todo el mundo: el tiene en ellas la tercia parte, ochavo y diezmo; en su mano parece que estaba alas descobrir y dar a qual quero otro principe, y pues el servio con ellas, justo es que aya dellas la parte que se asento, la qual ha de gastar en servicio de dios y de s. a." "The Indies belong to their Highnesses: The Admiral discovered and acquired them against the opinion of all the world: he has the third, eighth, and tenth share in them. It appears that it was in his power to discover them and give them to any other Prince whatever, and since he rendered service with them, it is just that he shall have the share in them which was agreed, which share is to be spent in the service of God and of their Highnesses."

"suplico en nombre del dicho señor almirante a su alteza que le mande tornar la posesion de sus oficios de visorrey, de almirante y de gobernador general y que use dello como usaba.

"ytem suplico a s. a. que manden que non vayan nabios dentro en el dicho almirantado ny a las yndias sin despacho del dicho almirante, como solia hazer, para que pueda el contribuir en lo que quisiere y hauer de lo que se oviere su parte.

"una provision mandaron adar sobre esto en medina s. a. para el s. or obispo y para quien entendiese . . . n parte en las cosas de las yndias para que non entendiesen en ellas sin el dicho almirante o persona . . .

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"I entreat their Highnesses in the name of the said Lord Admiral to order that the possession of his offices of Viceroy, of Admiral and of Governor-General be returned to him and that he may exercise them as he formerly exercised them.

"I entreat their Highnesses to order that vessels may not go into the said Admiralship or to the said Indies without the warrant of the said Admiral, as was the custom, in order that he may contribute what he shall desire and have his portion of what shall be acquired.

"Their Highnesses directed that an order be given regarding this matter in Medina to the effect that the Lord Bishop and whoever should be employed . . .

fuele intimada, mas non se guardo ny guarda, y se despacharon nabios en . . . cencia y non ha habido a la buelta dellos tercio, ni ochavo, ni diezmo, [sup] lico a su alteza que manden por su carta a todos los que fueron y benieron de las . . . [indias?] que acuden al dicho almirante de lo que han traydo, sacado las custas, con el tercio, ochavo y diezmo . . . osa suya, porque en la merced que le hizieron non se entendia lo suyo, y que saluado estaba el . . . del tercero.

"suplico a. s. a. que quando quiseren enviar a las dichas tierras por braxil o perlas o oro o otra cosa de balor que en ellas haya, que sea por mano del dicho almirante y non de otra persona, pues esto es su oficio, y por esto demando la gobernacion de las dichas tierras y mares y por que el pueda haber la parte que le perteneciere y haumentar y aprovechar la hazienda y negociacion y guardar su real señorio.

"ytem suplico a s. a. que manden que les sea restituydo lo que bobadilla le tomo y a sus hermanos, y que se le tome la cuenta, y que v. a. le den vm fin y quito de todo y confirmen lo que ha fecho en sus reales nombres como su visorrey, y le den por libre de todos

XXXXIb.

part in the affairs of the Indies, should not occupy themselves in them without the said Admiral or a person . . . it was intimated to them, but it was not observed nor is observed and they despatched vessels . . . and he has not had, on their returns, the third nor the eighth nor the tenth: I entreat their Highnesses to direct by their Royal Order that all those persons who went to and came from the . . . [Indies] shall pay to the said Admiral the third, eighth and tenth of what they have brought from there, having deducted the expenses . . . because in the grant which they made to him his own [part] was not understood and that he was saved . . . of the third.

"I entreat their Highnesses that whenever they shall desire to send to the said countries for Brazil-wood, or pearls or gold or anything else of value which there may be there, that it may be by means of the said Admiral and not of another person, since this is his office: and by this petition I demand the government of the said lands and seas and that he may have the part which shall belong to him, and increase the property and business and make it more profitable and preserve your Royal dominion.

"Item, I entreat their Highnesses to direct that there be restored to him and to his brothers what Bobadilla took from them and that his account be taken and examined and I beg that their Highnesses will give him a full receipt and acquittance for everything and confirm what he has done in their Royal names, as their Viceroy, and discharge him from all

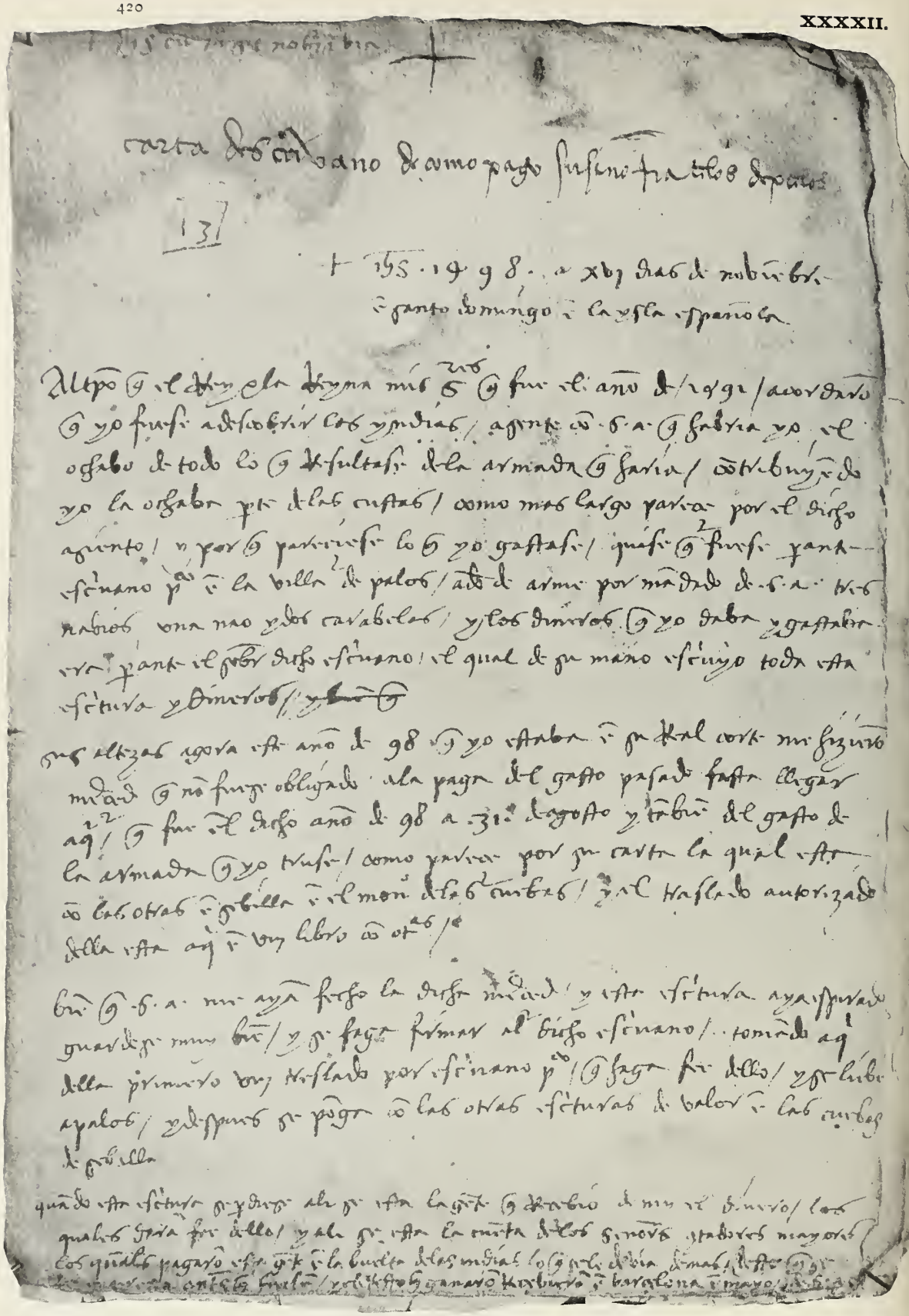
XXXXIb.

los crimes y que de aqui en adelante tenga letrados agora que hay con que los pagar.

"ytem suplico a s. a. que a los vecinos moradores y a toda la otra gente de la mar y de la tierra que de todo lo que ovieren en las yndias alla y aca acudan al dicho almirante con el tercio, ochauo y diezmo, sacado las custas."

the crimes and that from now henceforward he may have lawyers who shall have sufficient payment.

"I entreat their Highnesses that of all that the citizens dwelling in the Indies and of all that the other people dwelling on land and sea, shall receive,—both there and here,—they shall pay to the said Admiral the third, eighth and tenth, having deducted the expenses."



No. XXXXII. *Holograph Document of Columbus Written in San Domingo November 16, 1498, relating to his First Voyage.* [*Translation will be found in Volume I., page 477.*]

TRANSLITERATION OF DOCUMENT NO. XXXXII.

"ROL Ó RELACIÓN

De La Gente Que Fué Con Cristóbal Colón En El Primer Viaje

" Jhesus cum Maria sit nobis in via

" [carta describano de como pago su señoria a los de palos] [1]

"[13] [2] ✠ Jhesus 1498 a XVI dias de noviembre en santo domingo en la ysla española.

" Al tiempo que el rey e la reyna, mis señores, que fue el año de 1491, acordaron que yo fuese a descobrir las yndias, asente con s. a. que habria yo el ochavo de todo lo que resultase de la armada que haria, contribuyendo yo la ochava parte de las custas, como mas largo parece por el dicho asiento, y por que pareciese lo que yo gastase, quise que fuese por ante escriuano publico en la villa de palos adonde arme por mandado de s. a. tres nabios, una nao y dos carabelas, y los dineros que yo daba y gastaba era por ante el sobre dicho escriuano, el qual de su mano escriuio toda esta escrituray dineros.

"sus altezas agora este año de 98 que yo estaba en su Real corte me hicieron merced que non fuese obligado a la paga del gasto pasado fasta llegar aqui, que fué el dicho año de 98 á 31 de Agosto y tambien del gasto de la armada que yo truse, como parece por su carta la qual esta con las otras en Sebilla en el monasterio de las cuebas y el traslado autorizado della está aqui en un libro con otras.

"bien que s. a. me ayan fecho la dicha merced y esta escritura aya espirado, guardese muy bien y se faga firmar al dicho escriuano, tomanda aqui della primero vm traslado por escriuano publico que haga fee dello y se liebe a palos y despues se ponga con las otras escrituras de valor en las cuebas de Sebilla:

"quando esta escritura se perdiese, ali se esta la gente que recebio de my el dinero, los quales daran fe dello y ali se esta la cuenta de los señores contadores mayores los quales pagaron esta gente en la buelta de las indias lo que se le debia, demas desto que se le emprestó. ante que fuesen y el resto que ganaron recebieron en Barcelona en mayo de (s. a.)."

[A translation of this document will be found on pages 477 and 478 of volume 1.]

[1] This line is not in the hand of Columbus.

[2] This number relates to the manuscript volume in which the document was found.

CHAPTER CXXII

FERDINAND COLUMBUS AND HIS LIBRARY

Ferdinand Columbus, the natural son of Christopher Columbus by Beatriz Enriquez, was born at Cordova, August 15, 1488, and found himself at the age of two and twenty settled in the beautiful city of Seville, in the enjoyment of a large income left him by his father. He was a student. The power of official position, the excitement of public life, the passion for discovery, had no attraction for him. He set himself the most delightful of all tasks,—the gathering of a library. His task was well accomplished. Let it not be concluded that this son of Columbus was unwilling to perform public service. There is a difference between responding to a call of duty and soliciting place with endless cries. In the decree of February, 1524, he was one of the commission to define the respective rights of Spain and Portugal, and he sat with the commission at Badajoz. Ferdinand, the very year his house was finishing, presided over a commission of cosmographers and pilots for the correction of marine charts and for the construction of a sphere whereupon should be delineated the newly discovered countries. And scarcely was his house completed when, Sebastian Cabot having in April, 1526, set out for an expedition to the Moluccas, Ferdinand assumed the duties of the latter, and in his own mansion charged himself with the commissioning of pilots, having for chief examiner the famous Diego Ribero. A year or two later he was summoned to the Court of Charles V. for consultation as to the cession, or, rather, sale, to Portugal of Spain's interest in the Moluccas.[1]

[1] Here is a diplomatic mystery we should like right well to pause and investigate. Spain ceded her rights in the Moluccas to Portugal for three hundred and fifty thousand gold ducats. But in the lease, through the careless use of words, the time was construed as perpetual instead of being limited. Twenty years or more afterward

The Library of Ferdinand Columbus and the Monastery of Las Cuevas in Seville.

In 1529, when Charles V. embarked at Barcelona for Genoa, Ferdinand was in his train, although he was back again in Spain the same fall.

According to a judicial paper connected with the execution of the Last Will and Testament of Ferdinand Columbus, made Saturday, July 12, 1539, the dwelling-place [1] of the deceased is said to be at Seville in the parish of St. Vincent, adjoining the Puerta de Goles, a corrupted form of Hercules, whose name had been given to one of the principal gates of the walled city. In the time of Philip II., after May, 1570, when he made his entrance into Seville, this gate was called *The Royal Gate* in his honour. The property belonging to Ferdinand was included in a magnificent park,[2] running nearly from the Puerta de Goles to the next gate on the north, and in which there have been planted no less than five thousand trees, most of which were brought from the New World. Here was the celebrated *Huerta de Colon*, or Columbus Garden, and here, in the year 1526, was erected the house of Ferdinand, a portion of which was especially designed for his library. There remains to us a manuscript document in which Ferdinand gives Nicolao de Grimaldi of Genoa an order for a façade of Carrara marble [3] for his house, and which was to bear the inscription:

when the Emperor, full of power, was advised by his counsellors to force a recall of the lease from Portugal, the strong declined a manifest advantage over the weak and to insert by the sword a new writing in the lease. In commenting on this decision an old writer observed: "Some marvelled, others grieved, but all held their peace."

[1] When the property was bought at a judicial sale in 1594 it was described as *Las casas que fueron del Almirante*, but the reader will recall that eventful day in January in the year 1502 at the hour of saying vespers, when the Lord Admiral of the Indies with his witnesses and notaries gathered in his house in the city of Seville in the parish of St. Mary. But this house of the Admiral was more than eighteen hundred feet from the Gate of Hercules, and there is no proof that he ever owned the property on the site of Ferdinand's house.

[2] Mr. Harrisse has calculated that the park contained somewhere in the neighbourhood of seventeen and a quarter acres (seven hectares), basing his calculations on a comparison of the scale used in the geometric plan of Seville made by Thomas Lopez de Vergas in 1771–1787 (Madrid, 1788) and the proportional part of the quarter section taken from the engraving of Hoefnagel here shown.

[3] "De marmora de Carrara cossi bono quanto é quello de che habiamo facto la sepoltura del Marcheize de Aimon et che per intendere cossi bon marmora et bona opera ben facta a la bontà che si sacramento et depositione de mess."

Notarial Act of September 10, 1529, preserved in the *Archives Tabellionnaires* at Genoa.

"Of Carrara marble to be of as good a quality as that used for the tomb of the Marquis de Aimon and that there shall be employed as good marble and as good workmanship as if intended for the sacraments or for an altar for mass."

"Don Fernando Colon, hijo de D. Xpval Colon primero Almirante que descubrió las Yndias fvndo esta casa año de mill e quinientos e veynte e seys."

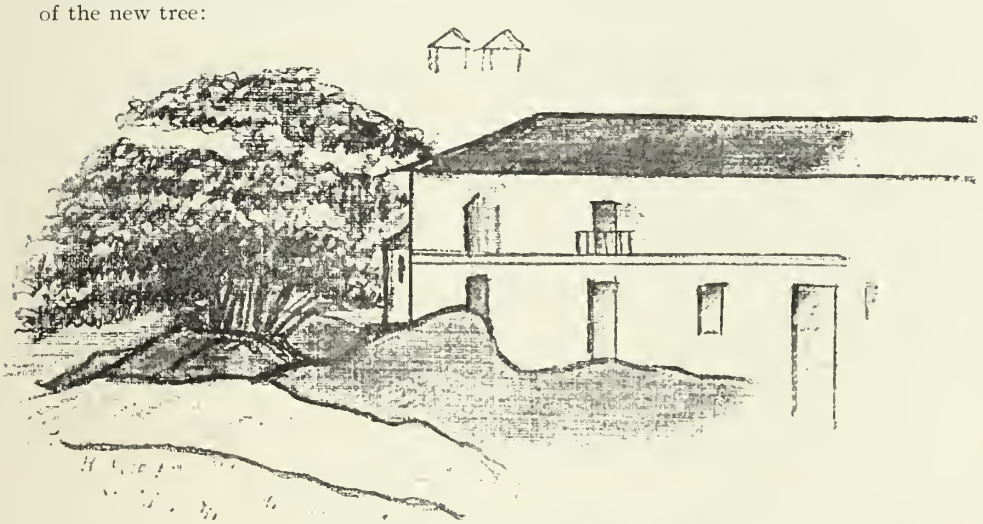
"Don Ferdinand Columbus, son of Don Christopher Columbus, first Admiral who discovered the Indies, erected this house in the year 1526."

The property is said to have fallen into the hands of a Genoese banker, Francesco Leardo, and to have remained in his family until the year 1594, when one of his descendants, Pedro Juan Leardo, being in legal difficulties, it was bought by Father Francisco Beamonte on March 14, 1594, in the name and for the use of the religious order of Our Lady of Mercy. In the year 1834, on the suppression of so many of the religious societies, the property was put to secular uses, and to-day we believe it is given over to commercial purposes.[1]

[1] Henry Harrisse, who visited Seville thirty years ago, reported that of the immense private wood belonging to this domain there remained standing but one tree foreign to the earth of Spain, and that belonging to the family *Sapotaneæ*, the *Achras Sapota*. This tree is a native of tropical America, and we do not know if it is indigenous to Santo Domingo and Cuba. It is a medium-sized tree with evergreen shining leaves and characterised by having abundant milky juice. The bark is known as Jamaica bark and is used as a febrifuge.

In 1871 the municipal authorities caused even this to be removed, but Mr. Harrisse had a slip cut from it, which has now become a strong tree in the private grounds of a friend.

By permission of Mr. Harrisse, we here reproduce a sketch of this tree, made by him on the spot in May, 1871. Following, we quote his description of the planting of the new tree:



Sapota Tree. All that was Left of Ferdinand Columbus's "Huerta" in Seville in May, 1871.

"As the railway was soon to pass over that spot, I suggested to my friend Don José Maria Asensio to pull out a bough, and plant it in his farm near the city. He

Who can tell the full glory of this library or describe the beauty of its lodgings. Here were gathered no less than 15,370 books and manuscripts, representing the classics, the gems of incunabula, the first fruits of the fecund press, the rarest editions of the poets and of those who had written enduring prose; the sermons and the teachings of the fathers of the Church, the works of the philosophers, the printed fabrics of countless dreams,—the whole a home for books and men, where the former would be guarded from the rude touch of the vandal, and where the latter would find a refuge from the cold and hunger of the world, and where they might receive refreshment for their spirits and enlargement for their souls. Into these books Ferdinand put himself. He travelled over Europe, through Italy, France, Germany, England. His feet entered every book-shop in every city. When he had bought a volume he carefully wrote on its first vacant leaf the exact amount of its cost, the time and place of its purchase, with a declaration, perhaps, of his purpose to clothe its sides with softest silk or richly figured leather. The course of his travels may be followed by the memoranda in his books. Ferdinand was twice in the New World. We have already witnessed the fortitude with which he underwent the vicissitudes and hardships of the Admiral's fourth voyage on the coasts of Veragua and Jamaica. Three years after his father's death, he accompanied his brother Diego, the second Admiral, then clothed with the dignities of his office, on the latter's return to San Domingo, embarking at San Lucar, July 10, 1509. He soon returned to Spain and to more congenial employment. In January, 1510, he bought a book in the city of Valladolid, and in the same year was in the city of Calatayud in Aragon, where he bought a copy of Marco Polo, printed in 1502 at Seville by Stanislaus Polonus and Jacobus Cromberger, the latter of that famous family destined to establish the first printing-press in the New World. In the year 1511 Ferdinand was settled at Seville, and we find him sending to Cardinal Ximénès a manuscript composition [1] of his own,

did so in my presence, and has informed me since that the tree was now luxuriantly growing out of that branch.

"I wanted at the time to purchase the original tree and a small plot of ground, with the intention of enclosing it in a railing with an inscription stating that it was a token of remembrance from two Americans, viz.: Barlow and H. H."

[1] There was for a long time preserved in his library the original manuscript of this work: *El Original del Libro que yo hice y Envió al Cardinal Don Fray Francisco Ximenez en Sevilla, año de 1511, Dicho Colon de Concordia, Dividise en dos Tractados.*

consisting of two tracts, in which he sought to demonstrate that in his day the globe would be circumnavigated by water from the east to the west: that the Gospel would be preached in all parts of the world, and that to Spain and to no other nation was destined universal empire. Both Charles V. and the great Cardinal wrote him letters of congratulation.

In the fall of this same year he went to Toledo,[1] and from there he went to the university town of Alcalá de Henares.[2]

The next year we find him in the early summer on his way to Italy, stopping over at Lerida in Catalonia,[3] and three months later he settles himself at Rome [4] for a long period, devoting

[1] Here he purchased: *Manual de la Sancta Fé Católica, Sevilla*, 1495, 4. Costó en Toledo 34 maravedis, año 1511, 9 de Octubre.

[2] *Carcel de Amor en Español.* Logrono, 1508, 4. Costó en Alcalá de Henares 17 maravedis, año 1511, a 5 de Noviembre.

[3] *El Recibimiento que Hizo el Rey de Francia en Saona al Rey D. Fernando, en Español*, 4. Costó en Lerida 3 maravedis, año de 1512, por Junio.

Vocabularius Catalan y Aleman. Perpiñan, 1502 in 8. Costó en Lerida 20 maravedis, por Junio.

Refranes en Prosa Catalana Glossados por Mosen Dimas Prevere. Barcelona, 1511, 4. Costó en Lerida 8 maravedis, año 1512.

Libro en Catalan, del Estilo de Escribir á Cualquier Persona, Hecho por Tomas de Perpinia. Impr. por. Jo. Rosembach. 1510, 4. Costó en Lerida 5 maravedis, año de 1512, por Junio.

Disputa del ase Contra Frare Enselm Turmeda, Sobre la Natura et Nobleza dels Animals, Ordenct per lo di Enselm. Barcelona, 1509, 4. Costó en Lerida 29 maravedis, año de 1512, por Junio.

[4] Here we find Ferdinand revelling in the acquisition of rare books. The first on our list, the reader will observe, was bought for 5 cuatrines. An example of this little gem has since brought $5000. We estimate the first price at about $1.25, and we must regard the advance in price—when we compare it with that now obtaining for many other books of that time—as remarkable. The explanation is not difficult,—of the other books there are many examples. If one were to unearth a package of ten copies of this little printed piece, the price would drop to a mighty fall. The rarity of this kind of an object determines its value.

Lettera di Americo Vespuci Dette Isole Novamente Trovate in Quatro Suoi Viazzi, Datum Lisbone die 4 Septembre 1504.—no date of printing. Costó en Roma cinco cuatrines, año de 1512, por Setiembre.

Spagna, en Metros Toscanos. Florencia, 1490, fol. Costó en Roma 50 cuatrines por Octubre de 1512.

Juvenal, 1509 fol. Costó en Roma 60 cuatrines, año de 1512, por Setiembre, y un ducado de oro vale 307 cuatrines. "Ego, D. Fernando Colon, audivi Romæ hunc librum quodam meo magistro exponente á 6 die decembris 1512 usque ad 20 ejusdem mensis": "I heard this book expounded by my master at Rome from December 6 to December 20.

Sermo Fr. Dyonisci Vasquez Hispani, Impr. Romæ, año de 1513. "Hunc sermonem audivi viva voce auctoris Rome, Mensis Martis 1513" . "I heard the author himself deliver this sermon at Rome in the month of March, 1513." .

Bernardini Carvajal, Oratio de Eligend o Summo Pontifice. Costó en Roma 2 cuatrines, por Junio de 1513.

himself to the study of literature, as the reader may discover from his holograph note in his copy of Juvenal, and the never-forgotten purpose of adding to his store of books.

After almost an entire year spent in Rome, Ferdinand returned to Spain, and we have notice of him in August of that year at Barcelona, where he had doubtless arrived by sea.[1]

It would seem that our collector was making his way homeward to Seville by the coast road. In the same month of August he is at Tarragona,[2] and a little later at Valencia.[3]

Ferdinand may have spent the early winter of 1513–1514 in Seville, but early in the new year he is at Madrid,[4] then a little city of three thousand souls, and not dreaming of its future greatness when Philip II. should name it Capital of all Spain. There was no printing establishment in Madrid for more than a generation after this time, but a bookseller and a book-bindery received and dressed and dispersed books from the presses of other cities. In July of the same year we find Ferdinand at Medina del Campo,[5] that city of the plains where the Court had often a temporary home. In November of this year he is at Valladolid,[6] whence he seems to have made his way to Italy. We find him with the opening of the new year at the birthplace of his father, Genoa by the sea.[7] In this same month of Janu-

[1] *Lo Plant de la Reina Ecuba, en Prosa Catalana Compost per Mosen Joan Roges de Corella.* Impr. Barcelona, por Joan Luseher, 4. Costó 3 dineros en Barcelona por Agosto de 1513.

[2] *Cancionero de Rodrigo de Reinosa.* Estampado en Barcelona, 1513. Costó en Tarragona 6 dineros por Agosto de 1513, 4.

[3] *Vision deletable de la Casa la Fortuna, Compuesto por Eneas Silvio en Latin e Traducido en Español por Juan Gomez, Valencia,* 1511, 4. Costó en Valencia 5 dineros, por Agosto de 1513.

[4] *Antonii Nenebrissensis Grammatica, Logronii per Amaldum Guillelmum,* 1513 fol. Costó en Madrid 170 maravedis por Hebrero de 1514. Encuadernado.

[5] *Floretum Sancti Mathei Collectum per Petrum de Prexano, Hispali,* 1491. Folio. Costaron en Medina del Campo 600 mrs. por Junio de 1514.

[6] *El Setimo Libro de Amadis, Sevilla,* 1514. folio. Costó en Valladolid 130 mrs. por Noviembre de 1514.

La Historia de Melosina, en Español, Valencia, 1512. folio. Costó en Valladolid, 79 mrs. por Noviembre de 1514.

[7] *Silvestri de Priero in Theoricas Planetarum Preclarissima Commentaria.* Mediolani, 1514, 4. Costó en Genoa siete sueldos, por Enero de 1515. "Prima Novembris, 1515. Ineepi hune librum exponente eum magistro Sebastiano; Rome immediate post 24 horam, octoque prima folia tantum in octo lectionibus exposuit": "I began this book on November 1, 1515, at Rome just after the twenty-fourth hour under the tutelage of Master Sebastiano and he opened the first eight folios in eight readings."

ary he was in Lucca,[1] and by June he was again in Rome.[2] In the fall of the year he went to Viterbo,[3] returning soon, however, to the Eternal City. Harrisse suggests that he may have attended the meeting between Pope Leo X. and Francis I. at Bologna, November 9, 1515, but of this there is nothing beyond conjecture. Ferdinand was back in Rome [4] in December. The first of the year found him at Florence,[5] but again his absence was of short duration, and he was at his studies in Rome [6] by the coming of summer. It will be seen by the holograph inscription[7] we have taken from the *Excerpta Colombiniana* of Henry Harrisse that Ferdinand was in Rome in the month of July, 1516,[8] where he may have remained throughout the year, for we have no further news of him until the following summer, when he returned to Spain. It is, however, most probable that the news of King Ferdinand's death, which occurred on January 23, 1516, called him home soon after July of that year.

In June, 1517, Ferdinand is again in Spain, at Madrid, where he acknowledges the receipt of a book which Pedro de Sala-

[1] *Sopra Scripte e Lettere Scripte da Mandare a Varie Persone Secõdo la Degnita Loro.* Este tratado costó en luca por Enero de 1515.

[2] *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea*, Sevilla, 1502, 4. Costó en Roma 25 cuatrines, por Junio de 1515.

Copia de Una Lettera del Re de Portogallo, Roma, 1505, 4. Costó en Roma por Setiembre de 1515, 3 cuatrines.

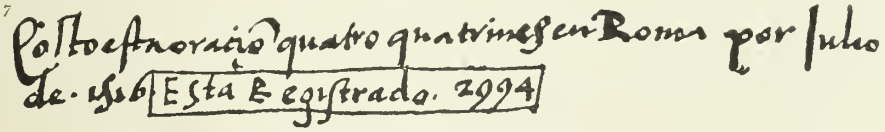
[3] *Littera della Presa de Orano, Edita per Georgia de Veracaldo, Traducida de Castellano en Vulgar Italiano per Baltasar del Rio*, 4. Costó en Viterbo por Octubre de 1515, 1 cuatrin.

Obedentia Johannis II. Portugaliæ regis ad Alexandrum VI. præst. per Ferdinand de Almeida, 4. Costó en Viterbo 1 cuatrin per Octubre de 1515.

[4] *Coplas en Catalan de Miraglos de N. S. del Socors.* Costaron en Roma un cuatrin, por Diciembre de 1515.

[5] *Adriani Cardenalis, de Sermone Latine Opusculum*, 4. Costó en Florencia 34 cuatrines viejos, por Enero de 1516.

[6] *Gasparis Torella Consilium de Præservatione et Curatione Pestis*, Rome. Costó en Roma 10 cuatrines por Julio de 1516.

[7] 

[8] There is the following puzzling memorandum:

"*Exposition Laurentii Vallensis*
Salamantiæ, folio.
Costó en Medina del Campo un real por Julio de 1516."

We think this is an error for 1514, when, in June, Ferdinand was at Medina del Campo. It would hardly have been possible for him to go from Rome to this inland place within the days of the same month.

manca had sent him from Rome [1] on the 29th day of May of the same year. If we are to believe the record,—and we frankly think Ferdinand has made an error in his writing, or a wrong reading has been permitted to creep into the *Excerpta Colombiniana*,—he was back at Rome in June, 1517.[2] At some time during this year of 1517 Ferdinand paid a visit to the learned Antonio de Lebrija,[3] the scholar who is said to have published the *Decades* of Peter Martyr. He was Professor of Latin Eloquence in the newly established University at Alcalá de Henares, to which institution Cardinal Ximénès gave so much of his time and money. Ferdinand, then, was in the year 1517 at Alcalá de Henares, the college city which, thirty years afterward, was to usher into life the Spanish literary genius, Miguel de Saavedra Cervantes. The son of Columbus was then composing a work on the *Cosmography of Spain*, which he is said to have begun at Seville this same year, and perhaps it was to consult Lebrija that he visited Alcalá. However this may be, the work never reached completion, for with that hostility to the spread of knowledge which characterised the darkened age out of which the world was emerging, the President of the Royal Council of Spain forbade the writer to proceed. The pendulum of the right to publish has certainly swung very far to the other end of the arc, and perhaps it is time it turned slightly for a backward movement. The world is not ready for a revival of ignorant or prejudiced censorship, but if this supervision ever again does come we venture to propose that the President of the Council, whoever he may be and whatever it may be, when he rejects a publication, shall be obliged at least to file his reasons.

[1] *De Correctione Kalendarii*, 4. Este tratado me embio mæstro Pedro de Salamanca de Roma á los 29 de Mayo de 1517 y recebilo en Madrid á 16 de Junio del dicho año.

[2] *Marci Dandoli Oratoris Veneti Apud Ser. Ferdinandum Hispaniæ Oratio*, Napoli, 1507. Este libro costó en Roma 3 quatrines, por Junio de 1517.

This book is of interest to us, since on the verso of the sixth folio we read:

"Insulæ invẽtæ, Dispersas namque ipsas insulas & omnibus hactenus incognitas: maionibus q̃ exprimi possit difficultatibus exquisivisti . . ."

Marco Dandalo, a Venetian jurist and statesman, was born in 1458 and died in 1535.

[3] *Tabla de la diverzidad de los dias y horaz en las cibdades, villas y lugarez de España, y otras de Europa que les responden por sus paralelos*, compuesta por Antonio de Nebrija, 4.

"Diómele el mismo autor en Alcalá de Henares, año de 1517" : "Given me by the author himself in Alcalá de Henares in the year 1517."

The Cortes of Castile was sitting at Valladolid[1] in the winter of 1518, and hither came the young son of the late Philip and the mad Joanna, to have himself proclaimed King as Charles I. Ferdinand was mindful of study, and we find him early in the year buying an edition of Seneca's *Tragedies*,[2] which, when he had it placed in a binding of his own choosing, he began religiously to read. From Valladolid Ferdinand went to Medina del Campo.[3] He was travelling in a southerly direction, and we hear of him next at Segovia. In this walled town of Old Castile, Ferdinand began the composition of a *Dictionary of Definitions* in Latin, the first volume of which is preserved in the Columbian library. He recorded on the first folio this holograph explanation:

"*Die lunæ Septembris sexta 1518, in civitate Secubiensi hora 8 ante meridiem incepi hunc.*"—"I began this work at four o'clock in the morning on the sixth day of the September moon, in the year 1518 at the city of Segovia."

We have no positive information as to where Ferdinand was in the year 1519. Charles V., Diego Columbus (as Viceroy of the Indies), and Bartolomé de las Casas, the Apostle of the Indians, were in Barcelona during a portion of that time, dis-

[1] *Alvari Pelagi de Planctu Ecclesiæ.* Lugduni, 1517. Folio. Costó en Valladolid 10 maravedis, por Enero de 1518.

[2] *Tragediæ Senace cum Duobus Commentariis.* Venetiis, 1510. Folio.

"Costó quatro reales y dos por encuadernar en Valladolid por Março de 1518, asi que costó seis reales. Sabado seis de Março de 1518, comence á leer esté libro y a pasar las notes del en el indice en Valladolid, y distraydo por muchas ocupaciones y caminos no lo pude acabar hasta el Domingo ocho de Julio de 1520 en Bruselas de Flandes, en el qual tiempo las anotationes que ay des del numero 1559 en adelante aun no estan pasadas en el indice porque quedo en España.

"Miercoles 19 de Enero, de 1524, entre las doce y la una. lo torné otra vez a pasar y añadi las anotationes que tienen dos virgulitas y las diciones sublineades que tienen una ó al fin de linea y commencé a pasar otra vez las notas añadiendo las autoridades.

"It cost 4 reales and 2 reales for binding in Valladolid, March, 1518, so that it cost 6 reales. Saturday, March 6, 1518, I began reading this book in Valladolid and making the notes from it in the index; and being distracted by many occupations and journeys I could not finish it until Sunday, July 8, 1520, at Brussels in Flanders, at which time the annotations from number 1559 onward were not made in the Index, as it remained in Spain.

"Wednesday, January 19, 1524—between 12 and 1 o'clock I again commenced making notes, and added the annotations which have two small periods and the underlined dictions which have one, or at the end of the line,—and again commenced making the notes, adding the authorities."

On the margin of this book Ferdinand wrote opposite the famous verse in the tragedy of *Médea* the assertion which we have already quoted, that the remarkable prophecy was indeed fulfilled in the discovery made by his father.

[3] *Historia de Floriseo, Compuesta por Hernando Bernal*, Valencia, 1516. Folio. Costó 128 maravedis en Medina del Campo, por Julio de 1518.

cussing the condition of the natives of the New World. Ferdinand himself was interested in this question, for in 1514 the King, as a special favour and outside the law, permitted him to hold four hundred Indian slaves. It is not probable, living in Spain and seeing nothing of the horrors of slavery, that he had much sympathy for Las Casas and his complaints.[1] The Emperor, Maximilian I., had died early in the year, and his grandson, Charles V., was his heir to the throne. His presence was desired in Germany and in the Low Countries, and it is probable when he set out from Spain on May 22, 1520, that Ferdinand Columbus was in his train. We have already seen that he was reading and annotating his copy of Seneca's *Tragedies* at Brussels in July of that year, finishing his reading on the eighth day of that month. He bought at Gand, in August, 1520, a copy of Valerius Flaccus, as well as some religious works[2]; and in October he was in Louvain,[3] holding familiar intercourse with Erasmus, who had not long been back in the Low Countries after his residence in England. We pause to express a wish that Ferdinand had recorded his conversation with the great Erasmus. It was at a most interesting period in the latter's

[1] Las Casas wrote (*Historia de las Indias*, cap. xxvii., Book II., vol., iii., p. 138):

"Don Hernando Colon alcanzó poco de derecho destas gentes [los Indios] y de tener por injustieias las primeras que su padre eommenzó en esta isla eontra los naturales della.

"Don Ferdinand Columbus understood very little about the rights of these people [the Indians] and the first injustiees whieh his father eommenced in this island against the natives of the island."

[2] *Symbolũ duo decim Apostolorum Domini Nostri.* . . . Este libro eostó 2. mrs. en gante, por Agosto de 1520.

[3] *Antibarbarorum, D. Erasmi Roterdami Liber Unus*, Bãle, An. MDXX.

"Este libro me dio el mismo autor eomo pareee en lax oetava plana. Erasmus Roterdamus dono dedit lovanii die dominiea Oetobris Septima die anni 1520 qui quidem Erasmus duas primas lineas sua propia manu hic seripsit":

". . . Erasmus of Rotterdam gave me this as a present at Louvain on Sunday, Oetober 7 in the year 1520: the first two lines of the presentation were written by Erasmus with his own hand."

It is interesting to note that Ferdinand immediately adapts himself to his eompany. Erasmus used Latin in which to talk as well as write. So Ferdinand writes his annotation in Latin. The eourtiers of Spain at this time spoke many tongues and Ferdinand, like the young King, his master, spoke probably besides Latin and Spanish, French, Italian, German, and Flemish.

Charles V., aecording to Bouhours, used to say that if he were to speak to a lady he would speak Italian, if he were to speak to a man he would speak Freneh: if he were to speak to his horse he would speak in High Dutch; but if he were to speak to God he would speak in Spanish. This is a paraphrase of Eugenius, who used to say that the Castilian was the natural language of Heaven, and a learned character of Castile onee maintained that in the Terrestrial Paradise the serpent spoke English, the woman Italian, the man French, but that God spoke Spanish.

life. He had corresponded much with Martin Luther and, like all great men, if left to themselves, his mind sympathised with intellectual freedom. But in the days when Ferdinand talked with him, the Church was pressing him to contend with the daring Reformer, and doubt, hesitancy, and uncertainty seem to have controlled him. But no matter on which side this man might have been, it must have been an intellectual treat for the young Spaniard to sit at his feet and listen to his discourse.

According to some writers, on December 17, 1520, the son of Columbus received at Worms the sum of two hundred thousand maravedis as salary for his attendance on the Imperial house. But in the middle of the month of December, 1520, we learn from his note in a book purchased there and at that date that he was in the city of Genoa.[1] The receipt may have been dated, or the record may have been made, at Worms while the Court's officers were there; but if Ferdinand bought a book at Genoa on December 15, he could not have been at Worms two days later. On the second day of the new year, 1521, Ferdinand was in Savona,[2] one of the claimants, as he himself has said in his *Historie*, for the honour of having been the birthplace of his illustrious father. The course of Ferdinand's travels is easily followed from his notes. On the fourteenth day of January, 1521, he was at Turin.[3] In February he crossed into

[1] *Arte de Arithmetica.* Thaurino, 1492. Costó 30 dineros en Genoa de mediado de Diziembre de 1520.

[2] *Platini Elegia. Pulcherrima,* Milano, 1505, 4. Costó 14 dineros en Saona a 2 Enero de 1521, y el ducado de oro vale 900 dineros.

[3] *Thomasso Salmanticense:*

La deuotiõe de la madora: la qua
le ha predicato il Reuerendo patre
fra Thomaſſo Salmanticaſe del ordi
ne de Seto. Dñico: predicatore apo
stolico: ſummo theologo: ꝛ philoſo
pho excelte— ·
tiſſimo: ne la quale molte
excellentie de la madoa deuotiſſime
fe cõteneno predicate per lo dicto Re
uerendo patre fra Thomaſſo ſopra
la expositione del Magnificat. et
senza dubitatione obtenera ogni grã
da da cſſa deuotamente dicendola.
[colophon.]
Impressum Taurini per Io: Angelus ꝛ Bernardium
Fratres de Sylva.
Anno Mcccc. xvii.

This rare little tract of 8 folios is not mentioned by most bibliographers. Fran-

Lombardy and had reached Milan.[1] Early in March he was at Pavia, where, if he made any study of his father's alleged university career, the result of his labours is not known to us. Whoever has essayed to follow the steps of the young Genoese leading from his father's wool-carding machine to the Athens of Lombardy has been guided there by Ferdinand alone. No one ever mentioned the fact until his book was published in 1571, nor did the University itself ever claim the distinguished honour. The following month we find Ferdinand at Cremona[2] and Mantua,[3] and the fifteenth day of April saw him in the bookseller's shop at Padua.[4]

In May, Ferdinand reached Ferrara,[5] and the month was not yet completed when he was sailing on the glorious canals of Venice[6]—the Mecca of book collectors. We know that he remained in Venice until some time in March, for we have his

eiseus de Sylva had a press at Turin in the fifteenth eentury, where he printed in 1496 and 1497.

Este libro eostó 2 quartos en Turin a 14 de Enero de 1521: y el dueado de oro vale 212 quartos.

[1] We give this on the authority of Henry Harrisse (*Excerpta Colombiniana*, p. 12). We do not find any annotation eorroborating Mr. Harrisse's assertion.

Legacci, Pier Antonio,

Egloga rustieale eomposta p̃ lo faeeto giouane Pierantonio Legaei, intitolata Nieehola.

Impresso in Siena . . . 39 di Agosto, 1416 [*sic*].

Este libro eostó 2. quatrines en Milan por hebrero de 1521 y el dueado de oro uale 490. quatrines.

The reader will notiee that Don Ferdinand is something of a business man, sinee he gives the varying value of a gold dueat.

[2] *Carmina Nativitatis Dñi Nostri Iesu Christi.* . . . Cremone M.D.xviii. Este libro eostó 2 quatrines en Cremona a 11 de Marzo d. 1521.

[3] *Libo Ænigme Composte per D. Libo Alias Colle Poeta et Philosopho.* Este libro eostó 4. quatrines en Mãtua a 16 de Marzo de 1521. El dueado de oro vale 422 quatrines.

[4] Annotation in a rare manuseript of the tenth eentury preserved in the Library of the Eseurial and mentioned by Ewald, Reiśe. naeh Spanien. Hannover, 1881.

[5] *Angliara,* Juan de

Viagio ed paefe de l'ifola de loro trouato p. Juan de Angliara eapitanio di re di Spagna eũ tuto il viuer et eoftumi pt. ineipit eũ lo adiunto del elementiffimo et definit de loltra ifola eavet. Costó en ferrara medio quatrin a 4 di de Mayo de 1521 y el dueado val. 378 quatrines.

Isola de Oro is the name given Peru by Mareo Guazzo.

[6] *Littera Mamdata de la Insula de Cuba*, 1520. Costó en Venetia 2 mareos a 22 de Maijo de 1521.

This book presents us with an aeeount of Grijalva's expedition to Yueatan.

Cosmographiæ Introductio. Argens, 1509. 4. Costó 5 sueldos in Venetia, por Julio de 1521.

The reader will find a very full deseription of the different editions of this work in the Author's *Continent of America.*

annotation in the Strasburg edition of the *Cosmographiæ Introductio et Quattuor Americi Vespucii Navigationes*. Of all the books owned by Ferdinand, if we except those bearing his father's holograph notes, this is by far the most interesting. The first edition of the *Cosmographiæ Introductio* was issued from the St. Dié press on the Seventh of the Kalends of Mai, or April 25, in the year 1507. Here it was proposed for the first time to call the New World after Americus Vespucius since in his four voyages he had navigated from about 38 degrees of north latitude to 52 degrees of south latitude, the distance equalling 90 degrees, or the fourth part of a circle of the earth. Because the other continents had feminine terminations, it was proposed that the newly discovered lands, or at least that large portion lying to the southward, should be called America, and this suggestion was early adopted by cosmographers before the century was ended until it became fixed for all time. But here was this little tract in the hands of Ferdinand, the son who was so alert for his father's honours, so proud of his achievements, so jealous of his fame, and yet he utters no protest against baptising the New World with the name of another. Neither has Ferdinand referred to this book or to this proposition in his *Historie*. We know he was a collector who read his books, and we can infer either that the contents of this particular acquisition were never read by him, or that in the proposition, believing it to apply to a region not explored by his father, he saw no impropriety.

In November, 1521, Ferdinand is in Treviso,[1] and the following month he is in Germany, probably having gone by way of Bâle[2] in Switzerland. At this place he bought an edition of Peter Martyr's *Three Decades*, containing in addition a brief account of the navigations of Grijalva and of Cortés. He was in the ancient city of Nuremberg[3] in December, 1521. Evidently he is on his way to the Low Countries once more. Stopping

[1] *Tesoro de Ser. Bruneto Latino de Firenza.* Impr. en Treviso. Año de 1474. Y costó en la misma cibdad encuadernado, 34 sueldos, á 17 de Noviembre de 1521.

[2] *Petri Martyr Liber de Insulis.* Bâle, 1521. Costó en Basilea dos crayces, año de 1521.

This annotation without the month leads us to infer that Ferdinand was going into Germany by way of Switzerland.

[3] *Arithmetica Speculativa*, Gasparis Lax. Paris, 1515. Folio. Costó en Nuremberg 20 crayces, por Diciembre de 1521.

at Frankfort[1] in January, 1522, he adds something to his library, and the next month he is in Cologne.[2] At Aquis Granum,[3] the Latin name of Aix-la-Chapelle, he buys a polyglot dictionary for learning French, Spanish, and Flemish. He remained a long time in Brabant, patronising the book-stalls of Louvain.[4] Then we find him in western Flanders, at Bruges,[5] where Harrisse conjectures he may have formed the acquaintance of Johannes Vasæus,[6] who, a dozen years afterward, became his librarian. From Bruges Ferdinand made his way into France, and on May 28, 1522, he was in the train of the Emperor Charles V. when he embarked at Calais for England. His friend Erasmus had doubtless told him much of England and the English scholars, and we must imagine that he there met that other friend of Erasmus and England's future Lord Chancellor, whose *Utopia* had been only a few years published. There, also, he must have met that great Cardinal whom his Emperor had given reason to believe should have Spain's support for the vacant Pontifical chair. Perhaps to soften by fresh hopes the disappointment of Wolsey was one of the Emperor's errands to England. Pope Adrian was old and infirm. This the Emperor intimated to the Cardinal, and Wolsey again indulged in dreams.

Our bibliophile did not neglect the London book-shops,[7] but

[1] *Thomas de Aquino. Quaternarius.* Este libro costó en francfordia 1. fenin de da mediado Enero de 1522. El ducado de oro vale 288 fenins.

[2] *Tractatus Syllogisimorum Ludovici Coronel Hispani Segoviensis.* Costó en Colonia 24 feni, por Hebrero de 1522.

Speculum Religiosorum Impressum Parisius. [Mark of Jean Petit.] Este libro costó en Colonia 2.fenins por hebrero de 1522 y el ducado de oro vale 296 fenins.

[3] *Vocabulario Para Aprender Frances, Español y Flamini, Antuerpiæ,* 1520. Costó en Aquisgrano 6 feni, por Hebrero de 1522.

[4] *Carmina in Laudem Adriani Cardinalis Electi Pontificis.* Costó un neguin en Lobaina, por Hebrero de 1522.

Petri Ferdinandi de Villagas, Flosculus Sacramentum, Parisiis, 1510. Folio. Costó en Lobaina 4 neguins, de mediado de Abril de 1522.

[5] *Hore Divæ Crucis per Jo. Ferdinandum Musicum Reginæ Editæ.* 4. Costó un neguin en Brujas, por Mayo de 1522.

Lauacrum Consciencie. Este libro costó 12 neginitz en Brujas a 13 de Mayo de 1522 y el ducado de oro valc 320 negints.

[6] Nicolas Antonio, *Bib. Hispania Nova,* vol ii., p. 369, says of Vosæus:

"He went to Sevillc from Belgium and Louvain under the auspices of Ferdinand Columbus, in whose house and in whose most instructive library he remained some years."

[7] *Alfonsi Aragonensis Facetiæ.* Argentinæ, 1509, 4. Costó en Londres 4 fenins, por Junio de 1522.

Corona Mistica Beate Marie Virginis Gloriose. Nouiter impressa Antuerpie p.

we search his catalogue in vain for a Caxton, a Wilhelmus de Mechlinia, a Wynken de Worde, a Pynson, or—rarest of all—a Julian Notary. Nor, when he passed through Bruges, did he contrive to secure a Colard Manson. A few denarii and the future gems were his.

Ferdinand remained in England until the Emperor returned to Flanders and thence to Spain, and landed with him in the Bay of Biscay at Santander in October, 1522. His books must now have required attention from their natural increase, and probably it was at this time that he developed his purpose of a grand library for the use of coming generations. We next hear of him, but in the following summer of 1523, in Switzerland, where he bought more books.[1] Soon after he returned to Spain and wrote a tract, which was never printed and of whose text no trace remains, entitled *Sobre la Forma de Descubrir y Poblar en la Parte de las Indas*. In November of that year, 1523, Ferdinand bought at Alcalá de Henares the famous Polyglot Bible issued under the auspices of Cardinal Ximénès.[2] Compared to some of his purchases, this great work was an expensive luxury. When he was in Italy in 1521 he bought the *Elegia Pulcherrima* of Platinus for fourteen dineros, when it took nine hundred of these dineros to make a ducat, and now he is paying for one work a price sufficient to buy nearly two hundred such books as the songs of Platinus. On the other hand, there are more than one of the little tracts purchased by Ferdinand for a few pence which to-day, if offered for sale, would bring singly the price of a score of the great Polyglot Bible. In November, 1523, Ferdinand was at Medina del Campo.[3] For some time now Ferdinand was employed on public business connected with the dispute between Spain and Portugal over the Moluccas. In October,

me Geradum Leeu, M.CCCC.XCII. Este libro costó en Londres 2 fenins por Junio de 1522. y el ducado de oro vale 54 penins.

Ferdinand has correctly given the value of the gold ducat in English pence of that time.

[1] *Soliloquium de Beatissima Virgine Maria*, Friburg, S. A. Este libro costó 6 fenin en Friburg a 25 Junio de 1523. y el ducado de oro vale 450 fenin.

[2] *Biblia per Cardinalis Toletani Francisci Ximenez Instantiam.* Impr. [Este ultimo tomo compluti] 1515. folio. Costaron en Alcalá de Henares al que los envie á comprar, 3 ducados á 4 de Noviembre de 1523.

Complutium was the Latin name for Alcalá de Henares.

[3] *Romance Hecho por Andres Ortiz, de los Amores de Floriseo y la Reina de Bohemia en Español.* 4. Costó en Medina del Campo 3 blancas, á 23 de Noviembre de 1523.

1524, he had his headquarters at Medina del Campo,[1] from which he made short excursions to Valladolid [2] and other towns in Old Castile. Although we do not hear of him as being in Seville, we must assume that he was more or less in that southern city. In February, 1525, he is again in the north, at Madrid [3] first and then at Salamanca.[4]

One might think that Ferdinand was a Royal despatch bearer by the manner in which he flew from country to country and from place to place.[5] We find him at Rome [6] in September, 1525, and before the close of the following month he is in Seville.[7] Here we find him in intimate communication with Fernand Perez de Oliva, who wrote a biography of Christopher Columbus, and who must have had his material largely from Ferdinand, the son. It is needless to remark that the biography does not to-day exist.

If we may believe an entry in his copy of *La Vie et Passiõ des Glorieux et Tres-Victorieux Chevaliers de nr̃e Saulues Ihsuchrist les dix Milles Martirs*, Ferdinand was in France in March, 1526,—" Este libro costó 4. dineros en Auiñon—Avignon—a. 18 Marzo de 1526. Y el ducado vale 570 dineros." This was the time he was charged with the duty of forming a commission of

[1] *Anselmi de Turremada Fratris, Doctrina de los Cristianos en Metro Castillano.* 8vo. Costó en Medina del Campo 4 maravedis, á 19 de Oetubre de 1524.

Historia de Arnalte y Lucenda, Hecha por Diego de San Pedro, Burgos, 1522, 4. Costó en Medina del Campo 11 maravedis á 19 de Noviembre de 1524.

[2] *Question de Amor, en Castellano, Salmanticæ*, 1510, folio. Costó en Valladolid 34 maravedis á 12 de Noviembre de 1524.

[3] *Libro II. de la Historia de D. Clarian de Laudanis, Traducido en Castellano por Alvaro, Fisico.* Toledo, 1522. folio. Costó en Madrid 6 reales y medio por Hebrero 1525.

[4] *La Historia de Palmerin de Oliva, Traducido de Griega en Español por Francisco Vasquez, Salamanca*, 1516, folio. Costó en Salamanea 4 reales á 17 de Marzo de 1525.

La Historia de Canamor y del Infante Turian, Burgos, 1509, 4. Costó en Salamanea 30 maravedis á 27 de Marzo de 1525.

Tractatus Astrolabii de mano eompos. in Arabieo per *Ameth* filium *Afar* et traduetus en Español per Philippum Artis Medicinæ Doet. 4. Costó en Salamanca real y medio, á de Abril de 1525.

[5] Harrisse mentions some books bought by Ferdinand at Montpellier and Avignon in 1525, but as eertainly one of them was not printed until long after that date, we are inclined to think that the figures should read 1535 instead of 1525.

[6] *Vitorie del Re de Portugallie en India et de la Presa de Malacha*, 4. Costó en Roma un cuatrin por Setiembre de 1525.

[7] *Muestra de la Lengua Castellana en el Nascimiento de Hercules, ó Comedia de Anfitrion en Español, Compuesto por Fernan Perez de Oliva*, 4. Diomele el mesmo autor en Sevilla á 27 de Noviembre 1525.

cosmographers, and there are other indications that he was in Spain in March, 1526.

From now on Ferdinand spent his time largely in Seville [1] addressing himself to his life-work, the establishment of a public library, and developing his plan for a great institution for the studying of mathematics and the science of navigation. We have already spoken of this library, and as we have followed his steps into many a book-stall, we have something of an idea of its scope and the generous subjects of his collection. A portion of the time was also given to public employment, but for the most part even this was carried on in his own beautiful Andalusian city. The famous Capitulation or lease to Portugal by Spain was executed at Saragossa, April 22, 1529; and, of course, it is to be presumed that since the terms and items were drawn up by him, Ferdinand was himself present on that occasion.

When the Emperor Charles V., was starting for Italy, Ferdinand was at Barcelona ready to join his train. There he witnessed the political wisdom of his master, who, notwithstanding the immense army under his control, the powerful ships of war, the success with which he had moved on the political chessboard of Europe, using as pieces Pope, Sovereign, and princes, was yet politic enough on that sultry day in July, 1529, to make his public entry into Barcelona, that ever turbulent city, not as King of Spain and Emperor of Germany, but as Count of Barcelona, changing the mutterings of the people into shouts of joy and fastening their allegiance more closely than ever to himself and to his heir. In the Emperor's train, then, Ferdinand embarked from this Spanish Mediterranean city on July 8, 1529, to land a few days later in the newly freed Italian Mediterranean city of Genoa.[2] Here he must have seen the great Doria the father of the Republic. It is not likely that Ferdinand was performing any important function at the travelling Court, for in September he had returned to Seville. There is nothing to indicate that Ferdinand was with the Emperor when the latter, upon his own birthday,—the day dedicated to St. Matthias, February 24 in the year 1530,—was crowned by the Pope King of Lombardy and Emperor of the Romans.

[1] *Cartilla Para Monstrar á Leer*, 4. Costó en Sevilla 8 maravedis año de 1526.

[2] *Olympo Baldassare Parthenia*, Venice, 1525. Este libro costó en Genoa 48 dineros á 30 di Agosto de 1529. y vale un ducado de oro 864 dineros.

Ferdinand visited Italy the following year, and we find him at Perugia [1] early in September, 1530, whence he departed for the Eternal City [2]; but, turning his face northward, he was at Bologna [3] and Modena [4] in November, and at Piacenza [5] in December. While Charles V. was employing his powers to have his young brother Ferdinand chosen King of the Romans, the latter's namesake of the house of Columbus departed from the Court, and we find him at Genoa [6] the last month of the year 1530, in Turin,[7] on January 11, 1531, and at Padua in April,[8] 1531. In the fall of the same year he is back in Spain, buying books at Valladolid.[9]

For several years now there are no bibliographical annotations to help us to the movements of Ferdinand. When we consider the importance of his collection, the necessity for its personal supervision, the building of his library, and the embellishment and adornment of his house and gardens, we think it safe to say that he travelled but little in foreign countries

[1] *Lamento Duna Cortigiana Ferrarese Laquale per Hauere Il Mal Franzese si Conduxe Andare in Carrecta, Compuesta* p. *Maestro Andrea Venitiano*, 8°.

" O Dio, ah Dio, ah Ciclo, o forte, al forte
O furia infernal, morbo Franeese
Chempaurito fai fugir la morte."

Este libro costó en peruso un quatrino á 4 de Setiembre de 1530, y el ducado de oro vale 420 quatrines.

[2] *Constituciones et Regulæ Cancellariæ*, 1492. Costó en Roma 6 quatrines á de 20 de Setiembre de 1530.

[3] *Nicolo da Bologna. Oratione.* Bologna, 1526. Este libro eostó en Bologna 6 quatrines en 13 de nouiembre de 1530 y el dueado de oro vale 456 quatrines.

While the title is in Italian, the text is in Latin.

[4] *Viazo—Questo Sotto Scritto Sie Tutto el Viazo de Andare in Jerusalem.* . . . Este libro eostó en Modena 1 quatrin á 28 de Nouiembre de 1530. Y el ducado de oro vale 468 quatrines.

[5] *Matutino Nel Hora del Matutino.* Pauia, A. Este libro eostó en Plazencia de lombardia, 5. quatrines á. 9 de Deciembre de 1530, y el dueado de oro vale 480 quatrines.

[6] *Cato, questo sie La Cato Disponito.* Este libro costó 15. dineros en genoua, dieiembre de 1530.

[7] *Julia Madona: Incomenza Uno Divoto Psalmo Cõ Oratione de Impetrare Gratie da Dio.* Sauone, 1521. Este libro costó 1 quarto en Turin a. 14 de Enero 1531 y el dueado de oro vale 212 quartos.

This was one of the many volumes pillaged from the Bibliotheca Columbina and sold at Paris in 1885.

La Complainte de Lescuizer. Este libro costó 3 quartos en Turin á 18 Enero de 1531, y el ducado de oro vale 212 quartos.

[8] *Oratione Devotissima di Santo Mattheo Apostolo.* Este libro eostó 1. quatrine en Padua á. 4 de Abril de 1531 y el dueado de oro uale 280 beços.

[9] *Petri de Rescentiis in Commudum Verbalium.* Costó 170 maravedis enValladolid á 29 de Noviembre de 1531.

and devoted himself to his home in Seville. The very absence of these annotations lends probability to this view. When books came to him at Seville he had his catalogue in which to enter the cost, and there was no need to inscribe the price in the book itself of his purchases. When he was away from home and bought a book, for the sake of convenience its guard-folio served the purpose of a catalogue entry, and to this habit of Ferdinand we owe our knowledge of his itineraries, and by his memoranda we follow him from city to city.

At the beginning of the year 1534 he again made a visit to the university town of Alcalá de Henares.[1]

The summer of the year 1535 saw him once more travelling in France, where he secured books at Montpellier.[2] In October and December he was at Lyons.[3]

Diego Columbus, the elder brother of Ferdinand, died near Toledo in February, 1526, but the complications relative to the rights and privileges of his heirs were only adjusted in 1536. The settlement was the result of a judgment rendered by the Cardinal Loaysa and Ferdinand Columbus, the opinion being delivered January 28, 1536, and becoming operative on September 8, 1536. Thus a portion of the days of 1535 and 1536 must have been given by Ferdinand to this laborious work. His brother's widow, Doña Maria de Toledo, came across from San Domingo to secure the rights of her children, and we may assume that this loyal member of the Columbian family used his utmost endeavours to promote the interests of his nephews and nieces. His own labours at Seville in his library were now, partially at least, assumed by Johannes Vasæus, who had come to Spain from the Low Countries, and who was studying and writing history while he acted as librarian of this magnificent collection of books.

[1] *Tabulæ Longit. et Latitud. Planetarum.* Lovanii. Este libro costó 68 mrs. en Alcalá de Henares, por Enero de 1534.

[2] *D. Haymoniis, Viri Sanctissimi. in Psalmos Explanatio.* Parisiis, 1532. Este libro costó 20 sueldos en Montpeller, á 7 de Julio de 1535 y el ducado vale 47 sueldos.

[3] *Oeuure Tres Subtille de l'Art de Arithmeticque.* Lyon, 1515. Este libro costó 76 dineros en Leon, por Octubre de 1535.

Bedæ Presbiter Opus. Basileæ, 1533. Este libro costó 18 sueldos en Leon á 6 de Diziembre de 1535 y el ducado vale 47 sueldos y medio.

It was while in this city that he received a legal paper in relation to the inheritance of Jean Antoine, Doctor of Laws, who died in his service, as he wrote on the said paper—*Yo le Rescibi en Leon de Francia.*

Ferdinand was at Barcelona [1] in the early summer of 1536, at Lerida [2] in July, and the following month at Valladolid.[3] While in this last named city he met and had personal intercourse with the Bishop, Juan de Zumarraga, who had lately come from Mexico to report on the condition of his charge. It is to this great priest that we owe the introduction of printing into the New World. The first press was carried from the city of Seville to the city of Mexico, and there set up for operation somewhere about the year 1539. It was from the printing establishment of the Crombergers in Seville, and Johannes Cromberger himself accompanied it and handled its mechanism. As one of the best printers in Spain, with his printing house not far from the Columbian Library itself, Ferdinand must have known both the first American printer, Johannes Cromberger, and his distinguished patron, Juan de Zumarraga, the Bishop of Mexico.

It was about the year 1537 that Ferdinand assisted in the exhumation of the remains of the first Admiral and of his brother Diego, then buried in the chapel of the monastery of Las Cuevas. This was pursuant to a Royal edict dated June 2, 1537, but the fulfilment of the command did not occur until some time after. In November, 1537, he received a new pension from the Emperor. He was occupied both with his great library and with this project of establishing an Imperial College for the study of mathematics and the sciences.

Ferdinand Columbus died at his home in Seville on the morning of Saturday, July 12, 1539. He was buried in the Cathedral of Seville, the only member of his family to have this

[1] *Practica Mercantivol Sermon Lemosin Composta per Joan Vatallol de la Ciutat de Mallorques, Lugduni*, 1521. Este libro eostó enquadernado 43 dineros en Barcelona, por Junio de 1536.

[2] *Suspensio Domini Julii Pape Secundi ab Omnitam in Spiritualibus Quam in Temporalibus Papali Administrationem.* Este libro eostó 2 dineros en Lerida á 2 de Julio de 1536.

[3] *Johannes de Zumarraga Universis et Singulis R. P. Ac Fratribus in Christo ex Maioreti Oppido Kl. Jan.* 1533, 4. Este libro me dio el mesmo autor en Valladolid, á 25 de Agosto de 1536.

Eleganzias Romanzadas. Este libro costó 28 mrs. en Valladolid á. de Setiembre de 1536.

Ferdinand must have remained at Valladolid until the close of the year 1536, for we find, according to M. Duro, *Colon y la Historia Póstuma*, Charles V. donated him a sum of money from the Royal revenues of Cuba,—part of whieh was to go to the library,—and this doeument is exeeuted at Valladolid, November 20, 1536.

honour. The traveller may still see his tombstone in the principal nave, a few steps in front of the choir. Of the personal appearance of Ferdinand we do not know much. His portrait had been painted at some time in his life, or we infer that it was painted from life, since the Spanish historian, Argote de Molina, in his *Aparato á la Historia de Seville*, declared that in 1592 Ferdinand's portrait hung in his studio. It is believed he was of a ruddy complexion like his father. He was tall of form, of physical proportions somewhat abnormal, and at the time of his death, notwithstanding provision had been made for a coffin of largest size, so corpulent was his body that another had to be made of still greater dimensions. He was of a most amiable character, and neither age nor bodily infirmity ruffled his spirit. He was a celibate, but he never had taken holy orders nor assumed priestly responsibilities, although he was devout and religious in principle and in practice. As we have elsewhere remarked, there was a touch of pathos in the humility with which he asked burial in the Cathedral Church and the implied expectation of the Chapter's refusal. Neither chancel nor nave in that old church of Seville has ever held among the living or among the dead a nobler, better, more generous man than Don Ferdinand Columbus, the scholar's friend.

There is sometimes a desire in the living to speak after death to those who stand by one's tomb, and Ferdinand had himself composed a verse of eight lines which, in case he was destined to be buried at sea, or a grave was found for him in a foreign land, was to be placed upon a tablet, and his friends were charged with the duty of engraving it upon the Cathedral walls:

> " Aspice Qvid Prodest, Totvm svdasse Per Orbem
> At Qve Orbem Patris Ter Peragrasse Novvm;
> Qvid Placidi Bætis Ripam Finxisse Decoram;
> Divitiasqve Genium Post habvisse Mevm,—
> Vt Tibi castalii serarem Nvmina Fontis
> Offerremqve simvl Qvas Ptolæmevs opes
> Si Tenvi Saltem Transcvrrens Mvrmvre Sexvm
> Nec Patri *Salve*, nec Mihi Dicis *Ave*."

It was a modest epitaph, the honest expression of work proposed and of labour accomplished, and the pious desire for remembrance and for prayers. But, alas! even the precaution

of composing one's own epitaph will not assure the deliverance to the world of one's message. The executors of Ferdinand instead raised to his memory this memorial, with its abundant mixture of error and mistake:

" Aqvi yaze el M. Magnifico S. D. Hernando
Colon, el qval aplico y gasto toda sv vida
y hazienda en avmento de las letras y
jvntar, y perpetvar en esta civdad todos svs
libros de todas las ciencias, qve en sv tiempo
hallo y en redvcirlo a qvatro libros fallecio
en esta civdad a 12 de Jvlio de 1539 de edad de
50 años, 9 meses, y 14 dias, fve hijo del valeroso
y memorable S.D. Christ. Colon. primero Almite
qve descvrio las Yndias, y nvevo mvndo,
en vida de los cat. R. D. Fernando y D. Ysabel de
gloriosa memoria, a 11 de Oct. de 1492 con tres
galeras [*sic*] y 90 personas, y part [io] del pverto
de Palos á descvrir las, a 3 de Agosto antes,
y bolvio á Castilla con victoria a 7 de Maio [*sic*]
d'l año sigviente y . . . torno despves otras dos
veces á poblar loqve descvrio. Fallecio en
Valladolid á 20 de Agosto [*sic*] de 1506 años.
Roga Dios por ellos."

If this epitaph was correct, and if Ferdinand, on July 12, 1539, was aged fifty years, nine months, and fourteen days, he must have been born September 28, 1488. Ortiz de Zuñiga said that Ferdinand was born *a viente y nueve de agosto como parece de papeles originales suyos que tiene nuestra Santa Iglesia*, —"on the twenty and ninth of August, as appears from the original documents on file in our church." But in the *Declaraciones del Albacea* we read:

"Porque por memorias suyas fidedignas paresze que nació en Córdova á quinze dias del mes de Agosto, dia de la Asuncion de nuestra Señora año de mill é quatrocientos é ochenta é ocho."

"As, according to his memorials, worthy of belief, it appears that he was born in Cordova on the Fifteenth day of the month of August, the Day of the Ascension of our Lady, in the year 1488."

The reader will observe that the date of the return of Columbus from his first voyage is also incorrect, as is the more important date assigned to his death at Valladolid.

By his Will[1] Ferdinand left his property, including his vast collection of books and manuscripts, to his nephew Don Luis, son of his elder brother Diego. This son Luis was his nephew and the head of that house to which Ferdinand held irregular relationship. The effects of the testator were to be sold and their proceeds devoted to the care and increase of his library. The bequest was hampered with a provision: if Don Luis did not accept this charge, the property should go to the Cathedral Chapter of Seville with the same condition, and, failing the Chapter's acceptance, they should pass, bequest and condition, to the monastery of St. Paul in the city of Seville.

Ferdinand Columbus, it must be understood, was not collecting for the mere sake of possessing. His object was to leave the world the free use of the vast collection of books his intelligence and his fortune had gathered. It was to be open to all inquiring students. There were to be established fellowships, precursors of the Chair of Bibliography still awaiting its place in modern universities. Ferdinand was himself an accomplished bibliographer. He had studied the systems pre-

[1] These were the terms of the will, not dissimilar from those we would employ to-day:

"I leave the remainder of my fortune to be applied to the eare and inerease of my library: I order that the whole of the revenues shall be annually employed for this purpose, and that if a single year shall pass without this expenditure being made, the legatee shall lose his rights and shall be deprived of the eharge of the books as well as of the revenues thereto annexed and that the legatee next in line shall sueeeed thereto.

"I direet that if by the fault of those in eharge, ten volumes are stolen or lost, he or they shall pay ten dueats for each volume, if in two years' time he or they shall not have found or replaeed them. Moreover the one in whose eharge they have been will lose his position and his guardianship of the library as well as the revenues conneeted therewith, and he will transfer without delay the eontrol of the same to the sueeeeding legatee upon the same eonditions. . . ."

"Dexo por eredero á D. Luis Colon, Almirante de las Yndias, mi sobrino, en el remaniente de mis bienes, con tal cargo é condieion que gaste cada año en aumento y conservaeion de la librería perpetuamente cien mill mrs.; é si no quiere aeetar, dexo por eredero á la fábriea de la Yglesia Mayor desta ciudad, eon tal cargo que se eonpre de mis bienes tanta renta que baste para sustenar la librería de la forma y manera que la dexo ordenado. É si no acetare al monesterio de S. Pablo de esta eiudad, el eual dicho monesterio y eada uno de los arriba qui aeetare mi hereneia haga se eumpla lo que dexo ordenado de mi librería, é compre de mi haeienda renta que bastare para aumentalla é eonservalla."

"I leave the remainder of my property to Don Luis Columbus, Admiral of the Indies, as my heir, with the eharge and condition that he shall spend eaeh year, perpetually, 100,000 maravedis in the inerease and preservation of the library: and if he does not wish to aeeept the inheritanee, I leave it to the Cathedral Chureh of this city, as my heir, with the condition that a sufficient ineome shall be appropriated from my property to sustain the library in the form and manner that I have ordered. And if it is not aecepted, I leave it to the monastery of S. Pablo of this eity, whieh said monastery and each one of those above who may aeeept my inheritance, shall eause what I have ordered in regard to my library to be fulfilled, and shall appropriate from my property a sufficient revenue to augment and preserve it."

vailing in the principal libraries of Europe, and had out of his knowledge devised a plan for indexing and classifying books which greatly facilitated their use. He had himself partially prepared a most full and instructive catalogue, and in his *Memorial for the Preservation of the Library*, he purposed leaving the world not only a large and choice selection of books, but a method of reaching their contents worthy of a modern school of the science of bibliography.

First, a catalogue alphabetically arranged according to authors and their works.

Second, a catalogue arranged under contents.

Third, a digest of the various works gathered in one book.

Fourth, a general table of subjects.

"Memorial de D. Fernando al Emperador sobre la conservacion de la Biblioteca. Appendice B.

"Memoria de la orden que llevaba Colon en su libreria.

"Reduciendo a orden alfabético todos los autores que ha habido, diciendo. Tal autor compuso tal y tal libro; poniendo todas las obras que oviere hecho, asimesmo por orden alfabético, para que con mayor facilidad sean halladas las obras y sus autores. [Memorial al Emperador.]

"Otro libro diviso por titulo de las ciencias generales, como es Theologia, Jus canonicum, Jus civile, etc, y en cada titulo de estos pone por orden alfabético todas las especies o individuos que tiene aquella ciencia, expresando los libros que hay escritos en ella. [*Ibidem.*]

"Un libro en que se dice y refiere la summa y sentencia de lo que cada libro contiene, que en efecto es un epitome ó compendio del tal libro [*Ibidem.*]

"De proposiciones ordenadas por alfabeto, segun la diversidad de las materias, en que dice: sobre tal cosa escribe sulano esto en tal parte, y sulano esto en tal. [*Ibid.*]"

"Memorandum of Don Ferdinand to the Emperor in regard to the preservation of the Library. Appendix B.

"Memorandum of the order observed by Columbus in his Library. [This memorandum was drawn up after the death of Don Ferdinand and when the library had not yet been transported to the monastery of St. Paul; that is to say between July 1539 and April 1544.]

"Reducing to alphabetical order all the authors which he possessed, saying: such an author composed such and such a book: placing all the works which he had, likewise in alphabetical order, so that the works and their authors may be found with greater facility. [Memorandum to the Emperor.]

"Another book divided into titles of the general sciences, such as Theology, Jus canonicum, Jus civile, and under each of these titles he

places in alphabetical order all the sub-divisions or sub-titles of that science, giving under these sub-divisions the proper books. [*Ibidem.*]

"A book in which is told and related the sum and substance of what each book contains, which, in effect, is an epitome or compendium of such book. [*Ibidem.*]

"Of propositions alphabetically arranged according to the variety of the matters. . . ."

In his Will he speaks of a procedure to be followed in adding to the library, which some have supposed was suggested by the method he used himself: the books which his heirs might purchase in six cities—in Rome, Venice, Nuremberg, Antwerp, Paris, and Lyons—should all be gathered in the last-named city, Lyons, and from there be despatched to Seville. He probably mentioned these cities simply as centres of the Continental book-trade of those days, Rome and Venice for Italy, Nuremberg for Germany, Antwerp for the Low Countries, and Paris and Lyons for France. A large number of his books came from French dealers, and therefore it was natural to have them brought together at Lyons, carried down the river to Marseilles, and thence to the Guadalquivir River and Seville. It is to be regretted that we have no account of his dealings with the printers, the booksellers, and the binders of his day. The illustrious visitors to Spain from foreign countries all wended their way to this library, and many of them were entertained by Ferdinand Columbus and, in some instances, as in the cases of Nicolas Claynaerts and Johannes Vasæus, they became inmates of his family circle. The former of these distinguished men frequently referred to this library in his letters published at Antwerp in 1566. And if this interest was true of the foreigners, what a source of instruction must this collection have afforded native and adopted Spaniards![1] Peter Martyr, Oviedo, Gomara, Sepulveda, and his greater antagonist, our own Bartolomé de las Casas, the fighting Christian and Christian fighter.

It is not a pleasing spectacle to see a generous bequest made in a mean manner. Many of the richest givers have bestowed

[1] We do not speak of other characters equally distinguished in their day, but whose names in our day are no longer on the lips of men: Pedro Mexia, who wrote *Silva de Varia Leccion*, printed at Seville, 1543; Juan de Mal Lara; Cieza de Leon, *Parte Primera de la Chronica del Peru*, Seville, 1553; Geronimo Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragon*, 1562; Florian de Ocampo, *Crónica General de España*, Zamora, 1533; and many others might be mentioned as debtors to the library and as interested in its riches.

property with the mean hand of a niggard. How large a part of giving, particularly testamentary giving, is ignorant, misguided, and harmful! Men leave fortunes to build libraries that their names may be read on the corner-stone. The executors of the will may fill the building with rubbish or a smattering of published lore. The skill of the builder is not so important as the wisdom of the librarian. Ferdinand was generous with his collection and wise in the method of his bestowal. He offered the Emperor to give it to any city in Spain which that monarch might designate, and to add to his collection books published everywhere in Europe. This offer was not accepted, and its future lay in the hand of fate. When Ferdinand died, his books had passed a mark mentioned by him in a letter to his nephew, 15,370 in number, an immense collection to have been made by one person alone and unaided. When we speak of large libraries, we forget the number of bequests, the long linè of librarians, the multitude of purchases, the absorption of entire collections. In those days the market was not flooded with cheap, common, and worthless books. Writer and publisher were serious in intent. The press was fruitful, but had not yet come to transmit the germs of intellectual disease.

It is probable that the books left by Ferdinand were not fewer than twenty thousand at the time of his death. This immense treasure was, then, offered to his nephew and the head of the house of Columbus, Don Luis Columbus, third Admiral of the Indies. Don Luis and his active and admirable mother, Doña Maria, were in San Domingo, and time passed without any signs of acceptance of the charge on the part of Luis. In August, 1540, the Cathedral Chapter applied for a judicial decision as to the inheritance, and, September 13, 1540, an order was made to Don Luis asking for his decision. Years passed and no answer came from him. He was, perhaps, as some think, awaiting his majority. Born in 1521 or 1522, his twenty-fifth birthday came only in 1546 or 1547. However this may be, it was by a letter of April 7, 1544, that his mother, acting for him, authorised the third provisional heir, the monastery of St. Paul, to transfer the books into their convent. After the manner of the time, the authorisation of Don Luis, or rather of Doña Maria, was posted on the principal door of the library. This authorisation did not in so many words bestow

the library on the monastery. On the contrary, it distinctly said that the monastery was to be its custodian. The purpose, however, was evidently to lodge it there permanently. At all events, there was wild alarm in the Chapter House, and judiciary proceedings were begun a week later, April 15, 1544, to secure the bequest for the Cathedral. The suit was speedily successful, and on July 25, 1544, the property was ordered to be placed in the hands of the Chapter of the Cathedral of Seville, which immediately proceeded to appoint Rodrigo de Navarretc—name to be more illustrious many generations afterwards—to be Librarian-in-Chief, with the paltry salary of four thousand maravedis. But the decision of a court is often followed by delay in its execution, and years followed before the books were all transferred. A public body, like an individual, may be wondrous hot while on the chase through the mazes of a court, and, like him, grow cool to carelessness when once the game is in its bag. The monks of St. Paul were obliged, as late as the year 1552, to complain that the Will of Ferdinand was not obeyed, and before the Court at Granada they obtained an order requiring the Chapter at once, within six days, to remove to its care *all* the books and manuscripts belonging to the library. It had rested in the monastery of St. Paul for eight years. This salon is now put to public civil use, and the Legislature of the province now meets within its walls. The library, known from 1539 to 1544 as *Bibliotheca Fernandina*, is henceforth to be called *Bibliotheca Columbina*. Alas! It no longer filled the wishes of the testator. It was closed. In the year 1592 Argote de Molina exclaimed in bitterness: "The Library of Ferdinand Columbus is closed, and, although gathered for the purpose of study and work, it serves positively no person and no purpose." It was first installed in the Moorish wing of the Cathedral, in a great apartment described as situated beneath the Nave del Lagarto or Lizard Vault, so called because of the carved gigantic lizard on the ceiling. This was called the Gallery of the Orangery,—*Galeria del Patio de los Naranjos*. The upper story of this gallery was divided into two parallel aisles, separated by a thick wall, one opening on the street and one on the Orangery. This thick wall had been erected in the year of the Hegira, 593—1215 A.D.—by Almarnor Jacob, King of the Moors in Spain. The aisles or galleries did not communicate.

Which held the library? Juan de Loaisa, having charge of the repairs in the year 1678, reported that the collection was then upon the same shelves which it had occupied for a hundred and twenty-six years. On the other hand, a Spanish writer, Pablo de Espinosa de los Monteros, in a work entitled *Teatro de la Santa Iglesia Metropolitana de Sevilla*, printed at Seville, 1635, says:

"Encima de las Capillas de la Nave del Lagarto, está la librería desta Santa Iglesia, en una pieza que tiene de largo ciento y cincuenta piés, y de ancho veynte, y de alto treinta. A la parte de Oriente tiene seys ventanas con vidrieras, y está toda rodeada de estantes de lindas maderas de quinze piés de alto con veynte mil cuerpos de libros."

"Over the Chapels of the Nave del Lagarto, is the library of this holy Church, in a room which is one hundred and fifty ft. long, twenty ft. wide, and thirty ft. high. There are six glass windows on the eastern side, and the room is all surrounded with shelves fifteen ft. high made of beautiful woods, containing twenty thousand volumes."

The only one of the two galleries having six windows is the one facing the street,—one or two are since walled,—and this corresponds to the description given by Espinosa. Rafael Tabares, who for fifty years was connected with the library, said to Gallardo that "la Biblioteca Columbina existió primero en la pieza que llaman ahora [en 1823] de las velas ó tapices"; and Harrisse, who knew well the library, declares that this description is exact, and that since 1852 certain exterior ornaments, such as were used on *fête* days, were placed in the salon opening on the street. It may then be said that this great library, so interesting to the American, was first installed in the gallery or salon opening on the street, and that in 1678, when the roof required repairs and other changes were to be made, it was placed in the salon opening on the Orangery. The visitor who will travel to this shrine will have some interest in knowing he is worshipping the real relics.

We may call Johannes Vasæus the first librarian of Ferdinand's library. His duties had ended, however, sometime before the latter's death, and when that event occurred Juan Perez was installed as librarian. He is mentioned in the Will: "*Juan Perez dwells in my house.*" When the library was shifted to the monastery of St. Paul it is probable it was no longer open

to the public or enjoyed the sympathetic care of a librarian. The Chapter of the Cathedral appointed Rodrigo de Navarrete, when, in 1544, it was in the receipt of the judicial decision, but whether he was retained when the Chapter actually came into possession of the books we do not find recorded. Juan de Loaisa flourished about the year 1680, and was the most famous of the long line of the good, bad, and indifferent care-takers of this great collection. We know not where to place him in this list, but we do know that he found it necessary to report, in an inventory which he made April 11, 1684, to the Dean and Chapter, that:

"Caben solo 4 ó 5000 cuerpos de libros no mas, esto es, tomos ó volúmenes: pero tambien es certissimo lo que dice el mismo D. Fernando Colon y afirman las historias que esta libreria pasaba de 20,000 libros."

"It contains only 4 or 5000 books, no more; that is, tomes or volumes; but what Don Ferdinand himself says and the histories affirm is also very certain, that this library exceeded 20,000 books."

Thus we see that the ravages had begun long before the bookseller of to-day prepared his catalogues. After Loaisa's death by the plague in the year 1707, the library seems to have been absolutely abandoned. It is said the little children in that quarter of Seville were suffered to play within its galleries and to amuse themselves with the miniatures which adorned the precious manuscripts. One eye-witness testifies to seeing books and manuscripts thrown aside and decaying in the gutters. In the eighteenth century Rafael Tabares was appointed librarian, and in the year 1783 he made a very complete inventory. Extreme caution must be had in estimating the losses, for frequently in cataloguing several pamphlets or their manuscript originals would be numbered under one item. In the year 1832 José Fernandez de Velasco, the most famous of the modern Columbian librarians, was appointed to this position, and entered at once on a task of building up the library So incessant were his labours and his appeals for ecclesiastical and civil help, that in the month of February, 1859, the library had extended to great proportions and occupied additional space, the middle wall between the galleries being demolished. Fernandez died in the year 1879, and, as often happens, the pendulum swung from that point on the arc marked *care* to that

marked *indifference*. At the time of his death there were between two thousand and three thousand of the original Ferdinand collections remaining. It was probably not in his time that the shrinkage took place of from five thousand in 1680 to less than three thousand in 1879. Indeed, such a loss would be inconsistent with the care and love he bestowed on his books. Therefore we assume the loss was prior to 1832.

To-day, out of the 15,370 books and manuscripts bequeathed by Ferdinand, comparatively few remain to tell of his generosity. But how was this collection dispersed in modern times? Ferdinand Columbus said sometime before his death that he had collected 15,370 books. Espinosa, as we have just seen, said there were 20,000 books on the shelves. Of these, some may have belonged originally to the Chapter itself. Where are these books to-day? It is true that there is a large library in the city of Seville and that it goes by the name of *Bibliotheca Columbina*, but of the original *Bibliotheca Columbina* or *Bibliotheca Ferdinanda* only a fragment—a pitiful handful—remains. These 15,370 books were all bought before the year 1539, the year of Ferdinand's death. Of these there remain probably not more than 2000 items.

A library is no better than its librarian. When its attendants and its overseers are ignorant or indifferent, it languishes and its books disappear. There were times when the Columbian Library was in wise and efficient hands. There were other times when there were permitted ravages such as the nobler animal which lives in and on books never could produce. When and how these books disappeared no one can tell. The dispersion of a portion only can be recounted. One day in the latter part of the year 1884, a Paris collector of rare and ancient books received from Spain a lot of books which were offered him for sale. These books had all been printed previous to the year 1539, and in almost every instance there had been removed by the knife or by chemicals the mark of previous ownership, in many cases the guard-folio being rubbed where there had once been inscriptions. One, however, had the stamp and hall-marks of the *Bibliotheca Columbina*, and happily fell under the vigilant eye of Henry Harrisse, who carried to the public his discovery and uttered his cry of shame. By this time another and still another lot, and still others—parcel after parcel, package after

package—arrived in Paris, and its precious atoms were spread on the narrow shelf that lines the left bank of the river Seine and which forms the longest library in the world. The Spanish Government was aroused. In *one lot* brought into Paris for sale in November, 1884, there were over three hundred of these precious books, once the property of Ferdinand and all collected by his careful hand. There was one bookseller, actually a Spaniard and actually a bookseller of Seville, who had the audacity to print a list of books exclusively from the famous library and which he offered for sale. Harrisse only pointed at her ministers one finger of shame. The world pointed countless fingers. A member of the Cortes demanded an inquiry. The minister within whose province those matters lay replied. The bequest was to a religious order. The Government, the civil Government, the State was not responsible. Then came the answer that the Government, the civil Government the State had driven out the old owner, the religious order. Does not the State inherit where there is no owner, and does not the State become responsible for what it inherits? But the damage was done. The loss was irretrievable. It is true that some Spanish book-stalls were forced to yield their contents to the State and a few books belonging to the library were thus restored; but the majority—the great majority, the bulk—may be said to be for ever lost.

But there still remain in the famous library the seven bibliographical gems which were once in the hands of the first Admiral,—books whose margins transmit to us to-day his thoughts, his sentiments, his beliefs, and his hopes. In the midst of the devastation which overtook the famous library we may be grateful that these were spared. And these seven books we will discuss at length in the following pages.

CHAPTER CXXIII

THE HANDWRITING—*Continued*

THIRTY-THREE of these manuscript pieces bear the signature of Columbus in one form or another.

Fifteen are signed with his name and with both of his peculiar monograms:

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
Xp̃o FERENS.

Eight are signed with his marine title and with his large monogram:

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
el Almirante.

Four are signed with his name and with his large monogram:

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
Xp̃o FERENS.

Four are signed simply:

Xp̃o ferens.

The reader will notice that when the Admiral signs simply his name, the participial portion seems to be in small letters.

One, No. XXXIII., is signed Xp̃o FERENS, with the large monogram and in addition his titles of "el Almirante," "Viso Rey," and "Gobernador General."

One is signed with his marine title, "el Almirante," and both his large and small monograms.

Columbus made use of two monograms in connection with his ordinary signature, the most important of which consists of seven letters.

The significance of these seven capital letters in the monogram has never been satisfactorily settled. Columbus attached especial importance to this monogram, and when the Majorat was instituted he provided that his heirs and successors should for ever employ its peculiar form.

"Don Diego, my son, or any other who shall inherit this entail, after inheriting and coming into possession of the same, shall sign with my signature which I now employ which is an X with an S over it and an M with a Roman A over it and over that an S and then a Greek Y with an S over it, preserving the relations of the lines and the punctuation." [1]

A cross was generally marked by Columbus at the head of any piece of paper on which he was to write. The superstitious were in the habit of using this cross to drive away evil spirits. With Columbus it was a pure act of devotion. The mysterious monogram, when employed, is always at the bottom of his writing. In one holograph writing in the possession of the House of Berwick and Alba [2] is an impression in wax of a seal bearing these seven letters, and underneath a terrestrial globe, the whole somewhat injured by time.

A clue to the meaning of the combination of letters in his large monogram has been sought in the Latin sentence with which Ferdinand says his father frequently began his writings: "*Jesus cum Maria sit nobis in via*": "*May Jesus and Mary be with us in our way.*"

These words, with the possible exceptions of the name *Jesus* being interpreted into the Greek *Χριστος*, and of the name *Maria*, do not aid in deciphering the monogram. It will be

[1] The Spanish words are *Con sus Rayas y Virgules:* with their lines and commas. We have given the phrase the interpretation which to us seems most natural.

[2] *Autografos de Cristóbal Colon y Papeles de América, los Publica la Duquesa de Berwick y de Alba Condesa de Siruela.* Folio, Madrid, 1892.

When A. Jal, in 1834, examined the Genoa example of the *Codice Diplomatico* he said he saw "back of the frontispiece the seal which Columbus used when after his discovery of America, he was made an Admiral." (Jal, De Paris à Naples, Paris, 1836.) No such seal is now found in the Codex.

observed that the letter S in the first line is inclosed in two periods, thus, .S.; the first and third letters only in the second line are likewise inclosed each in two periods, thus:

.S. A .S.

while there are no periods whatsoever in the third line. This employment of periods or stops, together with the order mentioned by Columbus, has led most writers to regard the second line as subordinate and accessory to the third line. Beginning with the bottom line and reading upward, we interpret the monogram:

S [ancta]

S A S
O U
T I H
S P
I R E
P A S
O
X M Y

CHRISTUS, MARIA SANCTA, JOSEPHUS

and we incline to this interpretation. This would account for the absence of a period after the letter A, indicating that it was to be followed by another word suggested by the letter immediately over it, an S which is supplied with the period necessary to the completion of the name *Maria Sancta*, or, as we would say, *Holy Mary*. Spotorno, seeking to connect the subscription monogram more closely with the old form of subscription,

JESUS CUM MARIA SIT NOBIS IN VIA,

interprets the initial .S. in the first or uppermost line as an imperative prayer, reading the whole:

SALVA-ME, CHRISTUS, MARIA, JOSEPHUS
Save me, O Christ! O Maria! O Joseph!

Among the interpretations—some of which are forced and some of which are impossible—are found the following:

SERVVS
SVM ALTISSIMI SALVATORIS
XRISTE MARIA YESU
I am the servant of the Most High Saviour,
O Christ, Mary, Jesus!

SALVET-ME
SALVATOR ADJVVET SVCCVRAT
XSTVS MARIA YOSEPHUS
The Saviour shall save, aid, succour me;
O Christ, Mary, Joseph!

SALVE
SANCTA ALMA SANCTISSIMI
CHRISTI MATER ΥΤΩ ΧΡΙΣΤΩ FERENS
Hail, Holy Mother, bearer of the Most Blessed Son Christ!

SERVVS
SVPPLEX ALTISSIMI SALVATORIS
CHRISTVS MARIA YOSEPH
The humble servant of the Most High Saviour,
O Christ, Mary, and Joseph!

SERVIDOR
SUS ALTEZAS SACRAS
CHRISTO MARIA YSABEL
The servant of their Most Sacred Majesties
Christ, Mary, and Isabella.

SALVO
SANCTUM ALTISSIMUM SEPULCRUM
XRISTE MARIA JESUS
I am to save the Most Holy Sepulchre,
Oh Christ, Mary, and Jesus!

SUM
SEQVAX AMATOR SERVVS
XRISTI MARIÆ YOSEPHI
I am the follower, adorer, servant
of Christ, Mary, and Joseph.

SARACENOS
SVBIVGAT AVERTAT SVMMOVEAT
XSTUS MARIA YOSEPHUS
The three-fold power of Christ, Mary, and Joseph shall subjugate, turn away, and remove the Saracens.

This last interpretation is offered by those who remember the purpose of Columbus to devote his energies and fortune to the subjugation of the Moslems and the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre. It is a strange fact that we have preserved to us no signed writing of Columbus prior to his discovery. The monogram would seem to have been adopted subsequent to that event, for in the letter written to Luis de Santangel, announcing the discovery, he signed himself El Almirante and that alone, using the title for the first time When the letter to Gabriel Sanchez was translated into Latin, it read:

CHRISTOFOR? COLOM OCEANE CLASSIS PREFECT?
Christopher Columbus, Admiral of the Ocean Fleet.

In addition to the seven-lettered monogram, Columbus generally used another,[1] which he placed to the left and below his signature:

This was intended, doubtless, for the name of *Jesus*, the J and S being interwoven. It occurs in not less than sixteen of the pieces. The lower left-hand corner, where it always appears, in some letters is torn away, and perhaps it was originally placed there in them also.

The real study of the handwriting of Columbus begins when we turn to the printed books or manuscript volumes in which occur notes written by the hand of some careful and earnest reader. At the very beginning we must recall the fact stated by Ferdinand Columbus that his father could write in such a hand as would obtain for him a means of livelihood.[2] In other words, he could write like a professional scribe, and all scribes adopt a uniform writing resembling, each form of itself, a font of letters of peculiar type. This regularity of writing in any

[1] See this cipher as employed by Columbus in our No. VIIId., where it is particularly distinct and clear.

[2] " . . . e di tal carattere di lettera, che con solo quello si poteva guadagnare il pane."
" . . . and his handwriting was such that he was able to earn his living by means of that alone."

one person's hand affords beauty of appearance in the manuscript, ease in its deciphering by the reader, and mechanical facility in rapid and uniform production by the scribe himself. It thus comes that some writers have two or more distinct styles of handwriting, a thing common to many writers in many times, as, for instance, to Leonardo da Vinci, Sir Francis Bacon, Sir Philip Francis, and William Makepeace Thackeray.[1] It is also to be observed that the handwriting of a man changes with advancing years. Compare the hand of a man past fifty years with his writing at thirty, and, while there are similarities here and there, the writing as a whole presents marked differences. Columbus suffered much from gout or rheumatism, and in a letter to his son, after the return from his fourth voyage, declares:

"My infirmity does not admit of my writing except at night, since the daytime deprives my hands of strength."

A further observation is that a man adapts his style of writing to the space before him. For instance, he will write a larger hand on his letter paper than upon the narrow margin of a printed book. If the annotation upon a margin is

[1] Leonardo da Vinci adopted a strange style for his best hand, a specimen of which is in the Author's collection of autographs. He wrote words in square characters from right to left, inverting them so that to read his writing a mirror was an essential feature at one end of the correspondence.

Bacon sometimes used the running German hand of the early sixteenth century, but when he had occasion to write to the King his writing was in a diminutive Italian character like his signature.

Sir Philip Francis is an example of a man adopting a second style of handwriting, which, while preserving those personal characteristics common to the man himself, is a great improvement in beauty and regularity over his ordinary hand. And here, *en passant*, we may call absurd the notes of late so frequently appearing in the press of America to the effect that the authorship of Junius is no longer to be attributed to Sir Philip Francis, since two letters have been discovered written and signed by Junius during a period when Francis was known to have been absent from England. If the references are to the letters we think they are, from having had them in our own hands, we can positively assert they are *not* in the hand of *the Junius*. They are, it is true, signed *Junius*, but they were, like many others, attempts to gain a hearing in an imitated voice—rather than hand—easily detected. Any person at all acquainted with autographs will discern the difference between the real and false Junius. The best proof of all is that these reputed lately found letters did not deceive the publisher Woodfall. It must be remembered that the Junius hand was not adopted for the use of that character alone. The reader will recall the letter to the famous Belle of Bath.

As for the two hands of Thackeray, they are well known to all collectors. In this instance again, the second or adopted hand is the more beautiful.

important, he will take unusual pains to write legibly, approaching the character of small, type-like letters, and type-like letters are either round or square, not angular or irregular. Moreover, in writing on the margin of books, one is unconsciously led to imitate somewhat the printed type.

As we have said, the Italian Government, under the auspices of the Minister of Public Instruction, caused to be made a most elaborate and scientific examination of the handwriting of Christopher Columbus, and this work was under the direction of Signor Cesare de Lollis, who availed himself of the assistance of two experts, L. T. Belgrano and M. Stagliano, both members of the Royal Commission. The result of their labours was included in a report, dated Rome, October 5, 1892, and shortly after published under the title *Autografi di Cristoforo Colombo*, and also in a supplement issued two years afterward. For purposes of examination, the writing, or alleged writing, of Columbus has been divided into classes or series.

Series A includes twenty-four of the forty-two letters or documents we have previously given. Since the great Italian work was issued other pieces have been discovered, and all have been arranged in what we believe to be a chronological sequence. This is the important series, since the writings which compose it are undisputed, all being in the evident hand of Columbus except No. XXXVIIII., which, however, bears his signature. These, then, are relied upon as witnesses in establishing the maker of certain other writings, for the most part brief notes and *postillæ*, found as described in the other series.

Series B contains the holograph annotations of Columbus found on the guard-folio and the margins of the *Historia Rerum Ubique Gestarum*,[1] composed by Æneas Sylvius, or, as he was

[1] "Pii. II. Pontificis Maximi. *Historia Rervm Vbique Gestarvm*. Cvm Locorvm Descriptione non Finita Asia Minor Incipit. [Colophon on recto of 1 [10]] Pii. ii. Ponti. maximi historie rerum ubiq; geſtarũ prima pars finitur: & impreſſioni Venetiis dedita: per Iohannem de colonia ſociumq; eius Iohannem manthen de Gherretzem anno milleſimo. CCCCLXXVII."

On the verso of this folio is a Register.

This book was probably with Columbus on his fourth voyage, since we find him quoting from it in his famous letter dated July 7, 1503. The reader will find on the recto of the last leaf of signature A an account of the nation *Messagetæ*, and Columbus seems to think this same people may have been found, expressing some doubt, however, since there were no signs of the horses caparisoned with saddles and bridles of gold.

called in Italian, Eneo Silvio Piccolomini, who for six years sat upon the Pontifical throne as Pius II.

This series includes the whole of the famous Toscanelli letter, the important passage relative to the presence of Columbus in Lisbon in the year 1485, when Dr. Josephus reported to the King concerning Guinea, besides many geographical and scientific notes.

Series C includes the notes found in a printed edition of *Imago Mundi*,[1] by Petrus Aliacus. It is on the margin of the folio which begins chapter viii., *De Quantitate Terre Habitabilis*, that is found the important passage relative to the maker of the note having been at Lisbon when Bartholomew Diaz returned from his voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, and perhaps the maker's participation in that discovery.

Series D contains marginal annotations to the Latin abridgment of Marco Polo's[2] book.

[1] *Tractatus Varii, scilicet Imago Mundi, De Legibus et Sectio, De Correctione Kalendarii, De Vero Ciclo Lunari, De Concordantia Astronomiæ Veritatis, cum Theologia et cum Historica Narratione.*

Prætor hos opuscula quædam I. Gersonis.

This edition of the *Imago Mundi* is undated and bears no colophon to indicate its press. It is, however, in the type of Johannes de Westphalia, whose press was at work in Louvain from 1473, when he is thought to have printed for Martens d'Alost, until the year 1496. The edition may be recognised by its having forty-one lines to a full page. Although the author, Petrus Aliacus or Pierre d'Ailly, as he was named in French, is called "easily the most learned among his contemporaries," the present work is simply a compilation from other writers, notably Roger Bacon. It is from this book that many have accused Columbus of drawing his only knowledge of Aristotle, Pliny, Ptolemy, and later writers. We read in *Libro de Profecias:*

"Ya dije que para la ejecucion de la impresa de las Indias, no me aprovecho razon, ni matematica, ni mapa mundos": "I have already said that in the execution of my undertaking of the Indies, I have not availed myself of reason, or of mathematics, or of maps of the world."

No one should interpret this literally. It was indited when the aged Admiral was broken in mind and body and when he was simply trying to refer his success to the purposes of Deity working out through his humble instrumentality the prophecies of old.

[2] From a letter to Henry Harrisse (see *Notes on Columbus*, p. 218) by Señor Lemandez, formerly the librarian of the Columbian library at Seville, we learn that the title of the book here in question is:

Marcus Paulus de Venecia de Consuetudinibus et Condicionibus Orientalium Regionum.

The learned librarian was probably deficient in the quality of exactness, but his description enables us to identify the edition with Hain's 13244.

"*Incipit prologus in libro domini Marci Pauli de Venetiis de consuetudinibus et conditionibus orientalium regionum.*"

In fine:

Explicit liber domini Veneciis. Deo Gracias.

Series E comprises holograph annotations found on the margins of the *Natural History* of Pliny, translated into Italian by Christopher Landino, and printed at Venice in 1489.[1]

Series F contains many annotations in the hand of Christopher Columbus found in the manuscript work, *Libro de las Profecias*, which occupied the thoughts of the aged Admiral toward the end of his days.

The body of the work is probably largely in the hand of Father Don Gaspar Gorricio, the Carthusian monk with whom he corresponded, and whose semi-legal services were employed for the Admiral both at Seville and at the Court.[2]

Series G consists of holograph notes scattered on the margins of an edition of Plutarch's *Lives*, translated into the Castilian tongue by the historian Alfonso de Palençia, and printed in Seville July 2, 1491.

Series H is the single holograph line with the monogram signature of Columbus, which has only lately come to light, having

Quarto, 74 folios, the verso of 74 being blank, signatures from a^1—k^3.

It has neither date, place, nor name of printer.

Proctor, 8936, reports three copies in the British Museum and refers this edition to the press of Gerardus Lecu at Gouda.

Campbell in his *Typographie Néerlandaise*, No. 1434, refers this edition to the press of Gerardus Leeu at Antwerp, *Circa* 1485. He says this edition has also been attributed to the press of Martins.

There is not any doubt about the press from which this book eame, and we ean confidently say it was printed by Gerardus Leeu, but whether from the press which he established at Gouda in 1477 and which he continued until 1485, or in Antwerp, to which city he removed his press in 1485, we cannot affirm. The best bibliographers have accepted the date of 1484 and assigned the printing to the Gouda press. A Gcrman edition eame from the press of Friedrich Creusner at Nuremberg in 1477 (Hain, 13245; Proctor, 2137.) and an Italian edition was printed at Venice by Zoanne Baptista da Scssa Milanese, June 13, 1496 (Hain 13243; Proctor 5590).

The undated edition belonging to Columbus must have been earlier than the Italian, but not so old as the German. If Columbus read this book, and his notes certainly imply its perusal, he could not have identified, from the description of Marco Polo, the wild coast of Veragua with the country of the Great Khan, nor the islands of the West Indies with those of Asia, the meanest of which was rich in civilisation and bustling with the activities of commerce.

[1] This is No. 13107 in Hain and No. 5156 in Proctor's *Index to Early Printed Books* in the British Museum. It is folio in form and is printed in Roman characters. It is from the press of Bartholomeus de Zanis and is dated September 12, 1489.

[2] *Las Vidas de Plutarco*, the first Spanish edition of Plutarch, was from the press of Paulus de Colonia in the eity of Seville, and with him worked the firm of printers sometimes ealled the *Three Associates*, Johannes Pegnizer de Nuremberg, Magnus Alemanus, and Thomas Alemanus,—*todos son quadernos*. The present book is folio in form, in two volumes, double column, 351 folios, Gothic charaeters—*se cabarõ de imprimir a dos dias del mes de Julio, de MCCCCXCI. años.*

been found on the first folio of the 1478 Ptolemy.[1] We have placed this piece in our chapter cxxi. as No. xxxx.

The possession by Columbus of this book gives us a thrill of pleasure, for we like to think this man was *au courant* with all that had been written and published about the world's geography. It is interesting as showing whence came his knowledge of Ptolemy's location of the island of Thyle in latitude 63° north. The last degree of northern latitude shown on this map is marked 63°, and its parallel cuts the island of Thyle.

Series A presents us with different types of the Admiral's handwriting connected by common characteristics. Perhaps the type with which we are most familiar is that found in Letters XVIII. and XVIIII., both of which have been many times reproduced in fac-simile, particularly during the last decade of years. In this type we notice first a marked angularity in the entire writing, with an inclination of the letters toward the right; the small letter *r* formed by two joints diverging from the bottom to the top, of which the left joint, instead of being more pronounced than the right, as it should be, rises not so high and goes off horizontally to the left, like the *r* in the third word of the third line of Letter XVIII.; the very peculiar small *e*, unlike that in any other writing, devoid of any suggestion of a curve, being formed by two lines, one horizontal, the

[1] "Clavdii Ptolemæi Alexan
Drini Philosophi Geograph
Iām Arnoldvs Bvckinck e
Germania Rome Tabvlis Æ
Neis in Pict Vris Formatam
Impressit

"Sempiterno Ingenii Artifi
Ciqve Monvmento, Anno
Dominici Natalis.M. CCCC.
LXXVIII. VI. Idvs Octobris.
Sedente Sixto. IIII. Pont.
Max. Anno Eivs. VIII."

Bibliographically, this *Rome* edition is the most rare with the single exception of the *Stobnicza* Ptolemy printed at Cracow in 1512. This edition of 1478 is the first to contain maps,—the reader doubtless knows well that the so-called 1462 edition is simply an error of date. The maps are 27 in number and are engraved on copper. In passing we may remark that this 1478 Ptolemy is one of the first two books to contain copper engravings and that it is the only book known to have issued from the press of Arnoldus Buckinck at Rome.

The editor, Domitius Calderinus, carefully collated several Latin manuscripts with a very ancient copy which had been corrected by Gemistus. Copies are in the Lenox, Carter-Brown, Ayres, and Thacher libraries. The Author has reproduced the map of the world found in this edition in his *Continent of America*.

other running down from the left to the right, but the two not connected, like the *e* in the fifth word of line 16 in Letter No. XVIII.; the long *s* reaching below the line as far as the lower half of an *f*; and, finally, the marks of abbreviation, using lines almost straight instead of the usual curved ones. Attention may also be called to the manner of making the small letters *b*, *g*, *h*, *p*, *p*, *t*, *v*, and the peculiar mark like the Arabic numeral 2 placed under the cedilla, as in lines 2, 3, 9, 10, and 14 of Letter No. XVIIII.

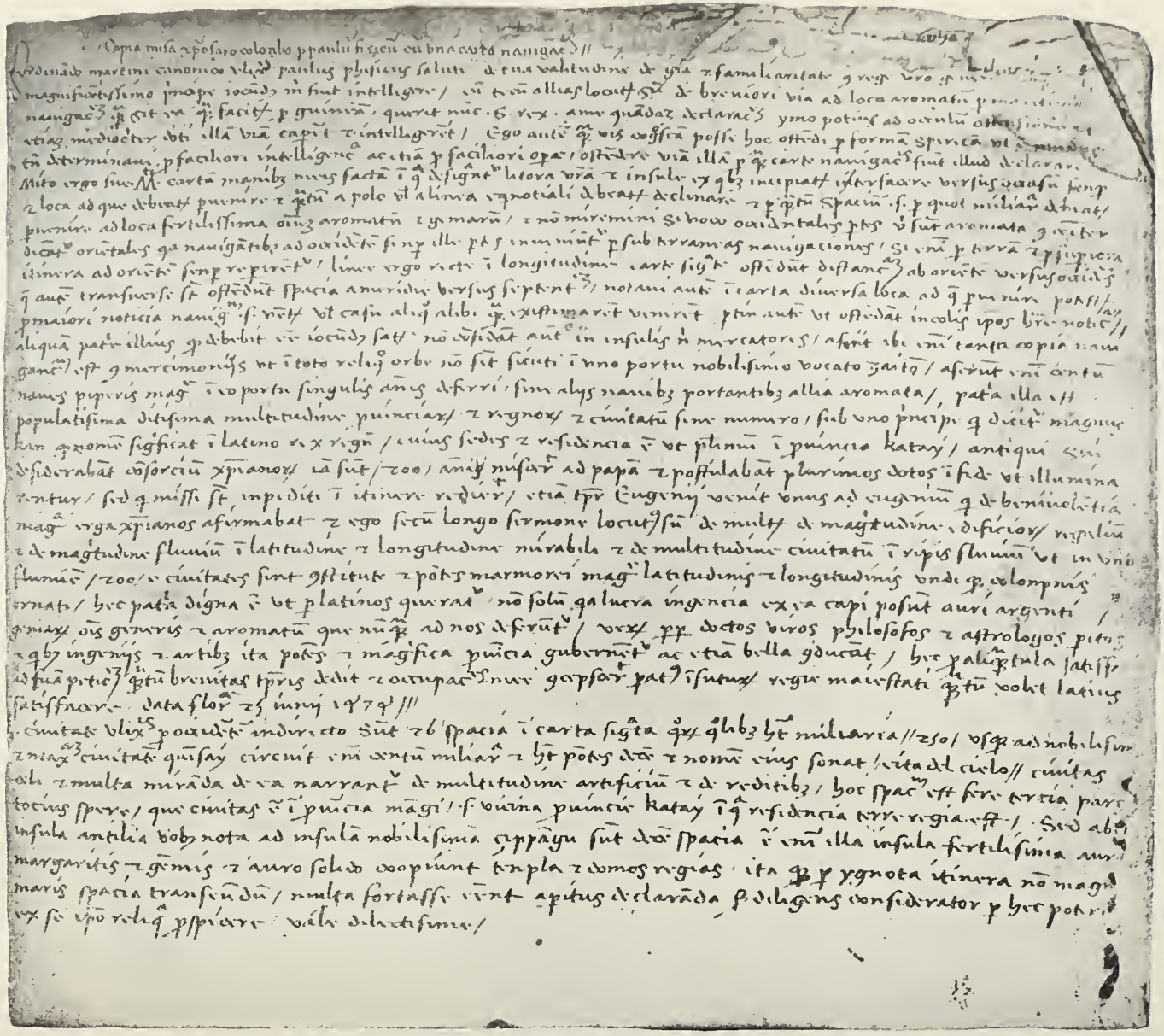
If, now, the reader will apply these idiosyncrasies in holography to the different letters and documents in Series A, although he will be struck with the want of uniformity in the style of writing, he will for himself determine the hand which wrote them, and will be able to assign all of them to the hand of Christopher Columbus, except No. XXXIX., which is in the hand of Diego de Peñalosa, the scribe who wrote the *Book of Privileges*. At first sight, for example, No. III. does not seem at all like No. XVIIII., but when the peculiar letters are sought one finds them in both pieces. When No. III. is compared with No. VIII., the reader may be willing to admit their similarity after and including line 29 of the second leaf, while declining to accept the lines going before. The line of demarcation seems very plainly marked between the different hands, and yet, in our judgment, they form two types of the same individual hand. Compare, for instance, the word *ansy* in line 29 with the same word in line 19 above. Are they not clearly in the same hand? Notice the peculiar use of a mark like the Arabic numeral 2, indicating the cedilla in the word *çerca* in line 9, in the word *calçado* in line 11, and in the word *alteçias* in line 21 of the same folio; and then notice the use of that peculiar cedilla in Letters No. XVIII. and No. XVIIII. We mention these last two holograph pieces, the one written to Nicolò Oderigo and the other to the Governors of the Bank of St. George, because most readers have formed their ideas of the handwriting of Columbus from these two letters. Here, already, are three different types, denoting to the indifferent observer three separate hands, yet which on closer examination appear to be simply variations of the same personality. The presence of discrepancies and differences amounts to nothing in the presence of similarities in such peculiarly formed letters as *e*, *g*, *h*,

p, *r*, *s*, *t*, *v*, *y*, and the cedilla. When the reader first glances at the line quoted from Psalm xcii., found in No. XXXX., he will perhaps reject it as not in the hand of Columbus. It certainly seems to belong to a fourth type. But regard the peculiar *b* in *myrabiles*, the qucer final *s* in six of the seven words in the sentence, also the *v* in the first word, and then turn to No. XVIII. and No. XVIIII., and discover how often these three letters occur therc.

The remaining series—other than Series A—are all contained in printed or manuscript books in the Columbian library. It may bc that of the many books dispersed from this famous repository, time and searching may bring to light other examples of the Admiral's handwriting. We nay now examine the manuscript copy of the Toscanelli Letter found on the blank or first guard-folio in the *Historia Rerum Ubique Gestarum*, by Æneas Sylvius. The book has 104 folios, the verso of folio 104, or l 10, containing the *Registrum*, and immediately following this is the leaf bearing this famous letter. Whether this letter was first recognised by Signor Don José Fernandez Velasco, employed in the Columbian library, or by the distinguished American scholar, Henry Harrisse, is a question outside of our present inquiry. It sufficcs to say that it was Mr. Harrisse who first brought it to the notice of the world by reproducing it in his *Don Ferdinand Columbus, Historiador dc Su Padre.*[1] Las Casas had the original letter of Toscanelli, or a contemporaneous copy thereof, written in Latin, to Columbus, in his hands, together with the Spanish translation. Here, on this blank folio in a favourite book, Columbus appears to have copied the Latin text. Whoever examines carefully this writing may judge for himself whether or not it be in the hand of Christopher Columbus. For ourselves, applying the chirographical peculiarities with which we have become familiar in Series A, we believe the writing was made by the Discoverer himself.

One must remember that the writer is inscribing in a limited space an important document. He employs a finer hand than he is accustomed to use in ordinary letter-writing. A full folio in thc example of the *Historia Rerum Ubique Gestarum*, in the Author's collection of incunabula, measures 279 millimetres in

[1] Printed at Seville in 1871.



Fac-simile of the Toscanelli Letter as Copied in Latin by the Hand of Columbus on the Guard-Folio of "Historia Rerum Ubique Gestarum" by Æneas Sylvius, Printed at Venice in 1477.

The Transliteration and Translation of this Present Letter will be Found in Vol. I., p. 309.

length by 206 millimetres in width. We have no signed holograph of Columbus prior to the discovery, and there being every reason to believe that the Toscanelli letter was copied somewhere about the year 1480, we have no definite means of comparing the space occupied in two immediately contemporaneous writings. But measuring the fac-simile of the holograph addressed to the Governors of the Bank of St. George, we find the folio is 311 millimetres in length by 218 millimetres in width. In the holograph letter to the Bank of St. George there are 24 lines—counting four for the signature—and 241 words, while in the holograph document under discussion there are 36 lines and 655 words. In a space much smaller, our writer is endeavouring to inscribe nearly three times as many words. Necessarily, then, he is obliged to write a much smaller hand, and, as the holograph document is important, the writing is unusually plain and legible. If we apply from the writing in Letter No. XVIIII. such tests as the small letters *e*, *g*, *h*, *p*, *s*, *t*, and *v*, we will find them present in the copy of the Toscanelli Letter. The peculiar form of the *e* is of itself almost sufficient to identify the two styles, and to prove that the same hand wrote both. It is impossible that two individuals could employ a dozen or more idiosyncrasies in writing common to each. On first glancing at the Toscanelli Letter it seems written on a different slant or angle from the horizontal form of the prevailing style in Series A. It is so in reality, and if we ourselves, habitually writing at a marked angle, were to attempt to write with great particularity, we would unconsciously change the angle. A departure from the usual style of writing leads to greater care in forming the letters, and this greater care produces a piece of writing differing in general appearance and as a whole from another piece written naturally and carelessly. It is only by a minute examination of the individual letters and characters that we are able to detect the single mind that employed the single hand.

We have already spoken of the small letter *e*, the manner of forming which is peculiar to Columbus. In Letter No. XVIIII., the Bank of St. George Letter, in the first word of line 8 the reader will see this oddly formed character. The word *cuento*, abbreviated to *cuento*. If the reader will turn to the Toscanelli Letter, first word in the second line, he will find this *e* in the

word Ferdinand. Not to travel out of this same second line, we find it occurring in the seventh, eighth, tenth, eleventh, fourteenth, sixteenth, and eighteenth words. It is particularly plain as the final letter of the seventh word, in *salute* contracted from *salutem*.

The small letter *g* in the name *Diego*, the sixth word in the sixth line of No. XVIIII., the Bank of St. George Letter, is peculiar to Columbus. If we turn to the Toscanelli Letter, in the same second line this letter occurs in the twelfth, sixteenth, and eighteenth words.

The letter *h*, so common in Spanish, is not often met with in Latin. We find the same characteristic method of forming this letter in his Bank of St. George Letter, used in the fourteenth word of the fifth line, except that the letter is more stiff in the latter and without the curves permissible with greater space.

In the tenth word of line five in the Bank of St. George Letter, the reader will find the letter *p* with a line underneath and crossing the lower part of the letter, rising a little from left to right, the crossing denoting a contraction. If we turn to the eighteenth word in line three of the Toscanelli Letter, we find exactly the same letter with the same line underneath, running upward also.

The fourth word in the second line of the Bank of St. George Letter presents us with the small letter *r* peculiar to Columbus. The second word in the same second line of the Toscanelli Letter shows us this letter. In his usual formation of this letter Columbus carries the second part or right-hand branch of the letter much above the first part or left-hand branch. He had an abundance of room in his ordinary letters and documents in which to indulge this tendency, but in the Toscanelli Letter he is obliged to husband his space, and although this peculiarity of the letter *r* is marked in the name Martini, it is not so noticeable in repetitions of the letter.

The small letter *s*, with its lower part descending below the line, is a formation peculiar to Columbus. In the ninth word of the second line of the Bank of St. George Letter, in the word *esta* is an example of this. We find it in the sixth and seventh words of the same second line of the Toscanelli Letter.

The small letter *t* is peculiar to Columbus. In the eighth word of the fifth line of the Bank of St. George Letter, in the

word *santa*, the reader will observe the manner of forming the last consonant. In the Toscanelli Letter, in the second, seventh, ninth, tenth, fourteenth words of this same second line, this letter occurs. In some instances, as in the fourteenth word of the eighth line of the Toscanelli Letter, the letter curving a little to the right at the bottom shows a marked resemblance to a printed curved capital E, or as he himself employs it in *Eugenius* in line twenty of the Toscanelli Letter.

The small *v* is manifestly peculiar to the writer of both letters.

The letter *x* is worthy of much study in this comparison. Out of the twenty-four examples which we have of this letter in the signature of Columbus, we find in twenty-two the point of contact between the two lines forming the letter nearer the top than the bottom. This peculiarity will be found in the third word of the nineteenth line of the Toscanelli Letter.

The character *z* is the same in both the Bank of St. George Letter and the Toscanelli Letter, comparing it as found in the first word, line nine, of the former with the *z* found in the eighteenth word of line fifteen in the latter, again making allowance for the greater freedom in covering the abundant space of the Bank of St. George Letter, and permitting a swing at the end of the letter.

There is a general rotundity in both types of writing, which is a test of identification. The employment of the same sort of lines for periods and half-stops is another means of discovering the same hand in both writings. The waving line over the letters *m* and *n* to denote an abbreviation affords us a remarkable resemblance. Compare the mark in the last word, *Luzẽ* for *Luzen*, in line three of the Bank of St. George Letter with the seventh word in line twenty-six, *Potês* for *Potens*, in the Toscanelli Letter. As we have said, the presence of one or more examples of a purely personal peculiarity in handwriting overweighs in evidence the presence of a multitude of differences.

The authenticity of this Toscanelli Letter is now a matter of importance. Of late there has been apparently a concerted attempt to belittle the efforts of Columbus. That he actually made his voyage of discovery, and that from the time of his return there was established a highway of travel between the Old World and the newly discovered countries, are facts which

all admit. But it is alleged that some one shortly before him passed over the ocean to the New World, and not only to the New World, but to that particular spot in it called the island of Santo Domingo or Española, and that therefore Columbus was only an imitator and no more entitled to the honours of discoverer than the person or persons who made voyages to the New World subsequent to his own. We have already considered the *Story of the Pilot*, as it is called in Columbian history. It is now important enough in its relationship of cause to effect to be briefly repeated here.

In 1535, Oviedo (*Historia General de las Indias*, lib. ii., cap. iv.) mentions this story for the first time, and accompanies the story with the assertion that he himself did not believe it to be true. The story, as told by Oviedo, is devoid of all detail, and relates in a most general way that a pilot was driven by a storm to an island in the Atlantic far to the westward, that he succeeded in returning to the Old World, was received by Columbus into his own house in the island of Porto Santo, and, dying, left to his kind host his journals, charts, and papers. Having said this much, Oviedo remarks:

"Pero aquesta novela assi anda por el mundo entre la vulgar gente de la manera que es dicho. Para mí yo lo tengo por falso."

"But this story goes throughout the world among the common people in the manner which is told. As for myself, I consider it false."

Gomara, in his work under the same title, mentions this story, but embellishes it with additions:

"Some [he says] report this pilot to have been an Andalusian trafficking to the Canaries and to Madeira, on the occasion of this, his last and sad voyage; others declare he was a Biscayan, having commercial relations with England and France; still others say he was a Portuguese who traded back and forth between the Mine of St. George and the Indies. . . . All, however, are in agreement in reporting that this pilot died in the house of Columbus, into whose hands fell all his papers as well as the Journal of his voyage, with the description and the altitude of the lands discovered and visited."

An Inca, a native Peruvian, published a work in Lisbon in 1609, and repaints with more colour and detail the account given by Gomara. The farther away we get from the incident the greater distinctness does it assume. This Inca, Garcilasso

de la Vega, says the Pilot was Alonzo Sanchez of Huelva, that he was sailing from the Canaries to the Madeiras in the year 1484 when a storm drove his ship to what is now called the island of Santo Domingo; that he with five companions returned to the island of Terceira, in the Azores, where he was received by Columbus in his own house. Whoever told this story seemed to realise the propriety of having the Pilot depart from the Canaries, as did Columbus, land at Espanola as did Columbus, and arrive on his homeward journey at the Azores as did Columbus. It is needless to say that Columbus never lived in the island of Terceira, nor in any one of the Azores group. In laying the scene in the year 1484, and in bestowing upon Columbus the maps, journals, and papers of the Pilot by which the former had suggested to him the propriety and the feasibility of a westward journey to new lands, the Peruvian historian has sought to render him independent of Toscanelli. Garcilasso de la Vega repeated the story just one hundred and twenty-five years after the alleged event occurred. He affirms that the story was told him when a lad by his father. This father could not have been an eye-witness. He was an Inca of Peru. When the discovery took place he could not have been more than a mere child himself.

Herrera, a Spanish historian of reputation, writing at the beginning of the seventeenth century, does not even refer to this tale. Nevertheless, there can be little doubt that there was current a story to the effect that Columbus had known a sailor who had been driven by a storm to some western land. Las Casas says that when he first went to the island of Española, which was in the year 1502, he heard the story. It is plain that Las Casas mentions this story as a single thread in a cable of cause, and that he is arguing that no one thread made the cable; no one cause, however strongly contributory, produced in the mind of Columbus his great purpose or led alone to the final discovery. In view of the testimony of the good Bishop of Chiapas, we must admit the precedence of the story of the Pilot.

But it never occurred to any writer of the sixteenth or seventeenth century that it would be necessary to wipe out of Columbian history any connection on the part of the Florentine savant. This attempt has been reserved for the present age. It

is now claimed that Paolo Toscanelli never corresponded with Christopher Columbus and never heard of him and of his ambition. How, then, do they account for the existence of apparently a contemporaneous Latin transcription of the letter in a book acknowledged to have belonged to the family of Columbus, or for the appearance of the Spanish translation in the *Historia* of Las Casas, or for its publication in the 1571 Italian edition of the *Historie* by Ferdinand Columbus? If Columbus was in personal communication with Toscanelli prior to 1482, when the latter died, and if the latter really did say that he understood from letters actually written by Columbus that he already contemplated a journey westward to the Land of Spices, manifestly the charge of his indebtedness to the Pilot, be that Pilot Andalusian, Biscayan, or Huelvian, was false and worthless. How, then, may one dispose of this Toscanelli correspondence and its apparent significance? It was the result of a conspiracy, they affirm. The conspirators were Bartholomew Columbus, the brother of Columbus; Ferdinand Columbus, the son of Columbus; Bartolomé de las Casas, the Apostle of the Indians; and some even add to the little band Don Luis Columbus, the grandson of the Admiral. It was a conspiracy formed for the purpose of guarding the family honour. The story of the Pilot had assumed such proportions, and its believers had become so numerous shortly after the death of the Admiral, that it was necessary to show another and independent source. Therefore a letter was fabricated as coming from a philosopher of world-wide repute, who acknowledged having received from Christopher Columbus a declaration of his purpose:

"Paul, the physician, to Christopher Columbus, greeting. I perceive your great and noble desire to go to the place where the spices grow."

No Spanish pilot, no predecessor whose vessel had actually furrowed its western way to this Land of Spices, should take from Columbus his honour of first proposing to cross the intermediate ocean spaces. A great scientist, the first authority of his day, had borne witness to an earlier purpose of Columbus to do this very thing. The Admiral was dead. He could not reach his honours living. Dead, he could not even preserve his

name from slander. The object was laudable; therefore Las Casas could close his eyes to the deceit and join the group of fabricators. But the school of critics which seeks to promote this charge of conspiracy is confronted with the Latin copy of the Toscanelli Letter in the guard-folio of the *Historia* of Pius II. The copy is, then, recognised by this school as in the handwriting of Bartholomew Columbus, and it becomes necessary to eliminate Don Luis from the transaction, since he was not born until Bartholomew had been dead some years. Ferdinand presents himself in his *Historie* as so alive to any attack on his father's good fame that he naturally becomes a member of the group. It is difficult to explain the part played by Las Casas. He is the earliest authority for the story in point of time, declaring that he heard it when he first went to Española, which was, as we have said, in the year 1502. He did not particularly love the Admiral. No tongue ever said such harsh things of the latter as Las Casas said of him when he became an emancipator. He did not love Bartholomew Columbus, for he accused him of rigour and cruelty. But if Bartholomew Columbus fabricated the Latin copy of the Toscanelli Letter as a result of a conspiracy, or with a view to present Columbus as having adopted the purpose of sailing westward and of having revealed that purpose to Toscanelli, why is there no allusion to it in the Latin copy? Neither the preliminary matter containing the passage above quoted nor any portion of the second letter written Columbus by the Florentine will be found in that copy. That is the kernel in the nut of this conspiracy,—the association of Columbus with Toscanelli and the revelation to the latter of his purpose already formed.

Now, if this transcript, instead of being in the hand of Bartholomew, is shown to be in the proper hand of Christopher Columbus, the conspiracy story falls to the ground in shameful dust, or else the Admiral himself subsequent to the discovery was the chief conspirator. We believe that a careful and minute examination of this copy with the admitted specimens of the writing of Christopher Columbus will disclose the truth, that one hand, although at periods far apart, made these specimens and the Toscanelli transcript. The reader now sees the importance of dwelling on the subject of the handwriting of the great Discoverer.

We reproduce farther on a fac-simile of another important annotation in this same example of the *Historia* of Pius II., and which we believe to be in the autograph of Christopher Columbus. It is peculiarly important because of the passage in the second line from the bottom:

"y desde el comiençо del mundo fasta esta era de .1481. son .5241. años" : "and from the commencement of the world until this era of 1481, there are 5241 years."

This annotation, then, fixes the date of at least one of these entries in the book of Pius II. The reader will observe that the writing is not in Latin as in the Toscanelli letter, but in a Castilian-Portuguese mixture. Christopher Columbus had been already, in this era of 1481, many years in Portugal, while we have news of Bartholomew as residing at Genoa in June, 1480. In the short period of six months or a year, even if we assume that he immediately after this date went into Portugal, he could hardly have so familiarised himself with the two languages as to express himself in literary composition. This note does not fix the date of the Toscanelli correspondence, but it does strongly indicate that it was previous to the year 1481. The hand we now have is at first glance different from that found in the Toscanelli Letter. It is a modification, improved in its *tout ensemble* over any former style we have examined, but manifestly the same hand which inscribed the letters of Series A and the Toscanelli Letter. Observe the same characteristics, the same peculiarities, except that here the small *s* no longer falls below the line.

Another very important annotation found in this volume gives evidence that the writer, whoever he may be, was at Lisbon several months after March in the year 1485, when there returned to Lisbon the expedition sent out under Doctor Joseph, the physician and astrologer of King John II. The writer not only was present when Doctor Joseph reported to the King the results of his labour, but he had himself verified some of his findings when he was at the Fort of the Mine, which was the San Jorge de Mina. Here we observe the same characteristic letters, *e*, *g*, *h*, *p*, *r*, *s*, *t*, and the same marks for abbreviation and punctuation. It is curious to observe in this note the pres-

ence of both forms of the small *s*, the one falling below the line and the other, as in the form used in the preceding note, coming down only to the line itself. The reader will observe that the figure 8 in this note is the same as the figure 8 in the note that precedes. The peculiar final small *s* in the words *los ydolos* is precisely the final *s* occurring in the quotation from Psalm xcii., our No. XXXX. It would be a strange thing if the hand of Bartholomew or some other hand had written this quotation from the Psalms and carried it to Christopher Columbus for his signature, attesting not the sentiment of Bartholomew or the anonymous writer, but the expression of his own conception of the Divine Power on the Great Deep. We must conclude that Christopher Columbus wrote the inscription in No. XXXX. and the note in relation to Doctor Joseph.

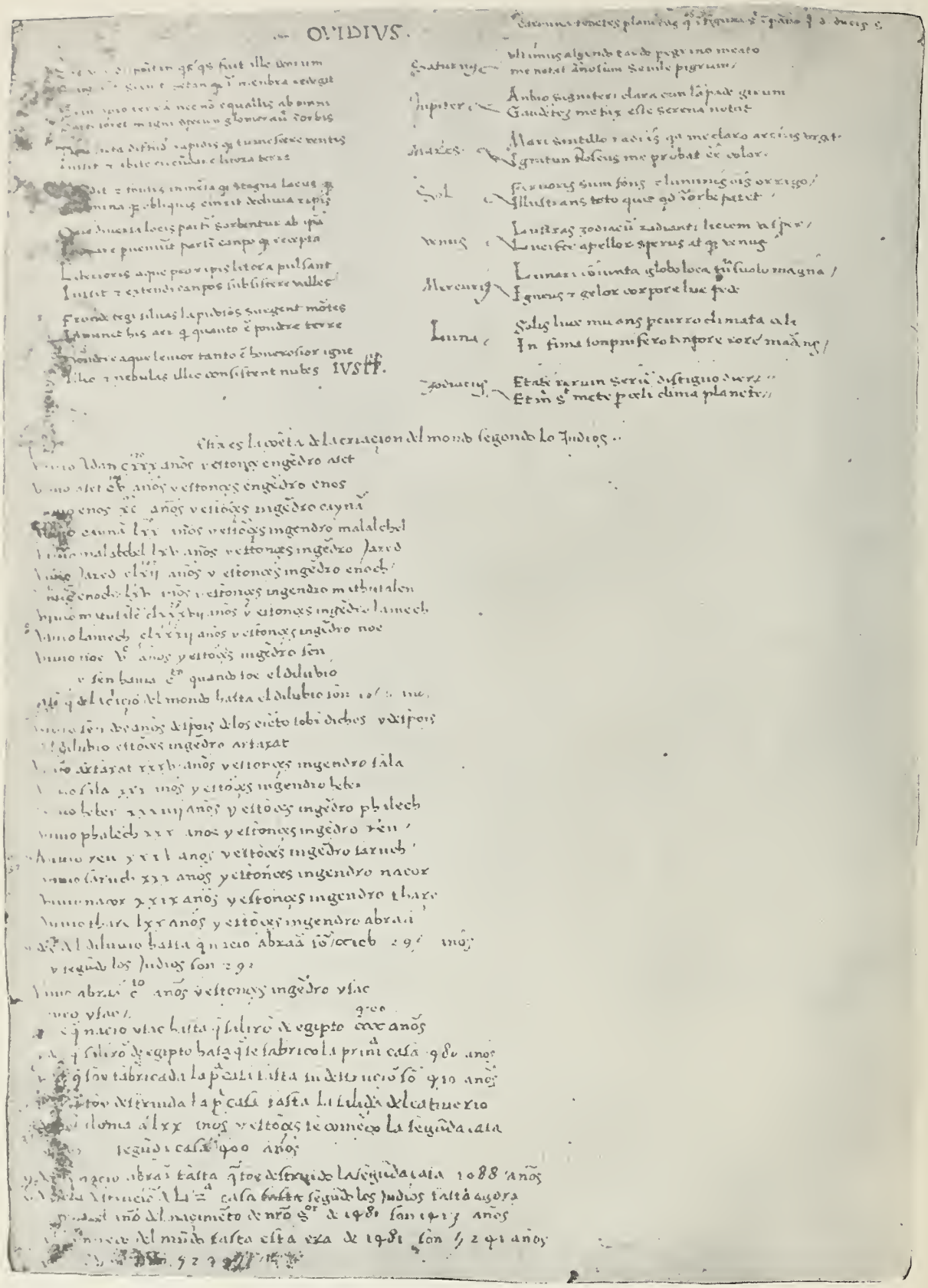
Another instance of the versatility of the penman may be noticed in the two forms of writing the initial letter in the same proper name, *Josepius*, in the final line, and *Josepio* in the last line of this note.

The terrestrial figure here reproduced[1] was drawn upon the last blank folio of the *Historia Rerum Ubique Gestarum.*

The next important Columbian book is the example of *Imago Mundi* already described. The margins of this precious volume are covered with inscriptions. Probably the leaf which is richest in the annotations is that which begins chapter viii. of the work and which the annotator has numbered 13. On the left-hand margin is the note relative to the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope by Bartholomew Diaz, and on the right hand, among five other notes, is the famous quotation from Aristotle, pronouncing his remarkable theory concerning the navigable space between the shores of Spain and the beginning of the Indies, and which he asserted could be traversed in a few days.

The King of Portugal, toward the end of August, 1486, sent an expedition consisting of three vessels to the south. Bartholomew Diaz was commander of the fleet and captain of one of two boats of fifty tons each, the other being in charge of *João Infante.* A third and smaller vessel was in charge of Pedro Diaz, brother to the commander, and contained the provisions for the expedition and objects for trading. Under

[1] See page 478.



Fac-simile of Page from "Historia" of Pius II. in Autograph of Christopher Columbus.

OVIDIVS.

carmina tenentes planetas quos in figura sunt in panno J. d. ducis. s.

Sic vbi dispositan quisquis fuit ille deorum Congerint secuit setanque in menbra redegit	Saturnus	vltimus algendo tardo peregrino meato me notat annosum senile pigrum.
Principio terram nec non equallis ab omni Parte foret magni speciem glomerauit in orbis	Jupiter	Anbio signiferi clara cun lampade girum Gaudentem me fax esse serena notat.
Tunc freta diffudit rapidisque tumescere ventis Iussit & abite circumdare litora terre.	Mares	Mari sintillo radians quia me claro arcius vrget Ignitun roseus me probat esse color.
Addidit & fontes inmensaque stagna lacusque Fluminaque obliquis cinxit decliuia ripis	Sol	Feruoris sum fons & luminis omnis orrigo Illustrans toto quicquid in orbe patet.
Que diuersa locis partim sorbentur ab ipsa In mare peruenium partim canpoque recepta	Venus	Lustras zodiacum radianti liciem vesper Lucifer apellor sperus atque venus.
Liberioris aque pro ripis litora pulsant Iussit & extendi canpos subsistere valles.	Mercurius	Lunari coniunta globo loca transuolo mangna Igneus & gelor corpore lue pede.
Fronde tegi siluas lapidosos surgent montes Inminet his aer qui quanto est pondere terre	Luna	Solis luce micans percurro climata celi In fima sonpnifero tenpore rore mandens
Pondere aque leuior tanto est honerosior igne Illic & nebulas illic consistent nubes IVSIT.	Zodiacus	Etatem rerum seriem distiguo dierum Et mihi sunt mete per celi clima planete.

Esta es la coenta de la criaçion del mondo segondo lo Judios.

.130.
Viuio Adan .CXXX. años y estonçes engendro aset
.105.
viuio aset .CV. años y estonçes engendro enos
.90.
viuio enos .XC. años y estonçes ingendro caynan
.70.
viuio caynan .LXX. años y estonçes ingendro malalchel
.65.
viuio Malabchel .LXV. años y estonçes ingendro Jared
.162.
viuio Jared. CLXIJ. años y estonçes ingendro enoch
.65.
viuio enoch .LXV. años y estonçes ingendro mathusalen
.187.
viuio matusalen .CLXXXVII. años y estonçes ingendro lamech
.182.
viuio lamech .CLXXXII. años y estonçes ingendro noe
.500.
viuio noe .VC. años y estonçes ingendro sen
y sen hauia ciento quando foe el diluvio
asi que de la criaçion del mondo hasta el dilubio son .1656. años
viuio sen dos años despois de los ciento sobre dichos y despois
del diluvio estonçes ingendro arfaxat
Viuio arfaxat .XXXV. años y estonçes ingendro sala
Viuio sala .XXX. años y estonçes ingendro heber
viuio heber .XXXIIIJ. años y estonçes ingendro phalech
viuio phalech .XXX. años y estonçes ingendro reu
viuio reu .XXXV. años y estonçes ingendro saruch
viuio saruch .XXX. años y estonçes ingendro nacor
viuio nacor .XXIX. años y estonçes ingendro thare
viuio thare .LXX. años y estonçes ingendro abraam
y des del diluuio hasta que nacio abraam son .CCICV. .295. años
y segundo los Judios son .292.
viuio abraam ciento años y estonçes ingendro ysac
viueo ysac
.400.
desque naçio ysac hasta que saliron de egipto .CCCC. años
y desque saliron de egipto hasa que se fabrico la primera casa 480. años
y desque foy fabricada la primera casa fasta su destrucion son .410. años
y desque foy destruida la primera casa fasta la salida del catiuerio
de babilonia a .LXX. años y estonçes se començo la segunda casa
y duro la segunda casa .400. años
y desque nacio abraam fasta que foe destruido la segunda casa .1088. años
y desde la destrucion de la 2ª casa fasta segundo los iudios fasta agora
siendo el año del naçimento de nuestro señor de .1481. son .1413. años
y desde el comienço del mundo fasta esta era de .1481. son .5241. años
...mundo... .5244.

Transliteration of Folio from "Historia."

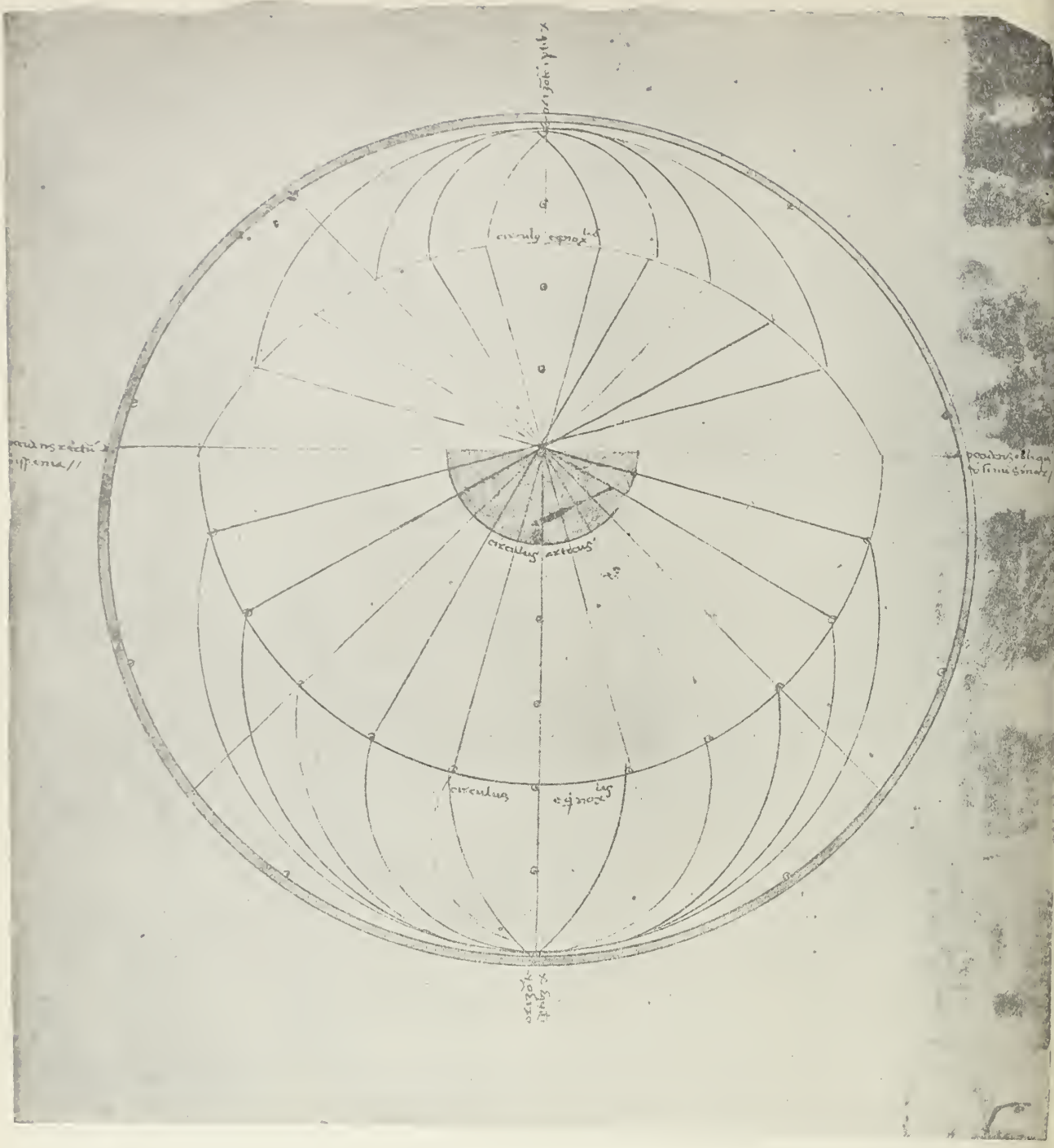
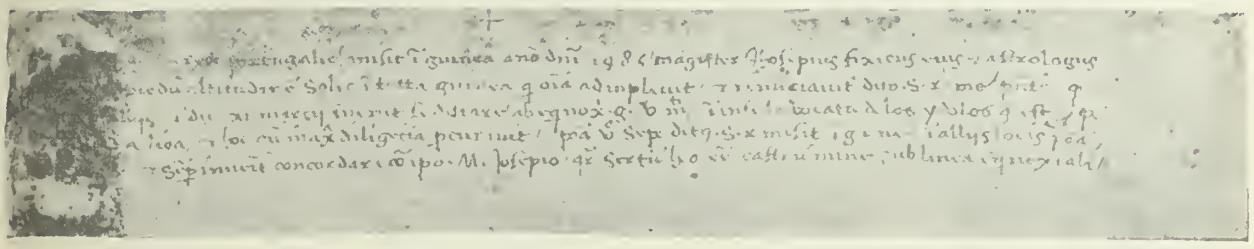
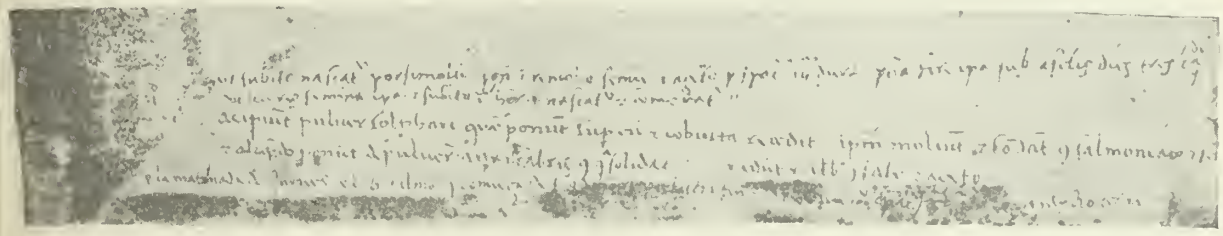


Diagram on Folio of "Historia" in Hand of Christopher Columbus.

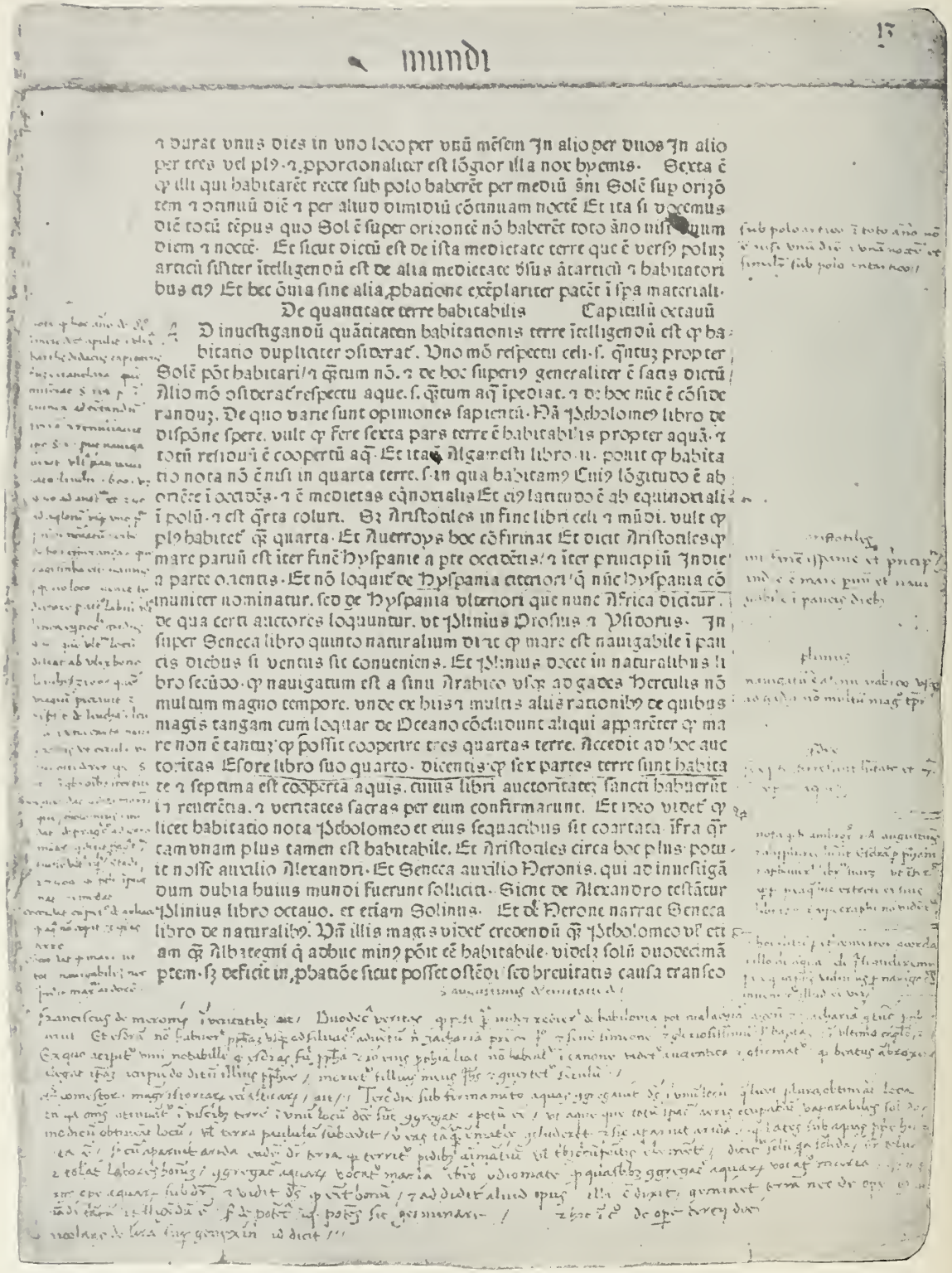


.... *quod* ... rex portugalie misit *in* guinea *anno domini* .1485. magister Jhosepius fixicus eius & astrologus
[ad com]piendum (*comperiendum?*) altitudinem solis *in* totta guinea *qui omnia* adinpleuit & renunciauit dito *serenissimo regi* me *presente quod*
.... allijs *in* die .xi. marcij *inuenit* se distare ab *equinoxiali gradus* .v. *minute in* insula vocata de los ydolos *que* est *prope*
[sierr]a lioa & hoc cum maxima diligencia *procurauit postea vero* sepe ditus *serenissimus rex* misit *in* guinea *in* allijs locis *postea*
.... & *semper inuenit* concordari *com* ipso *Magistro* Josepio *quare* sertum *habeo* esse castrum mine sub linea *equinoxiali*



..... vt subito nascatur porsimolum pone *in* remolio semine *in* aceto *per* spacium .IIJm. dierum *postea* fere ipsa sub aselis dies tres & *quando*
..... volueris semina ipsa & subito *in* hora .i. nascatur & comedatur
..... acipiunt puluer solphari quem ponunt super eum & cobusta recedit ipsum moliunt & fondant *cum* salmoniaco & se...
..... & aliquando ponunt de puluere aurifabris *cum* qua solidant reduntur (*?*) albis *cum* sale & aceto
por la matinada de jueues el .6. salmo *que* comiença vt *quid* deus repulisti *in* finem et sequitur operatus *est* salutem *in* medio terre

Holograph Notes by Christopher Columbus Found in the "Historia."



Folio of the "Imago Mundi" with Marginal Notes in the Hand of Christopher Columbus.

& durat vnus dies in vno loco per vnum mensem In alio per duos In alio per tres vel plus . & proporcionaliter est longior illa nox hyemis. Sexta est que illi qui habitarent recte sub polo haberent per medium anni Solem super orizontem & continuum diem & per aliud dimidium continuam noctem Et ita si vocemus diem totum tempus quo Sol est super orizontem non haberent toto anno nisi vnum diem & noctem. Et sicut dictum est de ista medietate terre que est versus polum articum similiter intelligendum est de alia medietate versus antarticum & habitatoribus eius Et hec omnia sine alia probatione exemplariter patent in spera materiali.

sub polo artico *in* toto *anno* non *est* nisi vnum diem & vnam noctem et *similiter* sub polo antartico.

De quantitate terre habitabilis Capitulum octauum/

Ad inuestigandum quantitatem habitationis terre intelligendum est quod habitatio dupliciter consideratur. Uno modo respectu celi scilicet quantum propter Solem potest habitari & quantum non. & de hoc superius generaliter est satis dictum. Alio modo consideratur respectu aque scilicet quantum aqua impediat. & de hoc nunc est considerandum. De quo varie sunt opiniones sapientum. Nam Ptholomeus libro de dispositione spere . vult quod fere sexta pars terre est habitabilis propter aquam . & totum residuum est coopertum aqua. Et ita in Algamesti libro .ii. ponit quod habitatio nota non est nisi in quarta terre scilicet in qua habitamus Cuius longitudo est ab oriente in occidens . & est medietas equinoxialis Et eius latitudo est ab equinoxiali in polum . & est quarta coluri. Sed Aristotiles in fine libri celi & mundi . vult quod plus habitetur quam quarta. Et Auerroys hoc confirmat Et dicit Aristotiles quod mare paruum est inter finem Hyspanie a parte occidentis & inter principium Indie a parte orientis. Et non loquitur de Hyspania citeriori que nunc Hyspania commuiter nominatur . sed de Hyspania vlteriori que nunc Africa dicitur. de qua certi auctores loquuntur . vt Plinius Orosius & Ysidorus. Insuper Seneca libro quinto naturalium dicit quod mare est nauigabile in paucis diebus si ventus sit conueniens. Et Plinius docet in naturalibus libro secundo . quod nauigatum est a sinu Arabico vsque ad gades Herculis non multum magno tempore . vnde ex hiis & multis aliis rationibus de quibus magis tangam cum loquar de Oceano concludunt aliqui apparenter quod mare non est tantum quod possit cooperire tres quartas terre. Accedit ad hoc auctoritas Esdre libro suo quarto . dicentis quod sex partes terre sunt habitate & septima est cooperta aquis . cuius libri auctoritatem sancti habuerunt in reuerentía . & veritates sacras per eum confirmarunt. Et ideo videtur quod licet habitatio nota Ptholomeo et eius sequacibus sit coartata infra quartam vnam plus tamen est habitabile. Et Aristotiles circa hoc plus . potuit nosse auxilio Alexandri. Et Seneca auxilio Neronis . qui ad inuestigandum dubia huius mundi fuerunt solliciti. Sicut de Alexandro testantur Plinius libro octauo . et etiam Solinus. Et de Nerone narrat Seneca libro de naturalibus. Unde illis magis videtur credendum quam Ptholomeo vel etiam quam Albategni qui adhuc minus ponit esse habitabile . videlicet solum duodecimam partem . sed deficit in probatione sicut posset ostendi sed breuitatis causa transeo

aristotiles
inter finem ispanie et principium indie est mare *paruum* et nauigabile *in* paucis diebus

plinius
nauigatum *est* a sinu arabico vsque ad gades non multum magno *tempore*

esdre
sex *partes* terre sunt *habitate* et .7ª *est* coperta aquis

nota *quod beatus* ambroxius & *Aurelius* augustinus & alij plures *habuerunt* Esdram *per prophetam* & aprobauerunt librum suum vt *inferius* apparet *per* ea que hic extreti ex suis libris & ypocraphi non videntur

& hoc ditum petri comestor *concordat* *in* illo de aqua de qua si *consideremus* *per* ea que ad presens vidimus *per* nauigaciones inuenietur illud esse verum

Sanctus augustinus de ciuitatte dei

ota *quod* hoc anno de .88.
mense dec*embri* apulit *in* vlix*ipo*nam
rtho*lomeus* didacus capitaneus
ium caruelar*um* quem
iserat *Serenissimus* rex p*ortugallie* in
linea ad tentandum
rram & renunciauit
so *serenissimo* *regi* prout nauiga-
erit vltra yan naui-
ltum leuche .600. *videlicet*
.50. ad austrum et .250.
l aquilonem vsque vno p*romontorivm*
r ipsum nominatum cabo
e boa esperança quem
agesinba estimamus
uique *in* eo loco inuenit se
stare *per* astrolabium vltra
nea equinocíali gradus
5. quem vltimum locum
stat ab vlixbona
uche .3100. quem
agium pictauit &
ripsit de leucha *in* leu-
a *in* vna carta naui-
acionis vt occuli vi-
li ostenderet ipso *serenissimo*
gi *in* quibus omnibus interfui

h *con*cordat *cum* dita marini
nem ptholomeus emen-
t de p*era*gracione ad gara-
antes qui disit p*era*gratum
isse vltra equinocialem stadii
7500. *quod* pth*olomeus* impug.
t & emendat
cordat cum petro de ayliaco
uod aqua non coperit .3. quartas
rre
cordat *quod* mare sit
t nauigabilem nec
pedit maximum ardorem.

I nciscus de meronis *in* veritatibus ait Duodecima veritas *quod* post*quam* iudei redierunt de babilonia post malachiam ageum & zachariam qui tunc prophetaunt Et esdram non habuerunt prophetam vsque ad saluacionis aduentum nisi Zachariam patrem Iohannis & senem simeonem & gloriosissimum Iohannem baptistam in vltimo capitulo &c.
I quo acipitur vnum notabille *quod* esdras fuit *prophet*a & ideo eius prophetia licet non habeatur *in* canone videtur auctentica & confirmatur quia beatus ambroxius
gat ipsam accipiendo ditum illius prophetie morietur fillius meus Ihesus & conuertetur seculum
l rus comestor magister istoriarum ecclesiasticarum ait Tercia die sub firmamento aquas congregauit deus *in* vnum locum que licet plura obtineant loca
t en quia omnes continuantur *in* viscer*ibus* terre *in* vnum locum dicte sunt congregate & potum esse vt aque que totum spacium aeris ocupabant vaporabiles solida...
r licum obtineant locum vel terra paululum subcedit vbi eas tamquam *in* matrice concluderet & sic aparuit arida . quoniam latens sub aquis proprie hic...
t est sed cum aparuit arida eadem dicitur terra quia territur pedibus animantium vel tribus circumpositis elementis dicitur solum quia solida dicitur telus
(olerat labores hominum congregacione aquarum vocatur maria cbreo ydiomate quod quaslibet congregacione aquarum vocatur maria cumpleto (?)
e) opere aquarum sub dicitur & vidit deus quod esset bonum & addidit aliud opus illi cum dixit geminet terram nec de opere ge...
r di tantum intelligendum est sed de potencia id quod potens sit germinare & hoc *in* capitulo de opere tercij diei
r laus de lira super genexin id dicit

Transliteration of Holograph Notes by Christopher Columbus on Folio of the "Imago Mundi."

Prince Henry the Navigator the Diaz family had already accomplished great things, one João Diaz having been a companion of Gil Eannes, and another, Diniz Diaz, having been first of explorers to pass the Senegal in latitude 16° north of the equator. Since their day vessels had been making their way farther and farther south, until now it was reserved for the members of the illustrious Diaz family to set for a time a limit to southern explorations, and to add new lustre to the name of Portugal and to the active grandnephew of the Navigator. Bartholomew named the tempestuous point he had discovered Cabo Tormentoso, or Stormy Cape, in remembrance of the perils of its coast, but when he made his report to King John he rechristened it the *Cabo de Boa Esperança*, or Cape of Good Hope, since it pointed a westward road to the Indies. After a voyage of sixteen months and seventeen days Diaz returned to Lisbon in December, 1487,[1] where he was received with honour by the King.[2]

The annotator, in speaking of this expedition and of its return to Lisbon in December, 1487 (the error of writing 88 may have been a *lapsus calami*, or the writer may have begun the year, as many did in those days, at Christmas time), where it was received by the King, adds this expression, "*In quibus omnibus interfui*": "*In all of which I had a part.*" This expression may be taken to mean that the annotator made a member of the little expedition, or that he simply was present in Lisbon when the King received Diaz with that form and ceremony due to the news of such an event. Bartolomé de las Casas saw this example of the *Imago Mundi*, read there the manuscript entry on the margin, and declared that it was in the

[1] Barros, *Dacada Primeira da Asia*, printed at Lisbon in 1752 (see vol. i., Book III.) says of the departure of this expedition under Diaz:

"Partirao no fin dc Agosto do deto anno de quatro centos et outenta et seis": "They started the last of August, of the said year of 1486."

And of its return:

"en Dezembro do anno de quatro centos et sete . . . auendo dezæis meses et dezasete dias que erão partidos dclle":

"In December of the year 1487 . . . it being sixteen months and seventeen days that they had gone from there."

[2] In the note on the *Zona Torida* the writer says:

"The torrid zone is habitable because to-day the Portuguese sail there and it is most populous and below the equinoctial line is the Fortress of Mina belonging to the most serene King of Portugal, *which we had seen.*"

If Columbus had gone to the Cape of Good Hope he would have mentioned it, as, if he had made this entry previous to such an expedition to the end of Africa, he would have made a subsequent entry, as he has frequently done in his annotations.

handwriting of Bartholomew Columbus.[1] To many this testimony is authoritative:

"Yo hallé, en libro viejo de Cristobal Colon, de las obras de Pedro de Aliaco . . . escritas estas palabras en la márgen del tratado *De Imagine Mundi*, Cap. 8°, de la misma letra y mano de Bartolomé Colon, la cual muy bien conocí, y agora tengo hartas cartas y letras suyas, tratando deste viaje."

"I found, in an old book of the works of Pedro de Aliaco belonging to Christopher Columbus . . . these words written on the margin of the tract *De Imagine Mundi*, Chapter 8, in the hand of Bartholomew Columbus himself, whom I knew very well, and I now have many of his letters and writings relating to this voyage."

A few lines farther on in his *Historia* Las Casas acknowledges himself in some perplexity as to whether this passage was intended by Bartholomew to refer to himself or his brother Christopher:

"No sé si las escribió de si ó de su letra por su hermano Cristóbal": "I do not know if he wrote these things of himself or if he intended them for his brother Christopher."

Christopher Columbus was in Spain the first part of the year 1487, having on August 27, 1487, received four thousand maravedis at the command of the Sovereigns, who were then at the siege of Malaga. He was probably in Spain with Beatriz Enriquez in the middle part of the month of November in the year 1487.[2]

Bartholomew Columbus was in London in the month of February, 1488, when he dated the map of the world presented to King Henry VII. He must have been there some time to have gained an audience with the King.

It is evident from the public entries relative to pensions and subsidies that Christopher Columbus could not have been upon the Diaz expedition to the Cape of Good Hope. The assertion

[1] *Historia de las Indias*, lib, i., cap. xxvii., vol. i., p. 213.

[2] Ferdinand Columbus was born at Cordova August 15, 1488.

"Porque por memorias suyos fidedignas paresze que nació en Cordova á quinze dias del mes de Agosto, dia de la Asuncion de nuestra Señora, año de mill é quatrocientos é ochenta é ocho.—[*Declaraciones del Albacea.*]"

"Because according to memorandums of his, worthy of belief, it appears that he was born in Cordova the 15th day of the month of August, the day of the Ascension of our Lady, in the year 1488."

of Ferdinand and the words of the Admiral quoted by him show that he had frequently gone on voyages to Guinea:

"Yo he andado veinte y tres años en la mar, sin salir della tiempo que se haya de contar, y ví todo el Levante y Poniente, que dice por ir al Septentrion, que es Inglaterra, y he andado la Guinea."

"I have been twenty-three years upon the sea, without leaving it for any length of time sufficient to be noted, and I saw all the East and the West, as it is called in going to the North, which is England, and I have travelled through Guinea."

If he had voyaged to the extremity of the continent either he or Ferdinand would have mentioned his connection with the Portuguese solution of the Indian problem. Therefore we dismiss the idea that Christopher Columbus was actually on the expedition itself. Was he at Lisbon when the expedition returned? The historians give us no closer date than December, 1487, for its return. This might be late in December, which would have afforded plenty of time for Christopher Columbus to make a journey from Cordova to Lisbon. The Guadalquivir was navigable for large vessels from its mouth to Cordova, and the journey to the Tagus from the Guadalquivir was a question only of days. In the matter of time it is more likely Christopher could have gone to Lisbon from Cordova between November 15 and the latter part of December than that Bartholomew could have gone from Lisbon to London between December and February, the date of his map.

On the margin of another folio of the *Imago Mundi*, in the same hand, we have an annotation made in *hoc anno* 1491 and after *die 11 marcii*. Now, to assume that Bartholomew, who was then in France, made this as well as the other annotations in this same hand will require that he should have returned this book to Christopher shortly after having written this particular note, in order that the latter could have taken the book with him on his first voyage. It would seem to us as if the elder brother had this book with him during his dark days in Spain, and that its spirit of speculation and divination was one of the sources of his strength and hope.

But Bartholomew seems to us excluded from consideration as the writer of this note, because he is excluded from the authorship of the note made in *this era of 1481*, when, as we

have shown, he could hardly have learned the Spanish and Portuguese tongues.

A study of this note will disclose the fact that whoever copied the Toscanelli Letter into the guard-folio of the *Historia* of Pius II. also inscribed this. Regard the same small letters. Regard, also, the formation of the figures 88 in the present note and figure 8 in the 1481 of the *computation* note. Compare the four letters in *vlixiponam* in line two and the same word in line twenty of the Diaz note, with the same letters in the contraction of the name of the Portuguese capital, as found in line twenty-nine in the Toscanelli letter. Compare the word *Guinea* in line six of the Diaz note with the same word in line four of the Toscanelli Letter. The word *equinoctiali* is the same in line eighteen of the Diaz note and in line eight of the Toscanelli Letter. The word *carta*, in line twenty-four of the Diaz note, is the same as in line seven of the Toscanelli Letter, in each instance the first three letters being joined together and disunited from the next letter, *t*. The word *terram*, in line seven of the Diaz, is like the same word in line ten of the Toscanelli Letter, the *t* being lower than the letters following and the same mark denoting the omission of the final *m*. When we come to apply the test of the individual letters, *e*, *d*, *g*, and the like, we have an embarrassment of proof. The reader in comparisons must make allowance for the finer hand in the Diaz note. Just as the writer was obliged to narrow his hand in the Toscanelli Letter beyond that employed in the Bank of St. George Letter, so here he is obliged still further to confine his letters, owing to the want of space afforded by the margin.

The notes on the right-hand margin are important in this inquiry of personality. The writer says in his second note: "*Aristotiles inter finem Ispanie et principium Indie est mare parvum et navigabile in paucis diebus*": "Aristotle declares that the sea is small between the shores of Spain and the beginning of India and that it is navigable in a few days."

In his *Historie* Ferdinand Columbus says of his father's writings:

> "I will tell here what I have found among his writings upon the matter."

He then asserts that among the chief inspirations acknow-

ledged by his father was Aristotle, in the end of the second book of *Heaven and Earth*, where he says that "from the Indies one can pass to Cadiz in a few days." We believe Ferdinand is alluding to this very book and its marginal note. If this note was in the handwriting of his uncle Bartholomew, Ferdinand would not have accurately quoted it as taken from his father's writings. It would have represented the uncle's belief in Aristotle, not the father's belief. The second note below this is a short reference to a quotation from Esdras:

"Accedit ad hoc auctoritas Esdre libro suo quarto dicentis quod sex partes terre sunt habitate & septima est cooperta aquis."

"Besides this there is the authority of Esdras in his fourth book saying that six parts of the earth are habitable and the seventh part is covered with water."

When we were reading the letter written to the Sovereigns by Columbus on the occasion of the third voyage, we found him indulging in some quotations:

"Aristotle says that the world is small and that there is little water and that one may pass easily from Spain to the Indies—Cardinal Petrus Aliacus cites this in adopting the opinion."

Again:

"This second writer—Esdras—says that of the seven parts of the world, six have been discovered and the other is covered with water—which authority is accepted and approved by the holy personages such as Saint Augustin and Saint Ambroise. . . . These saints say that Esdras was a prophet the same as Zacarias, the father of St. John and . . . Simon, authorities equally cited by Francis de Mariones." [1]

It so happens that at the bottom of this same page we find a note in which Franciscus de Meronis is saying:

"Et Esdram non habuerunt prophetam usque ad salvacionis adventum nisi Zachariam patrem Johannis & Senem Simeonem. . . ."

[1] In the *Relation of the Third Voyage*, this passage immediately follows the reference to Aristotle's opinion as to the proportion of land to water on the earth's surface:

"Which authority is approved by the Saints, who authorise the third and fourth books of Esdras, the same as St. Augustine and St. Ambrose in his *Examenon*, where he alleges: 'My son Jesus will come there and my son Christ will die': and they say that Esdras was a prophet, and also Zacharias, father of St. John and the blessed Simon: which authorities Francisco de Mayrones also alleges."

Here, then, on one and the same folio we find quotations to which Columbus makes repeated references. In a note on one of the margins of a page in the *Imago Mundi* we read:

"Vide in cartis .13. id quod ibi annotavi spectantibus isto capitulo quod aqua non coperit tres quartes terre & quod omnem marem sit navigabile."

This is the language of one who considered himself the sole annotator of all the writings covering the several pages. It is found six pages farther on than the note we first quoted, and no one can doubt that the writer expected the readers to recognise all the annotations as his own. Is it conceivable that two persons should be equally interested in reading on the same subject, that one should quote the same kind of passages in a book, and that the other should refer to those quotations as if they were his own? In this instance the three passages are found quoted on the same folio of the same book. If Bartholomew Columbus made these annotations we must believe Christopher and he were equally interested, not in maritime discoveries which might very well be, but in the weird and mysterious foreshadowing of such discoveries in the writings of seers and prophets; that Bartholomew stopped to jot them down on the margins of a book he was reading; that Christopher owned this book and was in the habit of reading it; that years afterward, when the Admiral was finishing his third voyage, he quoted from this book, mentioning the very notes in the order of their occurrence. Whoever reads the letters of Columbus, whoever appreciates his imaginative character and discovers how religious thoughts controlled his movements, will find these annotations perfectly natural to such a man. They appear perfectly unnatural so far as they express the character of Bartholomew Columbus. It would seem to us that the internal and external evidence point to the same hand guided by the same mind in annotating the pages of the *Historia* of Pius II. and the *Imago Mundi* of Cardinal d'Ailly, and that the hand and mind were those of Christopher Columbus.

The reader will find in the *Raccolta* many specimens of the annotations contained in the other series or in the examples of the printed books of Marco Polo, the *Natural History* of Pliny,

Plutarch's *Lives*, and the manuscript work called *Libro de las Profecias*.[1]

We confess that our interest in the annotations does not follow beyond those found in the *Imago Mundi* and a very few in the book of Marco Polo.

The student should be grateful to the enlightened liberality of the Italian Government for the elaborate publication of the Report made and published by the Minister of Public Instruction on the handwriting of Columbus. This valuable work was issued at Rome in 1892 and 1894. A close study of the notes made upon the margins of books and papers in his possession will contribute to a knowledge of the Discoverer and reveal to us the thoughts of his heart.

[1] In the Appendix the reader will find translated portions of this remarkable composition of Columbus.

PART VIIII

LOS RESTOS

CHAPTER CXXIV

RIGHT OF SEPULTURE

PLUTARCH tells us that there were inscribed over the sepulchre of Cyrus these words:

"O man, whosoever thou art and whencesoever thou comest,—for come I know thou wilt,—I am Cyrus who builded the Empire of Persia; therefore envy me not this bit of earth in which my body lies."

Alexander passed that way and read the King's petition. The words from the dead moved him, and he caused the inscription to be cut again in Greek letters below the Persian characters, that all the world might read the message.

Cyrus knew that mortal man would visit his tomb from generation to generation. He had made an empire out of many countries, a nation out of many tribes, and he knew he was entitled to be remembered. The place of sepulture of a great man should be of interest to the world. We approach it with reverence. We draw from it the lessons of life and listen while it speaks to us of our own mortality. We raise costly monuments over the great dead, and then we visit and re-visit their shrines to do homage and to inspire our hearts. Our intelligence tells us there is no longer any connection between the body and the departed soul. Superstition whispers us the spirit still haunts the place which holds what was once its earthly tabernacle. Whatever sentiment may move us, it is grievous to be told that the tomb before which we stand is empty of its tenant, or is inhabited by the dust of an uninvited guest. If the literary world were told that the admonition of the poet whose bones were placed beneath the stones of the little church in Stratford-on-Avon had not been respected, and that these

sacred relics had been removed to another tomb, there would be no peace until the truth was known. The scholar and the pilgrim might worship the poet's memory as well under a tablet within the walls of Westminster as standing beside another tomb in some country church, but they must know the true place of burial and the genuineness of the venerated dust.

Where are the remains of Columbus, the Discoverer of a New World? If in Seville, we can do him honour in Seville and make pious pilgrimages to that Spanish city. If the tomb in that city covers the ashes of some unknown dead, and if another sepulchre holds the true remains, there can be no peace until testimony be taken in the court of historical inquiry and judgment rendered on fact and on presumption. If the traveller indulges in sentiment before the tomb in Seville when the veritable remains of Columbus lie in the Cathedral of St. Domingo, he performs a solemn farce. If we say words of veneration before the high altar of the St. Domingo Cathedral when the true dust of the Discoverer sleeps in a Spanish city, our speaking is mockery. To some minds an inquiry concerning the last resting-place of the remains of Columbus will be a sleeveless errand and the settlement of the truth of meagre moment.

While human nature yields to sentiment and fancy, while the living who are yet alive remember the dead who are already dead, while a dutiful observance is to be discharged with form and ceremony, while sculptured stone transmits to posterity the memory of a man who was good and of a deed which was great, so long will the world hold it a pious purpose to establish with certainty the place where rest the ashes of Columbus.

CHAPTER CXXV

THIRDS, EIGHTHS, AND TENTHS

When Columbus returned from his fourth and last voyage in the fall of 1504, he came to Spain a broken and disappointed man. His thirds in the partnership met with no acknowledgment. His eighths and tenths remained unpaid. The dying Isabella could not hear him ask for his rights. His honours were not confirmed. His purse was the wallet of the poor commoner rather than the full bag of a part owner of the New World. Another administered the office which should have been his. An ungrateful King held back from him his share of revenues which another Governor, Nicólas de Ovando, was sending home from Española. He was an Admiral without a caravel, a prince without a principality, the partner of a King without power to touch a maravedi of kingly profits. From a deserving pensioner he became an unwelcome creditor. As the Court was moving northward, the King promised him rewards when they were returned to Andalusia. The treasury would open at Cordova. Recompense would be paid in Castile, not in Aragon.

When the Admiral landed at San Lucar on the seventh of November, 1504, he made his way to Seville, and perhaps for a time took up his abode with the monks of the Carthusian order, whose monastery was near that city. We think he then must have had a house [1] and a home of his own, for his state was such as indicated a person of consequence. He had servants and messengers, stewards and agents. While in Seville an infirmity—the gout, which long had troubled him—took hold upon him with increased sharpness, and in a letter dated in that city on the twenty-first day of November, 1504, written to his son

[1] Certainly in January, 1502, the Admiral had his own house in the Parish of St. Mary in Seville.

Diego, who was then with the Court at Medina del Campo, the Admiral fears to undertake the journey thither lest the cold should aggravate his disease. On Monday, the first day of December, 1504, he writes to Diego that he desires him to speak to the King—he really says "their Majesties," showing that at this date, five days after her death, he had not heard of the fatal result of Isabella's illness—of his malady, and to tell him how impossible it was for him to go to Court and kiss his royal hands. In this same letter he declares that his infirmity will not permit him to write during the day, when he has no control over his hands, but such writing as he does himself is accomplished in the hours of the night. The next day he sends to the Court his brother Bartholomew, known in the history of the New World as the Adelantado,[1] and Diego's younger brother Ferdinand, the illegitimate son of Columbus by Beatriz Enriquez. It is important for the Admiral to have faithful friends at Court, and thus he is left alone in Seville. He constantly hopes to be able to travel, and has a litter prepared and ready to set out, but his gout and the cold which aggravates it counsel him to remain in Seville.

It has been customary to describe Columbus at this time as in something approaching actual want. This is not so. There is a vast difference between that poverty which does not admit of keeping up the appearance of a princely estate or even of maintaining a respectable establishment, and that degree of poverty which makes shelter and food doubtful and perplexing. In his letter to Diego, written on Friday, December 13, 1504, the Admiral tells him that Ferdinand carries with him one hundred and fifty ducats, a part of which will be for him, and, moreover, he carries a letter of credit upon some merchants. "Make sparing use of this money," he writes, "for I have accumulated in the Indies only four thousand castellanos instead of the eleven or twelve thousand with which the world credits me." Farther

[1] The King and Queen created Bartholomew Columbus Adelantado of the Indies by a Royal patent dated from the Court, then in the town of Medina del Campo, July 22, 1497, thus confirming the appointment made by Columbus on the second voyage, and which he was fully empowered to make according to his *Privileges*. This office, described by Salazar de Mendoça in his *Origen de las Dignidades* printed at Toledo in 1618, is equivalent to a President or Chief Justice of the Kingdom in time of peace and to a Captain-General in time of war. Harrisse regards the position as corresponding to the ancient office of Grand Sénéschal in France.

on in the same letter he says: "I send thee with this another letter of credit upon some merchants. I have already told thee the motives which exist for moderating thine expenses; have for thine uncle great respect and act towards thy brother as an elder should towards the younger; thou hast no other and, thank God, he is such a one as thou canst desire; he is born with a good disposition, which he happily is inclined to cultivate." Again, in the same letter, he says: "If Agostin, the Italian, and François de Grimaldo, are not willing to give thee such money as thou needest, find out others who will give it thee. When I receive thy notes, when I see thy signature, I will on sight pay whatever thou hast received, because I have no one here at present by whom I can remit any specie to thee." This is certainly not the language of one without resources. Moreover, when he executed verbally his confirmation of his Will the day before his death, seven of his servants were witnesses to his act. Such a household does not suggest domestic poverty.[1]

In the presence of the King asking for his rights, demanding that their co-partnership papers be acknowledged and the specifications be fulfilled, Columbus is a beggar. At Seville, with his family representatives gone to Court in his interests,

[1] It is true that in a letter intrusted to Diego Mendez addressed to their Majesties dated from the Indies, in the island of Jamaica, July 7, 1503, written, he himself says, while in the island of Dominica, the Admiral complains: "Twenty years of service in the midst of fatigues and of perilous work have profited me nothing, so that to-day I do not possess in Castile a roof to cover my head [no tengo en Castile una teja]; if I wish to eat or rest myself, I may do so at a tavern and for the most part this resource is denied me because I have not the wherewithal to pay my bill." In 1502, the year before, he certainly possessed a house in Seville in the parish of St. Mary. Again in the same letter he says: "I have not even a small bit of money to contribute to an offertory." The original Spanish of this letter cannot be found. Early reference to a similar letter is noticed in Ferdinand Columbus's *Historie; or, Life of his Father*, where the son states that Columbus sent the letter to their Catholic Majesties, by the hand of Diego Mendez. In the French edition of the *Historie* no mention is made of this letter, but only of one written by Diego Mendez himself, to the King and Queen. Monsieur Bossi says that this letter was translated by Constanzo Bayuera de Brescia and printed in Venice in 1505, which is saying it is our *Lettera*. A copy exists in the Royal Library at Madrid, but it does not pretend to have been made directly from the original. The genuineness of this letter, as the reader has seen, is a matter of importance to our inquiry, for it contains the only reference to a wound which it has been asserted Columbus received in battle as a young man, certainly before he entered the service of Spain. It is by no means certain that Columbus wrote this letter as it has come down to us. In one place the Spanish text reads: "Los que fuéron con el Almirante": "Those who went with the Admiral." Would Columbus have thus spoken in the third person if he himself had written this passage?

he is a capitalist. We hear the jingle of golden ducats in his wallet, and his credit seems good among Italian and French merchants, as well as with the money-lenders of Spain. It was well known that the Admiral had claims on the King and Queen, and that the Indies which he had discovered were expected to furnish him with a royal income. The merchants of Seville knew that he had himself advanced some twelve thousand castellanos for the expenses and wages of the men who were with him on his last voyage, some of whom he had sent on to the Court. This money under any circumstances would soon be returned him, so the credit of the Admiral with the bankers was founded on substantial grounds. One of these letters of credit, we learn from his letter to Diego dated December 29, 1505, was made by François de Ribarol and the other by François Doria. They were addressed to a merchant or banker by the name of Pantaleon, and to Agostin, an Italian. Probably these bankers followed the Court from place to place, administering to the financial necessities of the courtiers and attendants, and perhaps of Royalty itself.

On the twenty-first day of December, 1504, we find the Admiral again bewailing his inability to move, and expressing his strong purpose to set out after January. To that end, and because of the condition of the roads, he asks Diego to obtain for him permission to ride a mule. The use of the mule, so gentle of movement, so sure and smooth of foot, once diminished the number of horses in Spain to such a point that Alfonso XI., King of Castile and Leon, issued an edict forbidding any one to travel upon a mule. Later this was modified, and certain clergy and grandees were permitted to make use of mules in travelling. In the year 1494 it was so difficult to obtain horses for the service of the army that King Ferdinand forbade the use of mules to all except officers of the Church. Hence it was no small thing the Admiral asked, but the order shows it was cheerfully granted.[1]

In all the letters written to Diego, his son, and to this day preserved in the private archives of the Duke of Veragua, the Admiral shows extreme anxiety as to the intentions of the King towards him in the matter of confirming to him his rights. He counsels Diego to make every effort to secure these rights at

[1] This cedula we have already given in full on p. 272 of our first volume.

once. In a post-scriptum in his own hand attached to the letter of December 29, 1504, he says:

"I repeat that if you wish to hurry our affairs you must produce the letter their Majesties wrote me when I departed and in which they said they would put me in possession; it is necessary next to show that which is written in the Book of Privileges and which proves according to every form of reason and justice that the third, the eighth and the tenth belong to me. There will be always time to yield a rebate."

The passage to which the Admiral refers occurs in the letter written him by the Sovereigns from Valence de la Torre, March 14, 1502, nearly two months before he set sail from Cadiz on his fourth voyage, and is as follows:

"The favours we have accorded you will be maintained in their entirety according to the form and tenor of the Privileges which we have given you without change in the least particular, and you and your sons will enjoy them, as it ought to be. If it were necessary to confirm them anew, we would so confirm them and we would put your son in possession of all the things that have been accorded you, and our sincere wish is to honour you still more and to accord you new recompenses."

CHAPTER CXXVI

A USE FOR GOLD

A MAN may have his own. A contract must be mutually binding on its parties. When Columbus discovered the islands hitherto unknown he became Admiral of the Ocean-sea and, as he interpreted his rights, entitled to his thirds. Whenever he furnished his eighth part of an enterprise, he was to have an eighth of the returns. When there was a division of gold and silver and precious stones, or of profits and gains of any kind, he was to receive his tenths. Might not the creditor ask for his due? Did not the Sovereigns possess the Indies,—the Indies he found for them? Was one portion of the partnership to receive profit and the other go unrecognised? Were the two thirds belonging to the Sovereigns to draw dividends and no accounting be given the one third belonging to the Admiral? Were the seven eighths adventured by the Sovereigns to be returned with gains and the one eighth risked by Columbus to go unsatisfied? Were the nine tenths of profits due the Sovereigns so sacred that they must deprive their poorer partner of his one tenth? Christopher Columbus, the Admiral of the Ocean-sea, demanded his share of the wealth of the New World. For what purpose did he want it?

The Columbian shield presents two metals to the observer, according as he approaches its shining sides. We can understand a sincere critic, beholding the Admiral at the end of his life as obstinate in claiming his thirds, his eighths, his tenths as he was formerly pertinacious in presenting his first projects to the Sovereigns, calling him a sordid creature, reaping to the last blade all he ever sowed, illiberal, mercenary, covetous. He is old, but greedy. He is infirm, but rapacious. He wears a

Franciscan cord, but his thoughts are on gold and honours. The critic hears him utter a sentiment which, even if true, ought not to be confessed without qualifying words:

"Lo oro e metalle fopra gli altri excellentiſſimo: & del oro fi fanno li thefori: & chi lo tiene fa: & opera quanto vuole in el mundo: & finalmẽte azonze a mãdare le anime al paradiſo."

"Gold is a metal most excellent above all others and of gold treasures are formed, and he who has it makes and accomplishes whatever he wishes in the world and finally uses it to send souls into Paradise."

Here is a qualification in the last few words. We commend a tenacious purpose, yet if the end is selfishness the man is not a hero, but the doer of mean things. If the conscientious critic will observe the shield from another point, it may assume a different aspect.

In the Majorat, established February 22, 1498, Columbus provided for a temporary repository and for the ultimate destination of his money:

"Because it becomes every man of rank and income to serve God, and for the benefit of his honour that it may be perceived that it is by himself and by means of his fortune; and as any money whatever yonder in St. George is very secure and Genoa is a noble and powerful city by the Sea: and because at the time I started to go and discover the Indies it was with the intention of supplicating the King and Queen, our Sovereigns, that the revenue which their Highnesses might have in the Indies *they should determine to spend in the conquest of Jerusalem;* and in this manner I supplicated it, and if they do it, it will be a good design; and if not, that it may yet be the said Don Diego, or the person who inherits in this purpose to collect the said money in order to go with the King, our Lord, if it should be, *to Jerusalem to reconquer it;* or to go alone with the greatest force that he has, that it will please our Lord if he has and shall have the intention, to give him such aid that he will be able to do it and may do it; and if he shall not have money to conquer all, that he will give him at least enough for a part of it; therefore let him collect and create a fund out of his treasure in the Bank of St. George in Genoa, and let it there multiply until he has a sufficient quantity so that it may appear to him and he may know, that he will be able to do some good work in this matter of Jerusalem: because I believe that after the King and Queen, our Sovereigns, and their successors, shall see that he is determined in this, their Highnesses will be moved to do it themselves, and will give him aid and comfort as to a servant and vassal, who will do it in their name."

If we may believe the Majorat, the discovery of the Indies

was a part of a general scheme, the full consummation of which was to be found in a regained Jerusalem. To this object the Spanish Sovereigns were pledged, and to its accomplishment Columbus dedicated his fortune and the services of his heirs.

In his famous *Lettera* we found the old Admiral on the shores of Jamaica suffering from bodily disease, his faculties impaired, fatigued by misfortunes on land and assailed by unfriendly waters, grieving over the quarrels of his men, mindful of the ingratitude of Kings, and at times doubtful of the future. But he hears a voice speaking to him as he lies overcome by feebleness, sorrow, and disappointment, chiding him for his want of faith, and telling him that the future holds for him yet other duties, other purposes, and other fulfilments: "*Tu viejes no impedira á toda cosa grande*": "Thine old age shall not hinder thee from accomplishing other great things." What other great things did this dreamer contemplate in his old age? In the same letter we see his ambitions, strong and burning, and we recognise them as those consistent with his earlier purposes, and as familiar to his eyes from his youth, when first he began to consider himself a chosen vehicle for bearing to a successful issue the high designs of Providence. Truly, gold is excellent. What other great man once sought gold, much refined gold, and used it for a high design? David—David the shepherd lad—raised to be King of the Jews.[1] He sought gold and, not suffered to carry out his purpose himself, he bequeathed to his son Solomon a hundred thousand talents of gold and a million talents of silver and brass and iron and wood, to build a temple fit for the Lord of Hosts, who hitherto had gone about homeless from tent to tent and from tabernacle to tabernacle. Thus spake the impressionable Columbus after reading the book of the Chronicles and the Prophecies of Ezra:

"Hierusaleme & el monte Sion como ſi ſcrive ha de eſſere reedificato

[1] In the famous letter to the Bank of St. George—See No. XVIIII., in "The Handwriting of Columbus"—Christopher Columbus likens himself to David and says: "Nr̃o S^{or} me ha feeho la mayor merced q̃ des pues de dabid": "Our Lord has done me the greatest favour sinee the favour He did David."

The Holy Writings generally present their heroes as seleeted by Providenee from their eradle and intended for the work finally eonfided to their hands. Running through Plutareh's Lives, the same choosing by the gods of human agents is revealed. These two books were mueh rcad by Columbus and fed his imagination with thoughts of Divine employment.

p̄ mano di chriſtiano: chi ha de eſſere queſto? Dio per bocca del propheta nel decimo quarto pſalmo cuſſi lo dice. Lo abbate Joachin diſſe che queſta perſona haueua de eſſere di Spagna. Sancto Hieronymo a quella ſancta doña gli moſtro el camino per douerlo fare. Lo imperatore del Cataio: za molti zorni domãdo: & fece gran coſa p̄ hauere homini intelligenti gli inſegnaſſino in la fede di chriſto. Chi fera colui ſe li offeriſcha ad farceli hauere? Se idio mi porta cũ bene a Spagna io prometto a U.M. & mi obligo cõdurcelo io cũ lo aiuto di dio ſani & ſalui: & cuſſi lo metero in opera como lo dico."

"Jerusalem and Mt. Zion, as it is written, must be rebuilt by Christian hands. Who shall do this? God by the mouth of the Prophet says so in the 14th Psalm. The Abbot Joachim said that this person was to be from Spain. St. Jerome showed to that holy woman the way to accomplish this. The Emperor of Cathay [1] a long time since, asked and did great things to secure intelligent men who might instruct him in the faith of Christ. Who shall be that one to offer himself to procure this for him? If God brings me safe to Spain I promise to your Majesties and obligate myself to conduct him thither with the aid of God in health and safety.[2] And so will I put into work that which I speak."

The gold of Española was to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem. The wealth of the Indies was to rescue the Holy Sepulchre from the hand of the Moslem. This was why gold, in the eyes of the Admiral, was an excellent thing. But, as David, who found and gathered gold, was not himself permitted to build the Temple, the task being confided to his son and descendants, so Christopher Columbus, suspecting that, perhaps, after all, he might not behold with his own eyes the recovery of the Sepulchre, instituted the Majorat and confided to his

[1] The reader's attention is particularly directed to this passage, as it is a further proof that the celebrated letter of Toscanelli is genuine. The critics have objected that in no place has Columbus made reference to Toscanelli's letter. We have shown in our introduction to the "Journal of the First Voyage," that Columbus quotes almost verbatim from Toscanelli's letter. Here we find him referring to that passage in Toscanelli's letter where he describes the application to Pope Eugenius for teachers learned in the faith to instruct the Great Khan and his people.

[2] The last part of this passage may be read to mean that by carrying wise men, missionaries, to Española and the Indies, he will have accomplished the mission. We do not so read this passage. The missionaries were to go where they had not yet gone, to Cathay, the real Indies, not Española and the Western Indies, for already in 1502 in his *Book of Privileges* the new lands were spoken of as the West Indies,—a fact not generally known and to which we have called attention in this Work. The cries which had gone out to Eugenius were to be answered by the efforts of Columbus, and the Great Khan and his subjects were to be instructed in the things of God.

This promise could not be directed to sending priests or missionaries to Española, for they had been going thither for years, since the return there of Columbus on his second voyage.

heirs the gathering of the utmost farthing due him by his compact with the Sovereigns of Spain. His honours, his rights, his privileges, were all part of the great general plan, and through them were to roll into the Columbian treasury the excellent yellow and white money, the hundred thousand talents of gold and the million talents of silver, the brass and iron and wood with which his visionary soul beheld the Temple rebuilded and the Holy Mount regained. The latter days of Columbus, then, were not days of selfish longing for gold and silver for themselves, or for the pleasure of buying with them the desires of earth. He entertained a good, but wild, purpose and urged its fulfilment on his son and heirs. The avowal of this purpose may not of itself admit Columbus to sainthood, but we submit that it does remove from him the charge of sordidness which some writers attribute to him.

CHAPTER CXXVII

THE DEATH OF COLUMBUS

Christopher Columbus died in the city of Valladolid on the Feast of the Ascension, the twentieth day of May, in the year 1506. Valladolid was once an important capital. Within its walls the Spanish Cortes held many sittings. When Isabella of Castile, the heir of her brother, was persecuted by him because of the proposed alliance with the House of Aragon, she fled to Valladolid, establishing there so much of a Court as the situation permitted. Here Ferdinand of Aragon made his way through many dangers, travelling part of the journey from his father's kingdom in the disguise of a lackey. The alliance, which had appealed to Isabella from political reasons, now seemed more desirable from the manly beauty and attractive personality of the young prince, and here, on October 19 in the year 1469, the two heirs to their respective kingdoms had their nuptials solemnised in public celebration. Here, too, eight and fifty years afterwards, their great-grandson, Philip the Second of Spain, was born. Cervantes lived in Valladolid for three years early in the seventeenth century. The house in which he spent the years from 1603 to 1606 is still pointed out to travellers, but one sees it in a state of decay.

In a short and unimportant street running from the church of La Magdalena, erected in 1570, to the larger thoroughfare, Calle de Francos, is the house in which Columbus died. Like the house of Cervantes, it is in a somewhat dilapidated condition, but an inscription notifies the visitor that it is the Casa de Colon, and the street itself is called Calle de Cristobal Colon.

It is a strange commentary on man's forgetfulness of his fellow that Christopher Columbus, who had filled so large a

place in the world at the close of the fifteenth century, should die and be buried without any unusual expression of public sorrow and with no mention of his end by historian or chronologer. Peter Martyr was in Valladolid a few days before Columbus died, and again shortly after that event, and yet he makes no reference whatsoever to the death of this great man. That his pen was not idle may be seen from his letters.

He wrote a letter (No. ccxciiii.) to Count de Tendilla from Salamanca, dated tertio nonas Jan. M.D.VI. (January 3).

Letter ccxcv. is addressed to the Archbishop of Granada, and is dated *ex Valleoleti*, quarto idus Februarii, M.D.VI, Valladolid, February 10, 1506.

Letter No. ccxcvi. is addressed to the Archbishop of Granada, and is dated *ex Valleoleti*. XVI. Kalendas Martii. M.D.VI, Valladolid, February 14, 1506.

Letter No. ccxcvii. is addressed to the Archbishop of Granada, and is dated *ex Valleoleti*. quinto Kalendas Martii. M.D.VI. Valladolid, February 25, 1506.

Letter No. ccxcviii. is addressed to the Archbishop of Granada, and is dated *ex Valleoleti*. in Kalendas Martii. M.D.VI, Valladolid, March 1, 1506.

Letter No. ccxcix. is addressed to the Count de Tendilla, and is dated *ex Valleoleti*. pridie nonas Aprilis. M.D.VI, Valladolid, April 4, 1506.

Letter No. ccc. is addressed to Count de Tendilla, and is dated *ex Valleoleti*, sexto Kalēdas Maii, M.D.VI. Valladolid, April 26, 1506.

Letter No. ccci. is addressed to the Archbishop of Granada, and is dated *legioni*, quam dicitis Hiſpani Leon, nonis Maii, M.D.VI, Leon, May 7, 1506.

Letter No. cccii. is addressed to the Licentiate de Frias, *legioni* in nonis Maii, M.D.VI, Leon, May 7, 1506.

Letter No. ccciii. is also dated from Leon the same day as the preceding, and is addressed to the Count de Tendilla.

Letter No. ccciiii. is addressed to the Archbishop of Granada, and is dated *Ex Aſturica* idus Maii, M.D.VI, Astorga, May 15, 1506.

Letter No. cccv. is addressed to the Archbishop of Granada, and is dated *ex oppido Clunio*, pridie Kalendas Junii, M.D.VI, Corunna, May 31, 1506.

House at Valladolid in which Christopher Columbus Died.

Letter No. cccvi. is addressed to the Treasurer Ludovicus St. Regis, and is dated *ex oppido Clunio* pridie Kalendas Junii. M.D.VI. Corunna, May 31, 1506.

Letter No. cccvii. is addressed to the Archbishop of Granada, and is dated *ex Villafafila* XII. Kalendas Julii. M.D.VI. Villafasila (near Santiago de Campostella), June 20, 1506.

Letter No. cccviii. is addressed to the Archbishop of Granada, and is dated *ex Valleoleti*, pridie Kalendas Julii. M.D.VI. Valladolid, June 30, 1506.

Letter No. cccix. is addressed to the Archbishop of Granada, and is dated *ex Valleoleti* . . . nonis Julii M.D.VI, Valladolid, July 7, 1506.

Letter No. cccx. is addressed to the Archbishop of Granada, and is dated *Ex Valleoleti* feptimo idus Julii, M.D.VI, Valladolid, July 9, 1506.

Letter No. cccxi. is addressed to the Archbishop of Granada, and is dated *Burgos*, septimo idus Septembris, M.D.VI. Burgos, September 7, 1506.

Thus we see Peter Martyr was in the city of Valladolid from February 10 to April 26, 1506, and that, while he made a short excursion to the coast, he returned there by June 30, 1506, when the Admiral had been dead and buried nearly six weeks. If, upon his return to Valladolid, he had communicated the news of the Admiral's death, it surely would have been to either the Archbishop of Granada or to his early patron, the Count de Tendilla. The fact that he knew the Admiral was dead is revealed in the first chapter of his *Second Decade*, published at Alcala in 1516:

"In decadis noſtræ oceaneæ narratione: quæ me inconſulto per chriſtianum orbem impreſſa uagatur: chriſtophorum colonum lygurem eas inſulas: quarum meminimus reperiſſe: læuãq; de hinc uerſum ad meridiem in uaſtas terrarum pelagiq; regiones ab æquinoctiali linea a quinto ad decimum gradum tantum diſcedentes incidiſſe deſcripſimus: ubi lata flumina niuales altiſſimosq; montes littoribus imminentes & placidiſſimos portus inuenerat. Colono iam uita functo regi cura ingens exorta eſt: ut terræ illæ nouæ a chriſtianis habitandea in religionis noſtræ argumentum occuparetur."

"In the declaration of my decade of the ocean, which is now printed and dispersed throughout Christendom unawares to me, I described how Christopher Columbus found those islands whereof we have spoken, and that turning from thence toward the left hand southward, he chanced

upon great regions of lands and large seas distant from the equinoctial line as much as from five to ten degrees; where he found wide rivers and very high mountains close to the shore and covered with snow, and harbours most quiet. *Columbus, already having departed out of this life*, the King began to take care how that these lands might be colonised with Christians for the increase of our Faith."

So far as we know, this is the first published notice of the death of Columbus.[1]

[1] On the back of the Royal Cedula addressed by the Catholic King under date of June 2, 1506, to Ovando, some unknown clerk inscribed these words: "E agora el dicho Almirante es fallecido" : "The said Admiral is now dead."

CHAPTER CXXVIII

BURIAL AT VALLADOLID

In the Majorat[1] of 1498, the Admiral directed that there should be erected somewhere in the island of Española a church to be called *Santa Maria de la Concepcion.* In this church he further ordered there should be built a chapel, in which masses should be said for the repose of his soul and for the souls of his ancestors and successors. In the Will, supposed to have been executed at Segovia, August 25, 1505, he designates a place for the erection of the chapel: "If his [Diego's] fortune is sufficient he may make the said chapel honourable, and increase the orisons and prayers for the honour of the Holy Trinity, and if this can be in the island of Española, which God gave me miraculously, I would be glad that it might be yonder, where I invoked it, which is in the Vega that is called La Concepcion." There was once a church erected there and its ruins exist until this day, but it does not appear to have been erected from the bequest of the Admiral. La Concepcion de la Vega was the site of the fortress established by Columbus near the hill of Santo Cerro,[2] in the Vega Real, and in the first

[1] In this Majorat exeeuted February 22, 1498, one of the items was as follows:

"That at the time which is found convenient, he [Diego] shall order a church built in the most suitable place in the island of Española, which shall be called Santa Maria de la Concepcion and it shall have a hospital upon the best possible plan, the same as those in Castile and Italy; and he shall order a chapel to be erected in which masses for my soul and the souls of our ancestors and successors shall be said with much devotion; as it pleases God to give us a sufficient revenue and that the aforesaid may be fulfilled."

[2] It was on the Holy Hill—Santo Cerro—that there was erected the cross to which so many wonders have been ascribed by those who believe in modern miracles. Several early Spanish historians have narrated its attempted destruction by the Indians, who, seeing the veneration in which this cross was held by their cruel masters, the Spaniards, regarded it as a fetich which worked them harm and sought over and over again to destroy it, now by flames, now by sharp instruments, by every means, only to find it protected and secure, whereupon the natives yielded their homage and joined in the universal veneration.

half of the sixteenth century it was a most important town, but it was destroyed in an earthquake on the twentieth day of April in the year 1564, at the hour of early mass, and the world never knew it again. There was, then, a church erected in the town of Concepcion de la Vega, but neither the body of Columbus nor that of any member of his family ever reposed beneath its roof. Neither in this Will nor in any subsequent testament is there an expression of a desire that his remains should be buried in that church, or even that they should be transferred to the New World. The chapel was simply for the saying of masses for his soul and for the souls of his family.

Before setting out on his fourth and final voyage, the Admiral executed what some have imagined to be a new Majorat. A document was passed, the seal of the notary bearing date April 1, 1502, the day previous to that on which he wrote the letter to the Directors of the Bank of St. George at Genoa. In this letter the Admiral says:

"y deſo a dõ diego my fijo q̃ de la Renta toda q̃ se oviere q̃ os acuda ali cõ el diezmo de toda ella cada un año pa siẽpre pa ẽ deſ cuẽto de la Renta del trigo y bino y otras bitualias comederas."

"I leave it with my son Don Diego that out of the entire revenue, whatever it may amount to, there shall be given you a tenth of all the revenue each year forever, for the purpose of decreasing the tax on corn, wine, and other foods."

This would seem to indicate that whatever testamentary document he executed the day before, he had in it made provision for this item, in legally placing its enforcement on Diego and his heirs, especially since there is no such provision in the Majorat of 1498, and since the language employed in this letter, indefinite and obscure as to the legatee, never could be construed as a legal intent or as establishing a legal obligation. The second, or new Majorat, to which reference is had in the Will of May 19, 1506, has never been produced. It is not likely that it materially differed from the first.

The first Majorat contained this clause:

"Mando al dicho D. Diego, mi hijo, ó á la perſona que heredare el dicho Mayorazgo, que tenga o ſoſtenga ſiempre en la cibdad de Genova, una perſona de nueſtra linaxe, que tenga alli caſa e muxer, e le ordene rrenta con que ſe pueda vivir honrradamente, como perſona tan alleganda en nuestra linaxe, e faga pie e rraiz en la dicha cibdad, como natural della,

porque podrá haber de la dicha cibdad ayuda e favor en las cofas del menefter fuyo, pues que della fali e en ella nafci."

"I direct the said Don Diego, my son, or the person who shall inherit the said Majorat, that he shall keep and always maintain in the city of Genoa, a person of our lineage, one who possesses a house and a wife, and provide him with income with which to live honourably as a person belonging to our lineage, established and settled in the said city, and who as a citizen might have of the said city aid and favour in such things as he might need, since from there I set out and in it I was born." [1]

Manifestly this item placed no fiduciary duties upon the Bank of St. George, and if it frequently makes mention of the city of Genoa it is only to provide for the honourable living of one of its citizens, who should be a member of the family rendered distinguished by the testator's own achievements. And no impecunious wool-carder shall be the beneficiary under this Will, but one who already is established as an honourable citizen, having a house of his own and secure in domestic obligations. The generous instinct is not so apparent here as the pride of family, and it needs the charitable bequest to the Bank of St. George, lessening the cost to Genoese citizens of corn and wine and food, to make us forget the weakness of the Admiral in requiring that only a rich member of his family should have the benefit of his fortune.

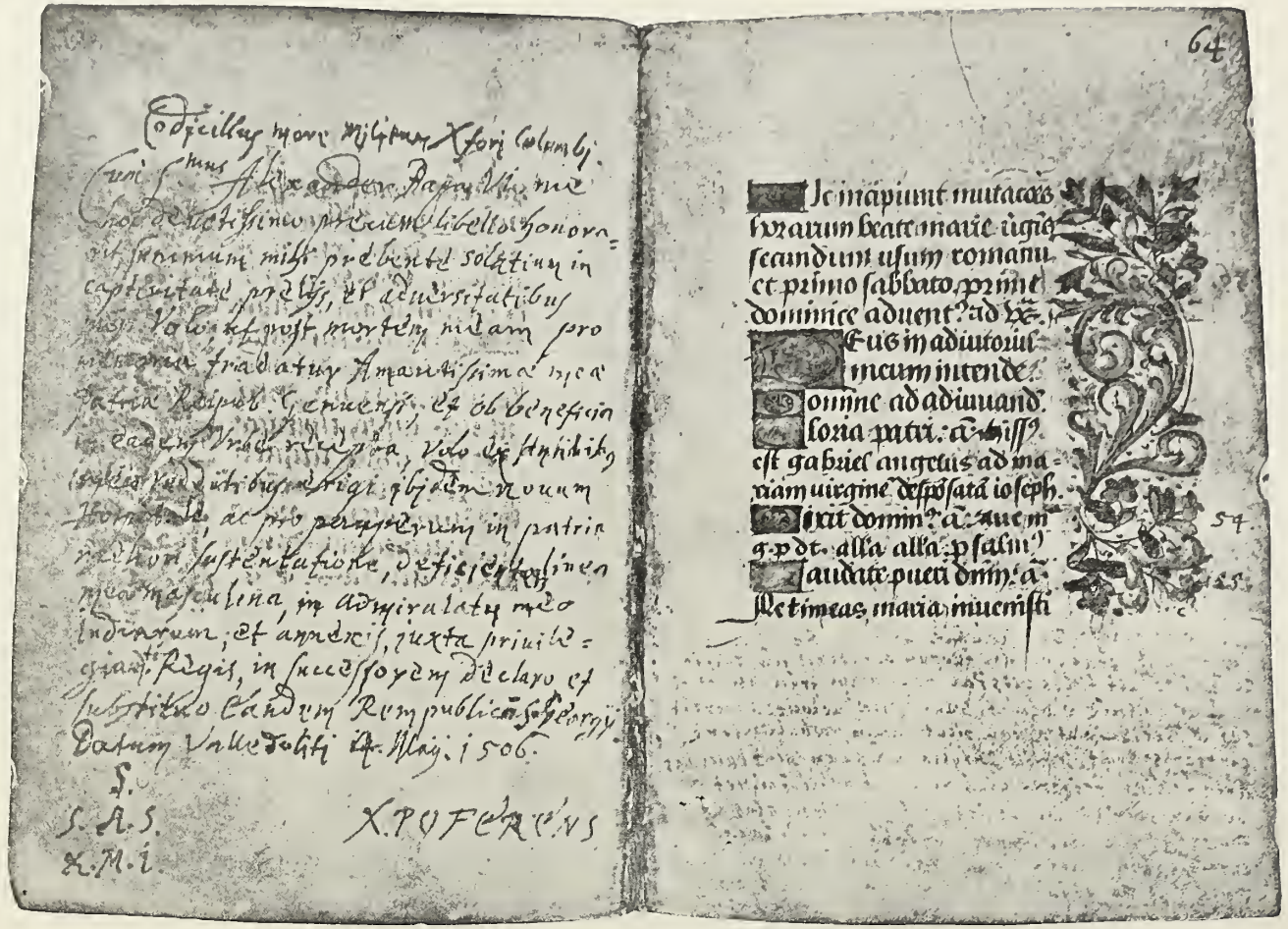
In the summer of the year 1505, on the twenty-fifth day of August, being at Segovia, a town of Old Castile, some forty-five miles north-west of Madrid, the Admiral executed a codicil to his Will. Here again the original is lost, but we will find it incorporated in full in the formal last Will, dated the day previous to the death of the illustrious testator, May 19, 1506.[2]

[1] There have been preserved two copies of the Majorat, and as neither appears to have been executed, the inference is that the original is lost. One of these is preserved in the Archives of the Indies in Seville; the other is in the National Archives at Genoa. There are differences, not very important, between them, and as we have quoted in the text the item as found in the Sevillian document, we here give the same in the Archives at Genoa:

"Mando al dicho Don Diego my hijo ó la perfona que heredare el dicho mayorazgo, que tenga y foftenga fiempre en la ciudad de Genoa una perfona de nueftro linage, que tenga alli eafa, y muger, y le ordene rrenta con que se pueda vivir honeftatemente como perfona tan llegada a nueftro linage y haga pié y rraiz en la dicha ciudad, como natural della, porque podra haver de la dicha ciudad ayuda y fabor en las cofas del menefter fuyo, puesque della salli, y en ella naçi.

[2] The Will of August 25, 1505, as incorporated in the last Will dated May 19, 1506, does not give the place of its execution, but in the *Memorial del Pleyto* (No. 39, page 8) one finds this subscription:

"Fecha á veinticinco de agosto de mil y quinientos y cinco años en Segovia."



Doubtful Military Will of Columbus.

The so-called Military Codicil is no longer a serious consideration, and it finds a place in history only as a curiosity. It is a manifest fabrication, and is neither a holograph nor signed document from the hand of the Discoverer.[1]

Transliteration

"Codicillus more militum Christofori Columbi.
Cum *Serenissi*mus Alexander Papa vi. me
hoc devotissimo precum libello honorarit summum mihi prebente solatium in
captiuitate, preliis, et aduersitatibus meis. Volo, ut post mortem meam pro
memoria tradatur, Amantissimæ meæ
Patriæ Repub*licæ* Genuensi, et ob beneficia
. . . . ibus statis
in eadem Vrbe recepta, volo ex annuis
meis
indie redditibus erigi ibidem nouum Hospitale, ac pro pauperum in patria q*ue*
meliori sustentatione deficiente linea mea masculina, in Admiliratu meo
Indiarum, et annexis, iuxta priuilea d*i*cti
gium Regis, in successorem declaro et
substituo eandem Rempublica*m* S*ancti* Georgij.
Datum Valledoliti 4. Maij. 1506.
S.
S. A. S. Xpo Ferens."
X. M. i.

Translation

"Codicil of Christopher Columbus, made after the manner of soldiers.

"Since the Most Holy Father Alexander VI. presented me with a book of devotion which I have had with me and which has been my solace in captivity, in battles, and in adverse fortunes, I now desire that after my death this precious gift may be given for a memorial to my most dear country the Republic of Genoa, and on account of the benefits I have received from the said City I wish a new Hospital may be built from my Indian revenues, for the better care of the poor of my country, and in case of the extinguishment of my male line, I declare and substitute the said Republic of Saint George my heir to the Admiralty of the Indies and to the other privileges connected therewith.

"Done at Valladolid May 4, 1506.
S.
S. A. S. Xpo Ferens."
X. M. i.

[1] What is called the Military Will of Columbus is not considered a veritable document. This so-called Will or Codicil is written on the guard-folio of a breviary alleged to have been presented by Pope Alexander VI. to Columbus and carried by him wherever he travelled.

This small volume is said to have been found in a little book-stall at Rome, where it was purchased for a few pennies. In 1779 it was found in the Corsini Library when Monseigneur Gætani communicated its contents to William Robertson, the eminent historian. Two years after this, mention is made of it in the *Elogi Storici* attributed to the Marquis Ip. Durazzo.

A military will was not necessary in a city like Valladolid. The city possessed notaries and eligible witnesses on May 4 or May 14 in the year 1506, whatever the date of the month, as well as on May 19, 1506, when he executed his final Will. As for the volume itself such a book as this was much more likely to go to his friend, Father Gaspar, than to the Republic of Genoa or to the Bank of St. George.

In no Will of Christopher Columbus, in no testament of Diego Columbus, his son and heir, do we find any bequest of money, any mention of remembrance of that solitary monastery called Santa Maria de la Rabida, up among the pines beyond Palos and the Tinto. It was there that his waiting spirit watched out its darkest hour and beheld the breaking of the light. The boy Diego, and the man Christopher, poor, helpless, and all but hopeless, asked shelter at La Rabida, to find that the monastery door opened on the New Indies. While the tired lad slept, the father unfolded to a priest his great designs, and out of the prior's chamber went a new influence to argue and to conquer. It was not on the bridge of Pinos that one finds the turning-point in the career of Columbus, but within the white walls of La Rabida. And yet in his Will there is no word to show that the building had its picture in his memory. There is bequeathed not one maravedi wherewith to found a chapel, to say a mass, to burn a midnight candle.

We see, then, that in no testamentary document is there a desire expressed by Columbus to have his remains interred in any particular place. Tradition says that when he died at Valladolid he was buried in the Church of San Francisco of Santa Maria de la Antigua. He was known to be a friend of the Franciscans, and the curate of Los Palacios remembers to have seen him wearing the garb and particularly the cord of that Order.[1] We find no documentary evidence of the first resting-place of his remains. D. Gonzalo de Mena, Archbishop of Seville, founded, in the year 1400, near the said city, a Chartreuse or Carthusian Monastery, which was known as Nuestra

[1] Diego Columbus in his Will speaks repeatedly of his father's known attachment to the Order of St. Francis. In one of the items of this document he refers to his father's wish to have a chapel erected in the city of Concepcion de la Vega and expresses his purpose to found a home for a religious order in the city of San Domingo in which there shall be such a chapel destined for the same pious purpose of praying daily for the repose of his father's soul.

" . . . dicho Almirante, mi Señor, siempre fué deboto de la horden del bien abenturado Sancto Señor San Francisco. . . . e es mi voluntad de hacer e edificar un monasterio de monjas en esta cibdad, el qual quiero que sea de la dicha horden de Señor San Francisco é de su Religiosa e debota Santa Clara, en el qual monasterio, en la capilla major de la Iglesia Mayor del, este el enterramiento e sepoltura del Almirante mi señor e mia, e á la dicha capilla se trayga su cuerpo, questa depositado en el monasterio de las Cuevas de Sevilla, e alli se trayga á la misma sepultura, el cuerpo de doña Felipa Muñez mi señora, su muger, que aya gloria questa en Lisboa en el monasterio del Carmen, en una capilla de su linaje que se nombra de la piedad, e se trayga asi mismo el cuerpo del Adelantado don Bartolomé Colon mi tio questa depositado en el monasterio de San Francisco

Señora Santa Maria de las Cuevas. The benefactor completed his good work by richly endowing it, and for many generations its monks remembered him in their prayers. In the view we have given of the residence of Ferdinand Columbus, this monastery is seen on the opposite bank of the Guadalquivir. A century passed when, in the year 1507, the prior D. Diego Luxan erected a new chapel, which was long known as the chapel of Santa Aña, but which in later times was called the Chapel of Santo Christo. Sometime before the month of March in the year 1509 the remains of the Admiral were brought from Valladolid and deposited in this chapel.

desta cibdad e se trayga é ponga en la dicha sepultura. . . . Fecha en Santo Domingo a 8 de Setiembre de 1523."

"The said Admiral, my Lord, was always strongly attached to the Order of the Blessed Saint, Lord St. Francis. . . . and it is my intention to build and erect a Monastery of Nuns in this city, which I wish to be of the said Order of Lord St. Francis, and of his religious and devout St. Clara, in which Monastery in the High Chapel of its High Church, may be the interment or sepulture of the Admiral, my Lord, and my own, and his body, which is deposited in the Monastery of Las Cuevas of Seville, may be brought to the said Chapel: and there may be brought to the same sepulture the body of Doña Felipa Muñez, my Lady, his wife—may she be in glory—which is in Lisbon in the Monastery of the Carmelites, in a Chapel belonging to her family which is called De la Piedad: and there may be brought in the same manner the body of the Adelantado, Don Bartholomew Columbus, my uncle, which is deposited in the Monastery of St. Francis of this city,—and it may be placed in the said sepulture. . . . Done at San Domingo, September 8, 1523."

Perhaps the strongest suggestive testimony is found in the Will of Diego above mentioned and dated March 16, 1509, where he says:

"Item, Mando que luego fagan decir mil misas de difuntos por mi alma y [las], de mi padre y madre y antecesores, de esta manera repartidas: que ciento se digan en las Cuevas de Sevilla, y ciento en Guadalupe, y ciento en San Francisco de Sevilla. . . ."

"Also I order that then a thousand masses shall be said for my soul and the souls of my father and mother and ancestors, to be distributed in this manner: that One hundred shall be said in Las Cuevas of Seville, and One hundred in Guadaloupe, and One hundred in San Francisco of Seville. . . ."

CHAPTER CXXVIIII

MONASTERY OF LAS CUEVAS

The first Will of Don Diego Columbus was executed in the Monastery of Las Cuevas at Seville on March 16, 1509, the preamble saying:

". . . estando en el Monasterio de Sta. Maria de las Cuevas de la orden de Cartujos, que es fuera y cerca de la muy noble y leal ciudad de Sevilla."
". . . being in the Monastery of St. Mary of the Caves of the order of Carthusians, which is outside and near the very noble and loyal city of Seville."

The eleventh item of this document is as follows:

"Manda once: Item mando, que hasta que yo ó mis albaceas ó herederos tengamos disposicion y facultad para lo que pertenece á la sepultura perpetua del Almirante mi señor padre que Dios haya, que de la dicha limosna del diezmo sean dados á los padres del Monasterio de las Cuevas de Sevilla, á donde yo mande depositar el dicho cuerpo el año de quinientos nueve, diez mil maravedis en cado un año, mientras que allí estuviese depositado, para que rueguen por su alma, y de quien es obligado."

"Legacy eleven: I also order, that until I or my executors or heirs shall have disposition and license for what belongs to the perpetual sepulchre of the Admiral, my Lord and father,—may God keep him — that from the said alms of the tenth there shall be given to the fathers of the Monastery of Las Cuevas of Seville, where I ordered the said body deposited in the year 1509, ten thousand maravedis each year, while it shall be deposited there, in order that they may pray for his soul and by which order it is obligated."

Diego Ortiz de Zuñiga, whose *Annales* were printed at Seville in the year 1677, reported that the remains of the Admiral were deposited in the private chapel of the Duke of Alcala, and many historians have followed him. In the protocol of the monastery, a most precious manuscript, there is the following entry:

Monastery of Las Cuevas at Seville.

"Año 1506 — A los 20 de Mayo de este año falleció en Valladolid el heróico y esclarecido Don Cristóval de Colon, y fueron sus huesos traslados á este Monasterio y colocados por depósito, no en el entierro de los Señores de la casa de Alcala, como dice Zúñiga, sino en la capella de Santa Aña que hizo labrar el Prior D. Diego Luxan en el año siguente y es la misma que hoy llamamos se Santo Christo por lo que se dirá adelante. Este caballero fué aquel célebre Almirante de la mar, y progenitor de la casa de Veragua, para cuyo elogia basta el mote del sepulcro donde yace en la isla y ciudad de Santo Domingo, dice así: 'Á Castilla y á Leon Nuevo Mundo Dió Colon.' En la misma capilla se depositó su hijo Diego Colon.[1] . . ."

[1] "Protocol of the Monastery of Our Lady Santa Maria de las Cuevas. Annals in the first three centuries of its foundation: Contains the beginnings and progress, and the succession of its prelates from the year 1400 in which it was founded and endowed . . ."

Extract from said Protocol.:

"Volume i. Page 360–361. Year 1506. On May 20 of this year, there died in Valladolid the heroic and illustrious Don Christopher Columbus, and his bones were transported to this Monastery and arranged for deposit; not in the enclosure of the Lords of the House of Alcalá, as Zúñiga says, but in the Chapel of Santa Aña, which the Prior Don Diego Luxan had constructed the year following, and which is the same as that which we call to-day Santo Cristo, as will be shown later. This gentleman was that celebrated Admiral of the Sea, and progenitor of the House of Veragua, for whose eulogy suffices the inscription of the sepulchre where he lies in the island and city of San Domingo. It says thus, 'Á Castilla y á Leon, Nuevo Mundo Dió Colon.' In the same Chapel was deposited his son, Don Diego Columbus. There remained deposited in the Monastery, in the same manner, the titles and papers of the Almirantazgo of the Indies and estate of Veragua, where they were until the year 1609, as may be seen farther on in the years 508–536 and 609 [*sic* for 1508–1536 and 1609], where will be shown in its proper place, the remainder concerning this illustrious house and foster-child of Las Cuevas.

"Page 365–366. Year 1508. The Adelantado of the Indies, Don Bartholomew Columbus, empowered his brother Don Diego [cited in the year 506] to possess the treasure of Joias [*sic*] and moneys that he had deposited in the Monastery, and in effect it was delivered to him, for which he gave receipt, authorised by Francisco Perez de Madrigal, public writer of Alua de Tormes, August 16 of this year 508; but there yet remained deposited the titles of the Almirantazgo until the year 609, as shown in that year.

"Page 400–401. Year 536 [*sic*]. It says in the years 506 and 508 that in the Chapel of Santo Cristo lay in deposit the bodies of the Columbuses, and in the year '336' those of Don Christopher Columbus and Don Diego, his son, were delivered over, to be transported to the Island of San Domingo in the Indies, remaining alone in said Chapel the body of Don Bartholomew, his brother, until to-day.

"It is not, however, to be understood that by this the House of Veragua has any right to the Chapel; neither that the Monastery has received any alms for that purpose, although [*sic*] Don Christopher Columbus endowed it with a certain annual revenue from sugar, which revenue was never realised. And afterwards in the year 1552, the Admiral Columbus, first Duke of Veragua, solicited the Chapel persistently for the interment of himself and his descendants, offering a thousand ducats, which its construction cost, and 27 ducats for its ornamentation and repairs, his pretension succeeding so well, that he had already obtained permission from the Rev. Father General on the part of the Monastery, given in said year 552; the affair was frustrated, the House remaining in possession and direct dominion of its Chapel.

"Page 561. Year 1609–3. Supposed that it emanated in the year 506, No. 2, and 508, No. 3, upon the deposits of the Columbuses and their treasures. The entry remains of there having been handed over this year to Don Nuño Columbus of Portugal, Duke of Veragua, all the privileges and papers, titles of his estate, which yet remained deposited in our Monastery, of which he made inventory, and they being delivered, said Duke gave receipt in form, both in virtue of the order of the Teniente Don Alonso de Bolanos, before Miguel de Medina, writer of his tribunal. May 15, 1609."

The Señores de la Casa de Alcala here mentioned were the Dukes of Alcala de los Gazules in Andalusia. Navarrete gives the date of the transfer of the remains as the year 1513, and it is believed the Spanish historian simply inserted what was sent him by D. Antonio de S. Martin and D. Tomas Gonzales, who appear to have copied the protocol literally, except incorporating the date of 1513, a date which marks the institution of the Fiscal inquiry, and which applied as it is here has misled readers for many long years.

Don Diego, after the death of his father in 1506, was occupied in personal and judicial endeavours to obtain his rights. On November 24, 1506, he obtained a letter from King Ferdinand. Queen Joanna accorded him a safe conduct through her dominions, July 13, 1507. In 1508 occurred the suit against the Fiscal, to which Las Casas assigns the date here given. Two Royal Cedulas, conferring and confirming certain rights, are dated August 9 and October 29, 1508. Being at Seville, December 19, 1508, Diego executed a paper before Alonzo de Vergara, notary of that city, empowering Juan de la Peña, a follower of the Duke of Alba, to represent him before the Council of the Indies. Just before this, Don Diego had married the niece of the Duke of Alba, Doña Maria de Toledo, daughter of Fernando, Grand Falconer and Commander of Leon, an alliance which facilitated the actual, and not alone the promised, possession of his privileges.

Don Diego then was in the city of Seville between December 19, 1508, and March 16, 1509, and at some period between these two dates we may confidently fix the removal of the Admiral's remains from Valladolid to the Chapel of Santa Aña in the Monastery of Las Cuevas in Seville.

One of the strongest criticisms against the genuineness of the *Historie* and its composition by Ferdinand Columbus is in the brief reference there made to the death and burial of the Admiral.

". . . . reſe l'ànima a Dio il giorno della ſua Aſcenſione a' XX di Maggio dell' anno MDVI nel ſuddetto luogo di Vagliadolid; hauendo prima con molta diuotione preſi tutti i ſacramenti della Chieſa, e dette queſte vltime parole: *In manvs Tvas, Domine, commendo spiritvm mevm.* . . .

"Il ſuo corpo fu poi condotto a Siuiglia, & quiui nella Chieſa maggiore

Chapel of Santa Aña in Monastery of Las Cuevas at Seville, in which Lay the Remains of Columbus for more than Thirty Years.

di quella Citta fu fepolto con funebre pompa; & per ordine del Re Catolico fu meſſo a perpetua memoria de' ſuoi memorabili fatti, & ſcoprimenti delle Indie vno Epitafio in lingua Spagnuola, il quale diceua coſi:

A CASTILLA, Y A LEON
NVEVO MVNDO DIO COLON.

Cioè al Regno di Caſtiglia, & al Regno di Leone il Gran Chriſtoforo Colombo diede, & donó vn nuouo mondo."

"He rendered up his soul to God on the Day of Ascension, the twentieth day of May in the year 1506, in the aforesaid place, Valladolid; having first with great devotion taken all the sacraments of the Church, and said these last words: *Into Thy hands, Lord, I commend my spirit.* . . .

"His body was then taken to Seville and there interred in the Cathedral Church of that city with funereal pomp; and by order of the Catholic King, an epitaph in the Spanish language was placed there in memory of his notable deeds and discoveries of the Indies, which epitaph said as follows:

A CASTILLA Y A LEON
NVEVO MVNDO DIO COLON.

That is to say, To the Kingdom of Castile and Leon,[1] the Great Christopher Columbus gave a New World.' "

Naturally one says that this portion of the *Historie* was not composed by Ferdinand Columbus, who, a son of the Admiral and a citizen of Seville, must have known that his father was neither buried in the Cathedral of Seville, nor had inscribed over his tomb by Royal direction any such device. And if this portion was written by Ulloa or by some hand other than that of Ferdinand, what portion and what statements may we safely attribute to the son? · As Ferdinand died in 1539, whatever he wrote must have been of an earlier date. But, as the reader knows, his work was not published until the year 1571, when it appeared in Italian. The motto, for the second time, is mentioned in the final chapter of that edition.

[1] This is the present motto of the Dukes of Veragua. If it was adopted by Royal consent, it is morally certain that such consent was not given in the lifetime of the Admiral.

At the same time the following curious and suggestive expression occurs in the Will of August 25, 1505:

"El Rey é la Reina nuestros Señores, cuando yo les serví con las Indias: digo serví, que parece que yo por la voluntad de Dios, nuestro Señor se las dí, como cosa que era mia."

"The King and Queen, our Sovereigns, when I served them in the Indies—I say served, because it appears that I, by the will of God, gave them [the Indies] to them, as something which was mine."

The derivation of the motto can be accounted for, but the fact remains that it was not bestowed upon the Admiral while living.

It will be noticed in the Protocol of Las Cuevas, which dates from 1609, that this motto is not mentioned as ever having been inscribed over his tomb in that monastery. It is said that when the remains were transported to San Domingo his best eulogy was found in *The Inscription of the Sepulchre where he lies in the island and city of San Domingo; it says thus: A Castilla y a Leon, Nuevo Mundo Dio Colon.*

This passage in the Protocol makes it more than probable that no such motto was known to be on his tomb in the Chapel of Santa Aña. Otherwise an opportunity would not be lost the monastery to claim the honour of having itself pronounced so remarkable a eulogy.

The first mention of such a motto is found in Oviedo,[1] where it appears in the following form:

> " *Por Castilla é por Leon*
> *nuevo mundo halló Colon.*"
>
> " For Castile and for Leon
> Columbus found a New World."

We have already, in the chapter on the "Book of Privileges," examined the coat-of-arms granted Christopher Columbus by the Sovereigns. In that collection of documents covering his rights and privileges, Columbus caused to be inserted a painted copy of his coat-of-arms, such as he believed himself entitled to bear. But there is no mention whatsoever of any such motto. In point of fact, it is distinctly stated in the *Historie* that this motto was at the express order of King Ferdinand himself. The composition of this motto would seem to be subsequent to the Admiral's death.

There surrounds the escutcheon carved over the tomb of Ferdinand Columbus in the cathedral at Seville the motto as found in the *Historie*. In his Will Ferdinand provided for his tomb and its embellishment: "y dentro del dicho quadrángulo dos letreros e escudo por la forma y proporcion que aquí se sigue, la que estimo que costara diez ducados. . . ."

The shield and coat-of-arms were to be cut into the pavement and around the escutcheon was to be the motto.[2]

[1] Oviedo, *Historia General de las Indias*, Seville, 1535. Lib. ii. chapter vii.

[2] The tomb and the coat-of-arms have been often repaired and the lettering more than once renewed. The little roads leading to the Sierpes in the city of Seville

Another form sometimes given for this motto reads:

" Por Castilla y por Leon
Nvevo Mvndo ganó Colon."

"For Castile and for Leon Columbus won a New World."

This form is found in a historical book, *De los Reyes Catolicos*, composed about 1574 by a Mexican monk, Juan de Victoria, and which, we believe, is still in manuscript.[1]

Peter Martyr does not mention this motto, nor does Las Casas. It was a sounding couplet, and from the year Oviedo first mentions it writers generally have accepted it as a genuine phrase and a legitimate part of the device granted the Admiral by the Sovereigns. This cannot be true, however, as we have said above, and it is doubtful if it ever appeared on any stone marking the burial-place of Columbus.[2]

The Protocol seems to indicate that the bodies of the first Admiral and Don Diego his son were removed from the Monastery of Las Cuevas during the year 1536. There is no doubt permission for the removal was granted that year, but that it was not acted upon is apparent from the Royal Cedula under date of June 2, 1537, in which Charles V., acting for himself and for his mother Joanna, granted certain privileges, the im-

have been paved, it is popularly believed, with the ancient tombstones from time to time cast out of the Cathedral, and Harrisse relates that he has paced there many times in the hope of finding one with the name of Ferdinand and a cutting of the device and its motto.

[1] Of all the forms this motto has assumed, none is more remarkable than the following, which has appeared frequently of late in the public press, and which seems to have no authority or home:

" A Castilla y Aragon
Otro mondo dio Colon."

The Kingdom of Aragon had no part in aiding Columbus, and it bore no part of the success and reaped none of the profit. The enterprise was for the Kingdom of Isabella.

And yet the reader will remember that this phrase—*otro mondo*—was coined by Columbus. In his famous letter to the nurse of the Prince Don Juan, in the year 1500, when he was returning in chains from his *other world*, he said:

" Y *adonde por voluntad Divina he puesto so el Señorio del Rey e de la Reyna nuestros Señores otro mundo.*"

"By the guidance of God, I placed under the dominion of the King and Queen, our Sovereigns, another world."

[2] There have been many epitaphs and elegiac verses composed in honour of Columbus, and of some it has been asserted that they were inscribed over his tomb. In the *Carmina* of Hippolyto Capilupo, Bishop of Fano, in the Italian Marches, whose

port of which we will consider in a moment. In the preamble to this Cedula, we read:

"Inasmuch as Doña Maria de Toledo, Vice-Queen of the Indies, wife of him who was Admiral Don Diego Columbus, already deceased . . . has related that the Admiral Don Christopher Columbus, her father-in law, died in these our realms and ordered that he should be deposited in the *Monastery of Las Cuevas*, outside the walls of the City of Seville, *where he at present is*, . . ."

Doña Maria de Toledo probably assumed that the then existing disposition of the remains of her father-in-law was in accordance with a desire formally expressed in his Will. It may be her husband had confided to her some such desire expressed to him verbally by his father. However this may be, it shows

work was published in 1590, ten years after his death, there are three epitaphs devoted to the Admiral's memory. Juan de Castellanos, in his *Las Elegias de Varones Illustres de Indias*, has inserted an epitaph which is said to have been taken from the tomb.

" Los funerales desta marauilla
Honraron valerosos eaualleros,
Y no tan solamente de Castilla
Pero tambien de reynos estrangeros:
Y dentro de las eueuas de Seuilla
Lo hazen sepultar sus herederos
Y dizen que en la parte do jazia
Pusieron Epigramma que dezia.

" *Hic locus abscondit præclari membra Coloni,*
Cuius sacratum mumen ad astra volat,
Non satis vnus erat sibi mundus notus, & orbem
Ignotum priscis omnibus ipse dedit.
Diuitias summas terras dispersit in omnes
Atque animas cœlo tradidit innumeras,
Inuenit campos diuinis legibus aptos,
Regibus & nostris prospera regna dedit.

" Este poco compás que ves encierra
Aquel varon que dió tan alto buelo,
Que no se contentó con nuestro suelo
Y por darnos vn nueuo se destierra.
Dió riquezas inmensas a la tierra,
Innumerables ánimas al cielo
Halló donde plantar diuinas leyes
Y prósperas prouincias á sus reyes."

Don Juan Melandez Valdés wrote an ode, *El Deseo de Gloria*, in which he imitates a funeral inscription.

Peter Heylin, in his *Cosmographia*, gives an epitaph which he asserts was on the Admiral's tomb. But at the time this work was first published, the remains of Columbus had for several generations been in America, and it is certain Heylin, in the following reference, did not mean to refer to any tomb in the Cathedral of San Domingo.

"He was honourably interred at *Seville*, where to this day remaineth this Epitaph on his Tomb, bald in itself, and otherwise exceedingly short of so great a merit, of which I must tell you by the way, that the *Philip*, whom the *Versifier* (I do not say

that in the early summer of 1537 the remains of the Admiral were still in the Monastery of Las Cuevas.

Ferdinand Columbus, in his Will executed at Seville in July, 1539, shortly before his death, after expressing a desire to be interred in the Cathedral Church of Seville, declares:

"É si esto no pudiere obtener, en tal caso yo elijo por enterramiento el monasterio de las Cuevas de Sevilla, para que mi cuerpo sea alli enterrado en el coro de los legos á un lado ó al otro, como non impida el paso de los que entraren. Lo qual yo elixo por la mucha devocion que mis Señores padre y hermano Almirantes que fueron de las Yndias é yo, siempre tuvimos á aquella casa; é porque sus cuerpos an estado mucho tiempo all depositados."

"And if this cannot be obtained, in such case I choose the Monastery of Las Cuevas for interment, in order that my body may be interred there in the choir of the laymen, at one or the other side where it will not obstruct the passage of those who enter. I choose this Monastery on account of the great devotion always felt for that house by my Señores father and brother, who were Admirals of the Indies; and because their bodies have been deposited there for a long time."

We are thus informed that in the summer of the year 1539 the remains of the Admiral and those of his son Diego were still deposited in the Monastery of Las Cuevas near Seville.

the Poet) called *Philippus Hispanus*, should rather have been called *Philippus Astriagus*, or *Philippus Burgundus*, as being meant of that *Philip* of *Austria*, Duke of *Burgundy*, who had then married *Joan*, Sole Daughter and Heir of the Kings of *Spain*, and after the death of *Isabella* succeeded in the Realm of *Castile:* or else the Epitaph must be written long after his death, and meant of *Philip* the 2. Son of *Charles* the fifth, who was not born until the year 1527 and came not to the crown above 20 years after. Now for this Epitaph, such as it is, it is this that followeth:

'Christophorus genuit quem Genoa Clara Columbus
[Numine pereulsus quo nescio] primus in Altum,
Deseendens Pelagus, solem versusque eadentem
Directo cursu, nostro haetenus addita Mundo
Littora detexi, Hispano potitura Philippo:
Audenda hinc aliis plura, & majora relinquens.'

Which may be Englished in these words:

'I Christopher Columbus, whom the land
Of Genoa first brought forth, first took in hand,
I know not by what deity incited
To scour the Western Seas, and was delighted
To seek for Countries never known before.
Crown'd with success, I first deseri'd the shore
Of the New World, then destin'd to sustain
The future yoke of Philip Lord of Spain.
And yet I greater matters left behind
For men of more means and a braver mind.'"

CHAPTER CXXX

THE CAPILLA MAYOR

It is now timely to read the Royal Cedula, since it not only gave permission to remove the mortal remains of Columbus from the city of Seville to the Old World, but appointed a particular place of permanent burial within the city of San Domingo in the New World.

"Royal Ordinance,
"under date of June 2, 1537

"Don Carlos. By the Divine Clemency, Emperor ever majestic, King of Germany, Doña Juana, his mother, to the same Don Carlos, by the grace of God, King of Castile, of Leon, of Aragon, of the Two Sicilies, of Jerusalem, of Navarre, of Granada, of Toledo, of Valencia, of Galicia, of Mallorca, of Seville, of Cerdeña, of Cordova, of Corcega, of Murcia, of Jaen, of Los Algarbes, of Algeciras, of Gibraltar, of the Canary Islands, of the Indies, islands and main-land of the Ocean-sea, Counts of Barcelona, Flanders, Tyrol, etc., etc., etc.

"Inasmuch as Doña María de Toledo, Vicereine of the Indies, wife that was of the Admiral Don Diego Columbus, already defunct, for herself, and in the name and as tutor and guardian of Don Luis Columbus, her son, who is at present Admiral of the said Indies, and of the others, her sons and daughters, and of the said Admiral Don Diego Columbus, her husband, has related to us that the Admiral Don Christopher Columbus, her father-in-law, and grandfather of the said her sons, died in these our realms, and ordered that his body should be deposited in the Monastery of Las Cuevas, outside the walls of the city of Seville, *where it at present is*, to the end that his bones should be taken to the island of Española: and that now she, complying with the will of the said Admiral would like to take the said his bones, to the said isle, and entreats us that, acknowledging that the said Admiral served us in the discovery, conquest and settlement of the said Our Indies, and that his sons and grandsons have served and do serve us, we should grant them the Capilla Mayor of the Cathedral Church of the City of San Domingo of the said island of Española, where may be placed

The Cathedral Church at San Domingo [*Front View*].

The Cathedral Church at San Domingo [*West View*].

and removed the said his bones, or those of his descendants, or as our will may be: which having been submitted to our Council of the Indies and considered by us: acknowledging that the said Admiral Don Christopher Columbus was the first to discover, conquer and settle the said our Indies, by which so much honour has redounded to the Royal Crown of these our realms, and to their inhabitants: it is our will, and by these presents we grant to the said Admiral, Don Luis Columbus, the said Capilla Mayor of the said Cathedral Church of the City of San Domingo of the island of Española, and we give him permission and privilege to bury there the said bones of the said Admiral Don Christopher Columbus, his grandfather, and to bury the said his fathers [*i. e.*, father and mother] and brother and his heirs and successors in his House and entailed estate, now and in all time for ever after, and to have made and to make in it, he and the said his heirs and successors, all and whatever busts they may desire and may have, and to have placed and to place on them and upon each one of them, their arms, provided that they do not place or have them placed at the head of the said Chapel where we will and command that our Royal arms shall be placed.

"And we crave and command the Reverend in Christ, Father Bishop of the said Church and the Dean and Chapter of same, equally those who now are, as well as those who shall be hereafter, that they shall observe and comply with this our Royal Ordinance, and everything contained in it, and that they shall not oppose or go contrary to it at any time or in any manner: to whom we order given and we give our Royal Ordinance, signed by me the King and sealed with our seal and countersigned by our undersigned Secretary.

"I, THE KING.

"Given in Valladolid, June 2, 1537."

A further Royal Cedula, dated August 22, 1539, contained a licence to transport the remains of Columbus from the monastery of Las Cuevas, "where they lie," to the Capilla Mayor of the Cathedral of San Domingo, and an order for Don Luis and for his mother, Doña Maria, in his name, to exercise diligence in making the transfer. This Don Luis was born in the city of San Domingo about the year 1522. When he grew to manhood he was anything but an admirable character, and it is possible that disagreeable or wicked traits presented themselves early in his life, and that thus he had become personally obnoxious to the Chapter of the Cathedral. However this may be, the said Chapter did not seem inclined to facilitate the translation of the remains. A third and final order, imperative and stern, was issued on November 5, 1540, to the Canons of the Cathedral, directing them to immediately obey the Royal commands. It

We do not wish to be understood as asserting that the sepulchre of Columbus never bore a distinguishing mark. On the contrary, the reference to that sepulchre by Don Alonzo de Fuenmayor, in the first half of the sixteenth century, declares that the tomb of the Admiral was "much venerated and respected." Men do not do homage before an unmarked sepulchre. But whatever inscription may once have marked that tomb, it has disappeared and its true reading is not known.

There is a manuscript cited by Francisco Montemayor de Cuenca, Signor Prieto, in which it is stated that at the time Admiral William Penn threatened the city of San Domingo in 1655, extraordinary precautions were taken to conceal the tomb of Columbus:

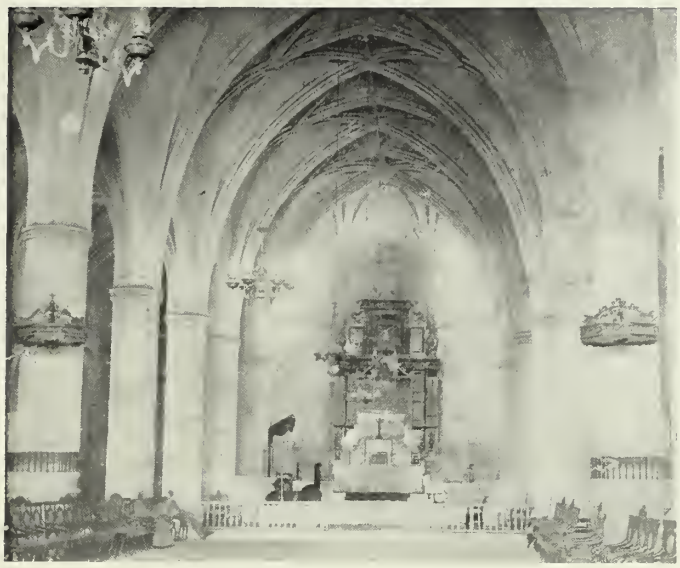
"Que las sepolturas se cubriesen para que no hagan en ellas desacato, é profanaçion los ereges; e ahincadamente lo suplico con la sepoltura del Almirante viejo que esta en el evangelio. . . ."

"That the sepulchres be covered so that the heretics may not desecrate and profane them; and I earnestly entreat that this be done with the sepulchre of the Old Admiral, which is in the Evangel. . . ."

In the year 1676 the Archbishop Don Juan de Escalante sought to obtain from the Royal Council of the Indies a contribution for the restoration of the Cathedral, and he gives as an argument for the granting of money that "on the *right hand of the altar in the Capilla Mayor* lie interred the remains of the illustrious Don Christoval Colon." He does not say that the tomb of the great personage needs rebuilding or restoration, but that the church edifice, as the repository of so glorious a charge, should be put in proper order and repair.

There is preserved in Madrid a small printed volume entitled, *Synodo Diocesana del Arzobispano de Santo Domingo, Celebrada por el Illmo. Y Redmo. Sr. Don Fray Domingo Fernandez Navarrete Año de 1683, dia 5 de Noviembre.*

There is no date of printing, but it was undoubtedly put in type about the time of its compilation, *i. e.*, the year 1683. It gives the constitutions formulated since the church obtained the title of *Primada de las Indias*, in the year 1547. The Synod says, speaking of the remains of the Discoverer, Christopher Columbus, the first Admiral:



Interior of the Cathedral Church at San Domingo.

The Capilla Mayor, or Old Presbytery. Above the Steps Leading to the High Altar was Found the Lead Box Containing the Ashes of Christopher Columbus.

"Yacen en una caja de plomo en el presbitero, al lado de la peana del altar mayor, con los de su hermano D. Luis que están al otro, segun la tradicion de los ancianos de esta Isla."

"They [the bones] lie in a coffin of lead in the Presbytery, beside the wall of the High Altar, together with those of his brother, Don Luis, *which are on the opposite side*, according to the tradition of the oldest inhabitants of the island." [1]

Here is direct evidence that in the year 1683 the work of concealing the tombs undertaken in 1655 was not undone and only tradition, the testimony of the ancients, guided the seeker in the direction of the burial-places of the two illustrious dead, Christopher Columbus the Discoverer, and *the other*. The Synod says this *other*, buried on the opposite side of the High Altar, was his *brother Don Luis*. The First Admiral never had a brother Luis. There is, therefore, a palpable error. We must correct the Synod by changing either the name or the degree of relationship. If we change the name and leave the relationship as it stands, we must say that the first Adelantado, Bartholomew Columbus, lies on the opposite side of the altar from that in which the First Admiral is interred. If we change the relationship and let the name remain, we must say that Don Luis, the third Admiral and grandson of Christopher Columbus, lies on the opposite side of the altar. We may, however, defer making a choice of correction until other and later witnesses appear. The reader will observe that here, in the year 1683, a knowledge of the location of the remains is derived from the speech of the *oldest inhabitants of the island*. No member of the Synod, no canon, no sacristan could at that time point to the exact place of burial. Tradition, speaking only with indefinite words, declared that the bones of the First Admiral lay in a leaden box on one side of the High Altar, and those of Don Luis on the opposite side.

[1] A curious error in reading this report of the Synod has led a distinguished Englisher lawyer (*Christopher Columbus: A Monograph on his Last Resting-place*, by Sir Travers Twiss, Q.C., D.L., F.R.S., London, S. E.) to imagine that the brother of Don Luis, Don Christoval, is here meant, and he infers that the report accounts for two *Christoval Colons* as buried in the Capilla Mayor on the *Gospel Side*. The Synod is speaking, not of a *brother* of Don Luis, but of a *brother* of Don Christopher, the First Admiral. The Spanish Academy invokes this report of the Synod to show that Christopher Columbus, the Discoverer, was buried on the Gospel side of the High Altar, and that the fact was still undisputed in the year 1683. It is true that Don Luis had a brother Don Christoval, but there is nothing to show that he was ever buried in the Cathedral of San Domingo, unless this report be so interpreted.

From this time on for many years no mention is made of the tomb of Columbus and its condition. It may be that after this date, owing to the hostile presence in the neighbourhood of buccaneers and roving adventurers, no attempt was made to keep in perpetual remembrance the exact spot of the Admiral's interment.

We must remember, however, that the Royal Cedulas gave the entire Capilla Mayor, or principal chapel, to the family of Columbus, and only a *place high up* was reserved, not for burial purposes, not for effigies, not for elegiac verses, but for the Royal arms of the Emperor. Here, in this Capilla Mayor, Don Luis Columbus buried his grandfather, the First Admiral, and his father, Don Diego, the second Admiral. Here, also, he himself was buried, and although Bartholomew Columbus, the first Adelantado, was said to have been interred there, we find no proof. The exact date of the Adelantado's death is not known, but because of the date attached to the Royal Cedula appointing Don Luis to succeed him in the office, January 16, 1515, and by allowing the usual time for news thereof to reach Spain, Harrisse concludes his death occurred at the end of November or at the beginning of December in the year 1514. His remains were placed in the monastery of San Francisco in San Domingo, and notwithstanding the report by Moreau de Saint-Méry of a tradition that they had been transferred to the Cathedral, there is nothing to indicate that they ever were removed. Don Luis died in disgrace in Oran, February 3, 1572, and, in accordance with his desire expressed in 1552, he was interred in the Chapel of Santa Aña in the Cathedral of San Domingo.[1] We have, then, three members of the family interred within the Capilla Mayor of the Cathedral: Christopher Columbus, the Discoverer and First Admiral; Don Diego Columbus, the son and second Admiral; Don Luis Columbus, the grandson, third Admiral, and first Duke of Veragua.

[1] Manuscript preserved in the Archives of the Indies at Seville.

CHAPTER CXXXI

THE CATHEDRAL PRESERVED

The town of San Domingo, like most exposed cities, experienced many vicissitudes of fortune. Its capture by Drake in the year 1586 is often mentioned as a proof that the Cathedral was destroyed or seriously impaired, and that, consequently, one might entertain a doubt as to the preservation of any tomb or coffined dust within its walls.

There embarked at Plymouth, on September 14, 1585, a formidable fleet destined for a voyage to the West Indies. Twenty-five ships, including the pinnaces, and twenty-three hundred soldiers and marines composed the expedition. Sir Francis Drake was General and Admiral of the expedition, and used for his flagship the *Elizabeth Bonaventure*, of which Thomas Venner was captain. Martin Frobisher was the Vice-Admiral, and sailed in the good ship *Primrose*. Francis Knollys held the post of Rear-Admiral, making use of the ship *Leicester*. Here were three famous Englishmen sailing in one expedition, all bent upon the destruction of the Spanish possessions. An important figure in the fleet, and sailing in the ship *Tiger*, was Christopher Carleill, the Lieutenant-General of the land forces, some two thousand in number. This little army disembarked at about daylight on New Year's Day, 1586, in pinnaces, boats, and small barks, at a convenient place some ten miles to the westward of San Domingo. Sir Francis Drake, in his bark *Francis*, directed the transfer to the small boats and the landing, when he returned to the fleet, leaving the command to Lieutenant-General Carleill. The English officers knew that there was no hope of gaining access to the city on the water side, and therefore this unexpected and strategic approach was

devised. At one hour after noon they halted before the town. A troop of Spanish horsemen, some one hundred and fifty strong, came out to meet them, but the small shot obliged them to withdraw, and the expedition proceeded toward the two gates which looked on the sea. These gates, as became careful guardians of a citadel, were protected by large guns and likewise by armed troops in ambuscade on the highway. Dividing the force into two parts and assigning one to a Captain Powell, the Lieutenant-General bade him make his way through the Highway Gate while he tried his entrance through the other, vowing that he would never halt his force until both should unite in the great market place within the town. The gates were accordingly carried by assault, and both divisions passed through to the appointed place,—"a place of very spacious square ground before the great Church." About this square they arranged barricades and trenches, from which boundary-lines they gradually increased their holdings. The General sent a negro boy with a white flag as a truce to the Spaniards conveying a message. The lad was received by a horseman, who passed his spear through his body, and the lad dragged himself to the feet of the General, where he died. Cruelty had not died out in Española. The General had with him as prisoners two friars, and these he sent with a strong guard of soldiers to the very spot where the Spaniards had speared the messenger of truce, and there he caused them to be hanged, making proclamation at the same time that the execution was in retaliation for the murder of his envoy, and that daily two Spanish prisoners would be publicly executed until the murderer of the boy was delivered into his hands. This method of argument, while cruel, was effective, and the day after the Captain of the King's Galley brought the principal offender to the English commander whereupon the General forced the Spaniards to hang him themselves. After this, for a time, treaties were proposed, considered, and rejected. Each rejection was followed by a renewed attack upon the town,—always, remember, outside the trenches and consequently beyond the Cathedral. The houses were so solidly built, the stones so massive and closely joined, that, notwithstanding two hundred skilled men were kept constantly at work, the account pathetically says, "in the entire month there was not destroyed so much as a third of the town." The siege,

if practical possession can be called a siege, lasted one month, when arrangements were concluded for ransoming the city. But in all this conflict no shot was fired nor hand laid upon the Cathedral so far as the historical records show.

The next occasion of serious alarm on the part of the inhabitants of San Domingo was the threatening approach of an English fleet in the year 1655. Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector of England, "having taken into consideration the cruelties and inhuman practices of the King of Spain, exercised in America, not only upon the Indians and natives, but also upon the people of these nations inhabiting in those parts . . . [whereby he] doth not only deny to trade or to have commerce with us [English], but giving by the claim he makes to all that part of the world by colour of the Pope's donation, just grounds to believe he intends the ruin and destruction of all English plantations, people, and interests in those parts,"[1] proceeded to equip a fleet of 38 ships, with 4410 seamen, 2930 soldiers, and 1114 guns. General and Admiral Penn had for his flagship the largest of these ships, the *Swiftsure*, carrying 64 guns. She was of 898 tons burden, 118 feet long, and 37 feet broad.[2] William Penn was Admiral of the fleet and had the title of General. The land forces were under General R. Venables.[3]

The fleet sailed from the roadstead of Spithead on the day before Christmas in the year 1654, steering for the Barbadoes, where it anchored on January 29, 1655. Here a council was held as to the place of attack, and three Spanish strongholds were suggested,—Havana, Carthagena, and San Domingo: the

[1] See Commission granted General William Penn, dated Westminster, October 9, 1654.

[2] While the fleet was approaching the island of Española, John Evelyn was viewing at Woolwich the new leviathan of the deep, the *Naseby*.

"9th April I went to see the great ship newly built by the usurper Oliver, carrying 96 brass guns, and 1000 tons burthen. In the prow was Oliver on horseback, trampling six nations under foot, a Scott, Irishman, Dutchman, Frenchman, Spaniard and English, as was easily made out by their several habits. A Fame held a laurel over his insulting head, the words 'God with us.'"

Cromwell called this ship the *Naseby* after the place where he won his victory over the King's forces. It really was of 1229 tons burden and carried 650 men and 100 guns. When Charles II. came to the throne, this ship was re-christened the *Charles*.

[3] Lord Clarendon declares that both Penn and Venables were well affected toward the King, and on several occasions, not in collusion, but by independent communications, expressed to him their readiness to declare for his Majesty at any time he could command a force from abroad or secure a port at home as a base of operations.

first was acknowledged to be very populous with strong castles, and "peradventure the gallions being there, many soldiers on the place would question the mastership of the field"; the second was rich, but its wealth might be conveyed up the country out of reach: so "it was resolved to go first for San Domingo, and this the rather that it would be a convenient retreat if our after attempts should not take: and for our recruits from England and other parts to come to us and to plant a colony."

So the expedition sailed away for their anticipated conquest, and came in sight of the Spanish city on the thirteenth day of April, 1655. The following day, which was Saturday, the land force was disembarked at a point some forty miles westward of the city. The plan was to land where Sir Francis Drake landed nearly seventy years before, but the pilots were absent and none knew the place. The march toward the city was slow and tedious, affording time for the Spaniards to gather some four or five thousand men. Fort Geronimo was a stumbling-block in the way of the English. The fleet endeavoured to contribute its share of offensive operations, and while the land forces attacked the fort in one direction some of the heavily gunned vessels assaulted it from the water side. "Where we rode," says the manuscript journal, "the town bore N. by E. about a mile and a half, Fort Geronimo N. W. by N. one mile, Cape Hina W. S. W. . . . We, the *Portland* and *Maria*, reached every shot, but hardly touched the Fort." For two weeks skirmishes were of daily occurrence, the English army for some unaccountable reason falling into confusion on the slightest engagement with the enemy. On Saturday, April 28, 1655, a company of five hundred of the English, drawn from each regiment and therefore picked men, managed to reach the east side of the fort, but when some one hundred of the enemy charged them, disorder reigned and the picked men

"ran in confusion on the Reformados, being next to them, and disordered them upon the horse, and they the General's regiment and all together upon the Major General's, no calling or entreaty being able to stay them. *At the seamen's regiment it began to stop.* The Major General [Haynes] broke forward through the disorder and endeavoured to make head and withstand the enemy, who had nothing to do but follow and kill, none turning head against him; but not being succoured was overwhelmed and

slain. Most of the Captains and Chief Officers in the Forlorn were slain. The pursuers cannot be thought to exceed forty, and how they came to be put back he cannot certainly hear; but 't is said, *seven or eight of the seamen* put them to flight. . . . The army having kept their ground [after rallying] all night, though not without great apprehensions and mighty volleys in the night [when no enemy, but the noise of crabs in the woods molested],[1] in the morning [the army] marched off."

General Penn proposed standing off to sea, refreshing the soldiers, and when the Spaniards dispersed to their homes renewing the attack and firing on the city. "Major General Fortescue told me this day [Friday, May 4, 1655]," says the Journal, "that the business of *battering* he had never heard proffered till *yesterday, when it was too late.*"[2]

The army was re-embarked and the fleet sailed away to Jamaica, where a different and more happy fortune awaited the expedition. We have seen that Fort Geronimo, a mile and a half from the city, was the nearest point of attack to San Domingo, and the serious and simultaneous battering of the city by the vessels and the land forces, if ever proposed, was never attempted. Thus this expedition under Admiral Sir William Penn, the second English attempt against San Domingo, did no damage to the city, much less to the great church in which lay the mortal remains of a real sailor, the First Admiral of the Indies.

[1] This official Journal throws a light of probability on a story told by Walton relative to this night attack:

" . . . they heard the loud and quick clatter of horses' feet, and as they supposed of the Spanish lancemen, who are dexterous and whose galling onset they had experienced the day before. Thus believing themselves discovered and dreading an attack before their comrades had joined, they embarked precipitately and abandoned their enterprise: but the alarm proved to be these large land-crabs which at the sound of footsteps receded to their holes, the noise being made by their clattering over the leaves, which the English soldiers mistook for the sound of cavalry."

It is said that a feast, known as the "Feast of the Crabs," was instituted to commemorate annually this backward march of crab and soldier, and that on its occurrence a solid gold land-crab was conspicuously carried in the procession.

[2] General Venables, in his letter to General Montagu, under date of May 26, 1655, complained that his army had scarcely any provisions, so that his soldiers were very weak at landing, and that they became weaker with the long march, fasting two days and being without water. The enemy had stopped up all their wells, so that the English had not a drop of water within ten miles of the fort.—See Carte's *Collection of Original Letters, etc.*, 1739, 8vo.

CHAPTER CXXXII

THE DISCOVERY OF 1783

In a solemn religious function celebrated in the Cathedral of San Domingo in the year 1702, remembrance of Christopher Columbus was called to mind, and honour was then and there paid to the Discoverer "whose bones are found here at our side." Even then it is extremely doubtful if the worshipping congregation saw with their eyes the tomb of Columbus. Tradition, the spoken word passing from father to son, from sacristan to sacristan, from bishop to bishop, alone pointed to the High Altar and the Gospel side, but to no stone, no tablet, no vault. Two Spanish writers, Coleti and Alcedo, writing in the eighteenth century, affirm that the remains were lodged in the Cathedral Church, but neither claims to have seen them himself or to have known their exact location.

In the year 1780 Moreau de Saint-Méry went to San Domingo to study the island and write a description of its condition. When he sought to locate the remains of Columbus—a natural step in his study of the history and antiquities of the island—he found nothing beyond indefinite and obscure tradition. He finally, at the beginning of the year 1783, wrote to his friend, Don José Solano, Lieutenant-General of the Spanish fleet and formerly Governor of Española. Solano wrote to his successor, Don Isidore Peralta, then Governor of the island, and in time elicited a reply interesting in its character. The response included three signed documents or certificates, as follows:

"Voilà la pièce envoyée par Don Isidore Péralta & que je possède, revêtue de toutes les formes légales.

"Moi D. Joseph Nugnez de Caseres, docteur en la sacrée théologie de la pontificale & royale université de l'Angélique S.-Thomas d'Acquin, doyen dignitaire de cette sainte église métropolitaine & primatiale des Indes: certific que le sanctuaire de cette sainte église cathédrale ayant été abattue le 30 Janvier dernier, pour le construire de nouveau, on a trouvé, du côté de la tribune où chante l'évangile, & près de la porte par où l'on monte à l'escalier de la chambre capitulaire, un coffre de pierre, crèux, de forme cubique, & haut d'environ une vare,[1] renfermant une urne de plomb, un peu endommagée, qui contenait plusieurs ossemens humains. Il y a quelques années que dans la même circonstance, ce que je certific, on trouva, de côté de l'épitre, une autre caisse de pierre semblable, & d'après la tradition communiquée par les anciens du pays & un chapitre du sinode de cette sainte église cathédrale, celle du côté de l'évangile, est réputée renfermer les os de l'amiral Christophe Colomb, & celle de côté de l'épitre ceux de son frère, sans qu'on ait pu vérifier si ce sont ceux de son frère D. Barthèlemy, ou de D. Diègue Colomb, fils de l'amiral; en foi de quoi j'ai délivré le présent. A Santo-Domingo, le 20 Avril 1783. Signé: D. Joseph Nugnez de Caseres.[2]

"D. Manuel Sanchez chanoine, dignitaire & chantre de cette sainte église cathédrale, certific & [comme le précedent mot à mot]. A Santo Domingo, le 26 Avril 1783. Signé: Manuel Sanchez.

"D. Pierre de Galvez, maitre d'école, chanoine dignitaire de cette église cathédrale primatiale des Indes; certific que le sanctuaire ayant été renversé pour le reconstruire, on a trouvé, du côté de la tribune où se chante l'évangile, un coffre de pierre avec une urne de plomb, un peu endommagée, qui contenait des ossemens humains; & l'on conserve la mémoire qu'ily en a une entre du côté de l'épitre du mème genre; & selon ce que rapportent les anciens du pays & un chapitre du sinode de cette sainte église cathédrale, celle du côté de l'évangile renferme les ossemens de l'amiral Christophe Colomb, & celle du côté de l'épitre, ceux de son frére D. Barthèlemy. En témoignage de quoi j'ai delivré le présent, le 26 Avril 1783. Signé: D. Pedro de Galvez."[3]

"Here is the document forwarded by Don Isidore Peralta and which I hold, relieved of all its legal forms.

"I, D. Joseph Nugnez de Caseres, Doctor of Sacred Theology in the Pontifical and Royal University of the Holy St. Thomas Aquinas, Senior Dignitary of this Holy Metropolitan and Primatial Church of the Indies, certify that the sanctuary of this Holy Cathedral Church having been torn up on January 30 last, for the purpose of constructing it anew, there was found on that side of the pulpit where the Gospel is sung and near the door leading to the Chapter room, a stone coffer, hollow, cubical in form

[1] About two feet and a half in France.

[2] The Spanish form of this name is Jose Nuñez de Cáceres.

[3] *Description topographique et politique de la partie espagnole de l'isle Saint Domingue, avec des observations générales sur le climat, la population, les productions, etc., par M. L. E. Moreau de Saint-Méry, Membre de la Société Philosophique de Philadelphie. Tome premier. Philadelphie 1796.* Pages 127 and 128.

and about one vare in height, inclosing a leaden urn a little damaged, which contained many human bones. It is some years since that under circumstances similar to these now recorded, there was found on the epistle side, another vault of the same stone and according to the tradition repeated by the old people of the country and a chapter of the synod of this Holy Cathedral Church, that on the Evangel [Gospel] side is reputed to inclose the bones of the Admiral Christopher Columbus, and that on the epistle side those of his brother D. Bartholomew, or of Don Diego Columbus, son of the Admiral: in testimony of which I have delivered this at San Domingo, April 20, 1783. Signed, D. Joseph Nugnez de Caseres.

"I, D. Manuel Sanchez, Canon, Dignitary and Precentor of this Holy Cathedral Church, certify, etc. [the same as the preceding, word for word]. At San Domingo, April 26, 1783. Signed, Manuel Sanchez.

"I, D. Pierre de Galvez, Master of the School, Canon of this Primatial Cathedral Church of the Indies, certify that the sanctuary having been torn up for the purpose of rebuilding, there was found on that side of the pulpit where the Gospel is chanted, a coffin of stone with a leaden urn, slightly damaged, which contained some human bones: and there is preserved a recollection that there had been another of the same kind on the Epistle side; and according to what the old inhabitants relate and to what is reported by a Chapter of the Synod of this Holy Cathedral Church, that on the Gospel side incloses the bones of the Admiral Christopher Columbus, and that on the Epistle side incloses those of his brother Don Bartholomew. In testimony whereof I have delivered this, April 26, 1783. Signed, D. Pedro de Galvez."

This testimony, then, is to the effect that, in making repairs to the Cathedral in 1783, there was found on the Evangel or Gospel side of the altar, a coffin of hollow stone, a little less than a metre in extent, probably meaning a stone vault, containing a damaged urn of lead, which held, according to two of the witnesses, *many human bones*, and, according to the third witness, *some human bones*, and which tradition said were those of the Admiral Christopher Columbus.[1] The remains were not identified by discovering any sign or mark, and tradition alone designated, the place where they were found as the tomb of Columbus. None of the three witnesses testifies to having seen the remains on the Epistle side of the altar. They simply say that years before some remains had been found on that side in a

[1] The reader will do well to bear in mind that the tradition referred to the *Admiral* Christopher Columbus, or Cristoval Colon, and there never was another *Admiral* of that name. Cristoval Colon, the brother to Don Luis, never was Admiral, nor did he inherit his brother's Majorat.

It is always of the First Admiral Christopher Columbus that the voice of tradition speaks.

lead coffin similar to that found by them on the Gospel side. The lead coffin seen by the Canons Nugnez de Caseres, Manuel Sanchez, and Pierre de Galvez contained, say two of the three witnesses, *many human bones*. No attempt, however, was made to enumerate them or to describe their condition. The vault was *near* to the door leading into the Chapter room. This description may help determine, in case we find two or more vaults, which one was found and opened in 1783.

Moreau de Saint-Méry published a very interesting account of the Spanish part of Española, and in his description of the city of San Domingo he gives the following description of the great church:

"The Cathedral has a nave and two wings. It is in the Gothic style, but abundantly noble and magnificent: and merits admiration on account of the boldness of its vaulted roof, which, notwithstanding the earthquakes, the ravages of which are but too well-known in its neighbourhood, has never till within these 15 or 20 years had a single flaw. Begun 1512, finished 1540."

This testimony is valuable, for we have just seen how pertinacious an inquirer he was, prosecuting his quest for information over two years and finally appealing to influences higher than his own. Tradition in that day reported the church as escaping the ravages of earthquakes, so destructive in the West Indies and in Española. If, then, we find that neither hostile man nor unfriendly nature has disturbed the sleep of the dead within the Cathedral's walls, we may expect their ashes still to be found when search shall be made.

CHAPTER CXXXIII

THE EXHUMATION OF 1795

The time for this search came not long after the canons found the remains on the Gospel side in the great Cathedral. Peace between two warring States, France and Spain, was concluded at Bâle, July 22, 1795. The two nations had for nearly one hundred years shared the island between them. The peace which was concluded September 20, 1697, at Ryswick, in South Holland, by the allied European Powers, granted France what she never before had possessed,—the acknowledged right to colonise any portion of the island of Santo Domingo. The western part of the island was ceded to France, and thus, although the French had long been on the island, a permanent form was given to their occupancy, and Spain experienced that territorial sacrifice which a century later was to be entire over Española, that island which held the first European settlement in the New World. Article 9 of this agreement made at Bâle, July 22, 1795, provided that Spain should cede to France the territory which she possessed in the island of Española or Santo Domingo. For the purpose of formally making this transfer in the closing days of the same year, a Spanish squadron under the command of Lieutenant-General of the Royal Armada, Don Gabriel de Aristizabel, was anchored in front of the city of San Domingo. The French Government had not sent the promised commissioners to take possession, and this delay confined negotiation to Spanish interests. Under date of December 11, 1795, General Aristizabel sent an official communication to the Camp Marshal and Governor, Don Joaquin García, saying he was informed that there were then lying in the Cathedral the remains of the celebrated Admiral Don Christopher Columbus, first Discoverer of the New World and the first instrument of which

God made use in spreading in those regions the true religion and sacred evangel; that it appeared proper to his obligation as a Spaniard and a soldier to solicit the removal of the Hero's ashes to the island of Cuba, also discovered by him, to avoid their remaining in possession of a foreign Power. He desired to show other nations that notwithstanding the lapse of centuries the Spaniards had not ceased to pay honours to the body of such a deserving and fortunate General of the Sea, and that they did not abandon it when all that represented Spanish dominion emigrated from that island: that as there was no time to communicate with his Majesty, it devolved upon the Government to order the exhumation of the remains of Columbus and their removal to Cuba. The same day the Governor replied to General Aristizabel, manifesting his readiness to do all in his power in accomplishing his wise and patriotic proposition, adding that the Duke of Veragua, heir of the house and estate of Admiral Columbus, had already expressed solicitude in this matter and had commissioned Don Juan Baptista Oyarzabal and Don Andrez de Lecanda, in that island, in connection with the Regent of the Royal Audience Chamber, to take steps necessary to that end and even to defray the necessary expenses, in order that so glorious a monument might not remain outside the Spanish dominions, and suggesting that the remains of the Adelantado Bartholomew Columbus should also be solicited; and that although his Majesty had issued no orders in this particular, the proposition being so just and proper to the generous gratitude of the Spanish nation, he was ready to direct the removal.

On this same day, December 11, 1795, General Aristizabel communicated his proposition and request to the Illustrious Father Fernando Portillo y Torres, Archbishop of Cuba, whose Archiepiscopal Church was then in San Domingo, declaring with a touch of true diplomacy that he owed his inspiration for this proposition to his Lordship. And upon the same date, still December 11, 1795, the Archbishop replied that the adoption of the idea proved the merit of General Aristizabel, and that he would use whatever powers he believed opportune and efficacious for the accomplishment of the project. The representatives of the Duke of Veragua, the venerable Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church, and all others in authority to

whom General Aristizabel sent similar communications, approved this design and offered their services for its execution. What follows is according to the testimony of Josef Francisco Hidalgo, who then filled the office of Clerk of the Royal Audience Chamber, and who declared as follows:

"On December 20 of the year 1795, there being in the Holy Cathedral Church, the Commissioner Don Gregorio Saviñon, Perpetual Governor, Señor of the Very Illustrious Ayuntamiento of the city of San Domingo, assisted by the Illustrious and Reverend Don Fr. Fernando Portillo y Torres, Archbishop of that church, his Excellency Don Gabriel de Aristizabel, Lieutenant General of the Royal Armada, Don Antonio Cansi, General of Brigade and Deputy of the King for that Plaza, Don Antonio Barba, Camp Marshal and Commander of Engineers, Don Ignacio de la Rocha, Lieutenant Colonel and Major of the same, and other persons of rank and consideration,—a vault was opened which was in the presbytery beside the Evangel, the principal wall and pedestal of the High Altar, which is about a cubic yard, and in it were found some plates of lead about a third of a yard long, indicating there having been a box of said metal, and pieces of bones of the shin and other various parts of some defunct, which were gathered in a salver and all the earth which was with them, which by the fragments with which it was mixed, was known to be relics of that corpse, and the whole was placed in a gilded coffin of lead with an iron lock, which was locked and the key was delivered to the Archbishop. The box is about half a yard long and about half a yard wide, and about a third of a yard deep: and it was removed to a coffin lined with black velvet trimmed with gold lace and fringe: and being placed in a suitable tomb, the following day with the assistance of the Illustrious Archbishop, the Commander General of the Armada, Communities of Dominicans, Franciscans and Mercenarios,[1] military Commanders of the sea and land, and other illustrious personages and people of the town, the office of the dead and mass were solemnly sung, the Archbishop afterward preaching.

"The same day at about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the Lords of the Royal Assembly went to the same Holy Metropolitan Church, to wit: The President Governor, Camp Marshal Don Joaquin García, Captain General of the island; Don Josef Antonio de Urizar, Knight of the Order of Charles III., Minister of the Council of the Indies, Regent of the Royal Audience Chamber; and the Judges of the Supreme Court, Don Pedro Catani, Senior Don Manuel Bravo, Knight of the same order of Charles III., with the honours and antiquity of the Order of Mexico, Don Melchor de Foncerrada and Don Andres Alvarez Calderon, Attorney General. On their arrival there were already gathered in the cathedral, the Illustrious Archbishop, his Excellency Señor Aristizabel, the Cathedral Chapter and the Chapters of the Beneficiaries of the city and the Religious communities, with a large

[1] Mercenarios is the name applied to the monks of the Order of La Merced.

military detachment, their band in mourning; and the Governor and Regent, the Judges, Senior and Urizar taking the coffin, it was conducted by them to the principal door of the church, where the said gentlemen retiring, there was substituted for them the Señores Judge Foncerrada and Attorney General Calderon. As the coffin passed out of the church it was saluted with military volleys from the detachment of soldiers in attendance. In continuation the Camp Marshal and Commander of Engineers, Don Antonio Barba, the Brigadier Commander of Militia Don Joaquin Cabrera, the General of Brigade and Deputy of the King, Don Antonio Cansi took the coffin; and the Colonel of the Regiment of Cantabria, Don Gaspar de Casasola, and alternating with them in its transfer the other military Commanders according to the order and antiquity of their rank, as far as the land gate which leads to the sea; and the Aldermen of the Very Illustrious Ayuntamiento, Don Gregorio Saviñon, Senior Don Miguel Martinez Santelices, Don Francisco de Tapia, and Don Francisco de Arredondo, Alcalde of the Holy Fraternity, took it there. As the coffin passed outside the walls a halt was made, there was a responsive chant, and during this it was saluted from the Plaza with fifteen guns, the salvo due an Admiral. In continuation the Governor Captain General took the key of the coffin from the hand of the Archbishop, and delivered it to the Commander of the Armada, that he might deliver it to the Señor Governor of Havana, as a trust, while his Majesty determined what would be his Sovereign pleasure.

"With the same ceremony the coffin was carried to the shore and deposited in the brig *Descubridor*, which together with all the vessels of the Royal Armada displayed badges of mourning, and they saluted it with the honours and treatment due to an Admiral.

"From the port of San Domingo the coffin was taken to the bay of Ocoa, and there transported to the ship *San Lorenzo*, to be carried to Havana with orders that the funeral honours which had already been rendered in San Domingo appropriate to the dignity of Admiral, should be paid to the ashes which it inclosed; and advising likewise that a picture of Columbus also accompanied it which was sent from Spain by the Duke of Veragua, and which was to be placed contiguous to the place in which the ashes of his illustrious ancestor should be deposited.

"The Captain General of San Domingo, Don Joaquin García, under date of Dec. 21, 1795, acquainted Don Luis de las Casas, Governor and Captain General of the Island of Cuba, with everything, advising him that the Archbishop, General Aristizabel, the Regent of the Audience Chamber, and the other authorities were writing by that mail to the Bishop and to the Commander of Marine of Havana, so that each one on his part should make the proper arrangements for the reception and deposit of the remains of Columbus in the Cathedral Church, with due decorum and honours. The Commander General of Marine, Don Juan de Araoz, in consequence of these advices, communicated with his Excellency the Governor and Captain General, and the illustrious Diocesan Bishop, in order to

agree upon the powers which belonged to each one, as they entered into the matter with great zeal. They agreed unanimously that the function should be performed with all due pomp and grandeur, and they arranged that the box which contained the relics of such an illustrious General should be placed beside the Evangel in the Holy Cathedral Church with the corresponding inscription on the stone of the sepulchre, the Archbishop assisting and officiating 'de Pontifical' in order to make such a singular function more solemn and ostentatious. The Governor and Captain General also replied to Don Juan de Araoz, January 15, 1796, that he would assist with the Commanders and officials of high rank in the Plaza, in concurrence with the ecclesiastical and secular Chapters in receiving the depositary box on the Caballeria wharf with all due solemnity, and in conducting it to the Holy Cathedral Church; which could be effected Tuesday, January 19, 1796, at 8 o'clock in the morning, which day and hour were agreeable to the Bishop.

"The principal authorities having agreed in this matter, the Commander General of Marine, Don Juan de Araoz, at 7 o'clock in the morning of the day fixed, went on board the ship *San Lorenzo*, accompanied by the Commander of Squadron Don Francisco Javier Muñoz, the Brigadiers Don Cárlos de la Riviere, Don Francisco Herrara Cruzat, the Captain Don Juan de Herrera, the principal Minister of Marine, Don Domingo Pavia, the Senior General of the Squadron Don Cosme de Carranza, and others, and by Don Josef Miguel Izquierdo, Clerk of War and Marine: and all being united there, the Commander of the ship, Don Tomás de Ugarte, made formal delivery into the hands of the Commander General Araoz of the coffin and box which inclosed the ashes of the Admiral Columbus and of the key with which it was locked, and which was the same as the one he had received in the anchorage of Ocoa, from Don Pedro Pantoja, Commander of the brig *Descubridor*, to be carried to the port of Havana by order of General Aristizabel.

"Possession of everything being taken, Don Juan de Araoz ordered the coffin removed to a felucca which was prepared beside the ship, which was done by the Generals of Brigade Herrera and Ugarte, who proceeded to land in the same felucca, in the midst of the other feluccas and boats of the King, which formed in three columns and which were adorned and embellished with the greatest propriety, and carrying all the officials of War and Ministry. Two other feluccas followed the principal felucca, which carried the Marine Guard of Honour with their banners and drums in mourning, and the Commander General, the principal Minister of Marine and the 'Plana Mayor' went in another: and on passing near the war vessels anchored in the port, they rendered the honours of an Admiral or Captain General of the Armada, proceeding in this manner to the wharf, where the Governor Captain General of the Island was found, accompanied by the Generals and 'Plana Mayor' of the Plaza.

"The coffin being disembarked by the same persons who took it from the vessel, they placed it in the hands of four members of the Chapter and

followed the latter, exchanging it and carrying it between two files of infantry troops which lined the street as far as the Plaza de Armas in front of the Obelisk, where the first mass in that city was celebrated. And the coffin being placed in a becoming pantheon which was prepared for that purpose, the contents of the box were verified, after which it was delivered to the Governor and Captain General of the Island.

"This Act being concluded, the function continued with all majesty and pomp to the cathedral, where after the most solemn offices which the Reverend Bishop celebrated 'de Pontifical,' the coffin and box which contained the ashes of the Great Columbus were placed in one of the walls of the High Altar beside the Evangel, with fitting inscriptions. The ecclesiastical and secular Chapters, the Bodies and Communities of all the nobility and principal persons of Havana, witnessed these honours and ceremonies, in proof of their high estimation and respectful memory of the hero who discovered that island, who first planted there the sign of the Cross and propagated amidst its natives the faith of Jesus Christ; for which reasons the city of Havana eagerly desired that the deposit should remain there permanently, since as circumstances had obliged that the will of Columbus in ordering the deposit of his mortal remains should not be followed, there was no Province after the island of Española, which had a higher right than Havana to their possession.

"These reports taken from authorised depositions in San Domingo, Dec. 22, 1795, by Don Josef Francisco Hidalgo, Royal Notary Public, holding the office of Clerk of that Royal Audience, and in Havana, January 25, 1796, by Don Josef Miguel Izquierdo, Clerk of War and Marine for his Majesty in said city — were heard with great satisfaction by the King, our Lord, and he approved all that had been done with so worthy an object, in Havana as well as in San Domingo, according to his Royal Resolutions of March 25 and May 25, 1796, taken by the Ministers of State and Marine."

Yet another century, and another discomfiture comes to the kingdom of Spain. Again she has been at war and again her arms are forced from an island in the New World. Cuba is hers no longer. It is to the credit of Spain that she asked to take with her the coffin which held what she believes to be the mortal remains of him who had given her, four hundred years before, that beautiful island of the Antilles. The request was granted, and on December 12, 1898, there departed out of the Cathedral at Havana on a new Odyssey the bones which were deposited there as the remains of Columbus a century before. The Spanish cruiser *Conde de Venadito*[1] conveyed the coffin across the Atlantic,

[1] It was upon the *Conde de Venadito* that the little King Alfonso XIII. and the Queen Regent Maria Christina came from Cadiz on their visit to the port of Palos and La Rabida on October 11, 1892.

The Royal Family took part in the ceremonies in La Rabida on the same day,

and on the morning of January 17, 1899, entered the harbour of Cadiz, where a salutation of artillery acknowledged the arrival. In the presence of the civil, military, and ecclesiastical authorities the result of the procès verbal at Havana was presented and the coffin was opened. And what was found? That which had been found one hundred years before, according to the report made by the notary Hidalgo,—"*Pedazos de huesos de algun defunto*": "Fragments of the bones of some deceased person." The coffin was then transferred to the steam yacht *Giralda*, and on January 19, 1899, the little vessel threaded its way up the Guadalquivir to Seville, halting at the pier of San Elmo, in view of the Tower of Gold. Here came the authorities, headed by the Duke of Veragua, ex-Minister of Public Works and heir to the faded honours and vanished fortunes of the great Discoverer. The coffin was saluted with volleys from all the artillery of the city, such a salute as is prescribed for the dead commander-general of a fortified city. From the pier to the door of the Cathedral two lines of troops formed an imposing military aisle, through which the coffin was solemnly borne to the Metropolitan Church, where it was received by the Archbishop, Monseigneur Spinola; the Captain-General of Seville, Señor Orchando; the clergy of the diocese, the Prefect, Mayor, and other civil and military authorities.[1] Provisionally, and

when in the principal salle of the Convent, the chamber in which Christopher Columbus revealed to Father Marchena his designs, there were set up telegraphic instruments to repeat simultaneously to all parts of the world each word, oratorical or ceremonial, as it fell from the speaker's lips,—itself speaking of a wonderful discovery and disclosing its practical utility.

[1] A commemorative medal was made for the occasion, on the face of which appears an imaginative portrait of Columbus, encircled by the following words:

"*Sevilla Recibe Los Restos de Colon*": "*Seville Receives the Remains of Columbus.*"

On the reverse, between two branches of laurel, forming a wreath, the traditional Sevillian motto, "No 8 Do."

This motto appeared on the façade of the Town Hall for the first time in the sixteenth century and found its way into municipal documents during the seventeenth century. It is therefore not contemporaneous with Columbus. This motto sometimes replaced and sometimes was united with the real Seal of Seville,—San Fernando

until a fitting monument is completed, these remains will rest beneath the principal altar of the Cathedral of Seville, an object of veneration to the people of Spain.

with the two Bishops. The eminent Spanish antiquarian, Don José Gestoso, Keeper of the Municipal Archives of Seville, interprets the motto as a simple knot,— *nudo* or *nodo*,— signifying a union between the people and the King. Some have thought that the King, Alonso el Sabio, gave this motto to the city for its support of the Crown, but this is not the opinion of Señor Gestoso. The vulgar legend interpretation of the motto is *no m'adeia do*,—"Has not abandoned me," the two words *m'adeia* being represented by the one word *madeja*, resulting from the play on words and meaning a skein or knot.

CHAPTER CXXXIV

THE CATHEDRAL'S INTERIOR

What, then, were the contents of the coffin which in the month of January in the year 1899 was deposited in the Cathedral Church of Seville? They were certified to be the same "fragments of bones of some deceased person" which had been transferred to the Cathedral Church of Havana in the month of January in the year 1796.

Whence came the "fragments of bones of some deceased person" thus transferred to the Cathedral Church of Havana? They were found in the year 1783 in a stone vault, in a broken leaden box at the right of the High Altar in the Capilla Mayor, near the door leading into the Chapter Room of the Cathedral Church of Santo Domingo. The box or vault bore no indications of its contents.

Tradition said that in this locality were the remains of Christopher Columbus, the First Admiral of the Indies and the Discoverer of the New World. To establish the identity of these "fragments" and to locate the veritable remains of Christopher Columbus shall now form the subject of our inquiry.

The Cathedral of San Domingo, begun in the year 1514 and still unfinished in 1540, had long been the primatial church of the island. It is said to have been constructed in imitation of some church in Rome, but we imagine the model was not closely followed. If its exterior presents no great degree of artistic excellence, it answers one essential requirement of architecture, adaptation of the building to the conditions of its site. The earth on which its stones are laid is unstable. Earthquakes are of frequent occurrence. A lofty structure with a vast, unsupported dome might fall when the ground trembled.

Hence, unlike a Continental ecclesiastical edifice, it is low, long, and lateral. It stands at one side of the great square, outside of which Drake drew his cordon more than three hundred years ago. Over the arched central doorway is a thin loggia. The façade is not ornamented or carved. The west front of the edifice is much more liberally treated, the two upper niches having large statues of Saint Joseph and Saint Michael, and four smaller figures occupying the lower divisions. One mounts to the roof by a spiral staircase of stone, and an extensive view repays the slight trouble of ascension. From this roof were fired the cannon which had been mounted to defend the town when the English attacked the French in 1809, and here is still preserved, embedded in the walls, a bomb-shell sent in response. When once we are entered, the building seems large, dignified, and imposing. As we look up we see the appropriate derivation of the name which designates that central part, for in this instance the nave indeed resembles the inverted hull of a ship. The pillars are massive, and they spring aloft into the groined ceiling with grace and beauty. The chapel on our right—the reader must bear in mind that it is really the *left side*, as the direction properly should be determined from the altar—is the *Capilla de Jesus en la Columna*, containing the image much worshipped, called *La Señora de Buen Sucesos*. The next chapel is dedicated to *La Virgen de Colon*. It takes its name from a very ancient painting said to have been a gift from the Spanish Sovereigns, and to have been brought to this country by Columbus. The Dominicans especially venerate the next chapel, *San Francisco de Paula*, which contains the great cross said to have been erected in San Domingo and on the site now occupied by the Cathedral. The cross is nearly three metres high, and across the arms is the inscription:

"ESTA ES LA INSIGNIA PRIMERA QUE SE PLANTÓ EN EL CENTRO DE ESTA CAMPO PARA DAR PRINCIPIO A ESTE MAGNIFICO TEMPLO, EL AÑO DE M.D.XIV."

"This is the first token which was placed in the centre of this field as a beginning to this magnificent temple in the year 1514."

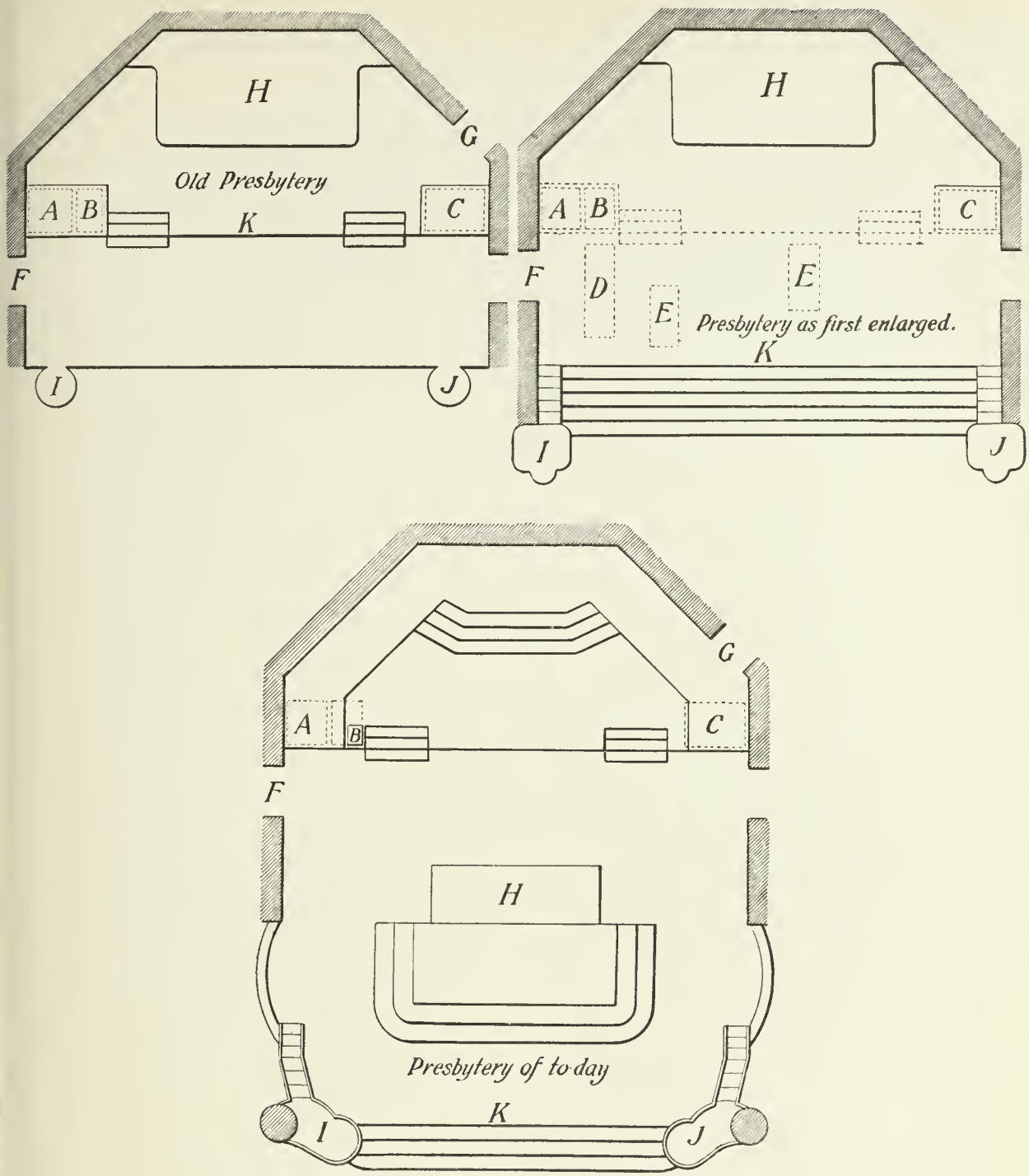
The chapel next in order as we advance to the altar is *Sanctissima Sacramento*, and contains portraits of the twelve Apostles, said to be the work of Velasquez. The sacristan affirms that

the painting of the Virgin in the chapel is by Murillo. Between this and the next chapel is the *Puerta de Bautismo* (Door of Baptism). The *Capilla de Bautismo* is beyond the door of the same name, and then comes the Moresque *Capilla del Adelantado Rodrigo de Bastides*, and of special interest to us, as it is in a small cell opening from it where are now preserved the alleged remains of Christopher Columbus. Rodrigo de Bastides, himself a discoverer and explorer, died in July, 1527. We do not know when his remains were transferred to the Cathedral, but there seems to have been no attempt to conceal the inscription which identified his tomb. The altar *Ave Maria* is at the left of the chapel, and behind the altar is the presbytery and the vault where were found the remains of Don Luis Columbus, the third Admiral.

Returning to the western door called *La Puerta de San Pedro* and pursuing our way toward the altar, we pass six chapels, of which the first is *La Capilla de Jesus Predicador.* Then we come to three others of which the importance is small, except that the third contains a tomb with the date 1524. This brings us to the *Puerta de Perdon*, or Door of Pardon. An inscription over the door declares that the edifice was completed to this point in the year 1527. To the east of this door is the chapel dedicated to La Virgen de Dolores, containing the tomb of an archbishop who died in the year 1858. The adjoining chapel is appropriately named *Las Animas*, a *privilegio* granted by Pope Benedict XIV., giving the right of rescue of one soul from purgatory to whomsoever shall say a mass within its walls. Of the chapels on this side, the right side of the altar, the two most interesting are the *Capilla de Santa Reliquia* at the eastern end, which is said to contain a piece of the famous True Cross of Santo Cerro; and the *Capilla Alta Gracia* at the western end, not for itself, but because opposite it is buried Gonzalo de Oviedo y Valdes,[1] the Historian of the Indies.

Such a church as this must often have been under the hand of the restorer and repairer. Its growing and important func-

[1] This writer was born at Madrid in 1478. As a lad he is said to have seen Columbus on his return from his first voyage, when he was reeeived at Bareelona by the Spanish Sovereigns. He was onee Governor of Carthagena and held various offiees of trust. He died in Valladolid in the year 1557. He was in 1533 Alealde of the fortress of San Domingo. Ober, in his interesting book, *In the Wake of Columbus*, aeeepts this statement as to the burial of Oviedo in the Cathedral of San Domingo.



Original, Altered, and Enlarged Plans of the Presbytery.

Explanation of diagrams of pen-and-ink sketches of the *Capilla* Mayor in the Cathedral of San Domingo:

A. Vault supposed to have contained remains of Christopher Columbus, when opened September 10, 1877.

B. Vault supposed to have contained remains of Don Diego, removed to Havana in 1795.

C. Vault supposed to contain remains of Don Luis Columbus.

D. Vault supposed to contain remains of Don Juan Sanchez Ramirez.

E. Vault supposed to contain remains of unknown dead.

F. Door leading to the Chapter Room.

G. Door in the old Presbytery.

H. The High Altar.

I. Tribune for the Gospels.

J. Tribune for the Epistles.

K. Steps leading to the High Altar, altered with the enlargements of the Presbytery.

tions, we might suppose, would require certain enlargements for the sake of conscience. We find that just such improvements were undertaken at certain intervals. When the edifice was first built the presbytery had the following dimensions: 4.50 metres in length, 2 metres in depth, at the end of which was erected the principal altar. In the year 1783 the presbytery was enlarged and carried out into the church to a total length of 8.76 metres. In a comparatively recent period the presbytery was again enlarged to a total length of 13.26 metres, the High Altar being moved away from the end wall to the centre of the sanctuary. In no way was the original presbytery altered, except as the pavement or floor required levelling. It was simply carrying the steps leading to the presbytery farther back, away from the altar and toward the entrance of the church each time, the new stairs, of the same height, marking the beginning of the increased presbytery. This presbytery is the *Capilla Mayor* which Charles V. gave to Don Luis Columbus in 1537 as a burial-place for his father, the second Admiral, and his grandfather, the First Admiral, and for himself and his posterity for ever. The diagrams on page 549, showing this *Capilla Mayor* at different periods, will facilitate our present inquiry.

We know by historical records that Christopher Columbus, his son Diego, and his grandson, Don Luis, were all buried in this *Capilla Mayor.* We are told by unbroken tradition that Christopher Columbus was buried at the right of the High Altar, on the Evangel or Gospel side; and that opposite, to the left of the High Altar, on the Epistle side, was buried a member of his family. There is no historical record that another body—other than the three bodies above mentioned—was ever interred in the *Capilla Mayor* as originally constructed. There is no tradition that another body was ever interred in the original *Capilla Mayor.* That a contrary view has been held by some writers is due to confusing the original presbytery or *Capilla Mayor* with its enlarged area of 1783, or with its present grand proportions.

The *Capilla Mayor* was enlarged in 1783, and it was on that occasion, according to the testimony of the Canons Nugnez de Caseres, Manuel Sanchez, and Pierre de Galvez, that a vault on the right of the High Altar, on the Evangel side and near the

door leading to the Chapter Room, was found, and in it a broken leaden coffin containing fragments of human bones. Thirteen years afterward, in December, 1795, it would seem that this same coffin was delivered to General Aristizabel, and the following month, January, 1796, deposited in the Cathedral at Havana, whence it was finally taken to Seville in the year 1899.

CHAPTER CXXXV

THE FIRST EXAMINATION OF 1877

In the year 1877 the Cathedral again sadly needed repair. There were two ecclesiastics particularly interested in this work of restoration, both, as it happened, Italians. The one was the Rt. Rev. D. Fr. Roque Cocchia of the Order of the Capuchins, Bishop of Orope, Apostolic Delegate to Santo Domingo, Haiti, Venezuela, and afterward Archbishop of Chieti in Italy. The other was the Rev. Francisco Zavier Billini, the Vicar of the Cathedral, a man of good family and whose reputation was pure and beyond reproach. These two ecclesiastics obtained the consent of the civil authorities to proceed with repairs and alterations to the Cathedral, and employed for these purposes the professional services of a very distinguished civil engineer, Señor José Maria Castillo, a Spaniard and from Cuba, who was director of the Cathedral works. The work of alteration was begun in the month of April in the year 1877. Among the changes to be made was another enlargement of the presbytery or *Capilla Mayor*. The choir had been occupying a place in the *Capilla Mayor*, more or less obscuring a view of the altar and thus interfering with the services, and it was resolved to increase the dimensions of the *Capilla Mayor*, move the altar forward, and provide room for the choir behind the altar. Another important change was the opening of a walled door, which once conducted to the sacristy or vestry. While engaged in this last-named work during the early part of the month of May, there was found near the door in the old presbytery, on the left or Epistle side, a vault with a coffin or box of lead. This urn or coffin was seen to be somewhat impaired by time, and during the work of excavation a falling piece of timber further injured it. The

Evangel Side of High Altar, Showing Location of Vault in which were Found the Ashes of Christopher Columbus.

Capilla de Bastides, in which [within the Iron Doors to the Right] now Lie the Principal Part of the Remains of Christopher Columbus.

Bishop was then absent on a visit to Haiti and to the province of Cibao on pastoral affairs, and as he had left particular word with the Vicar Billini for the careful exploration of the presbytery and pavement of the church, with a special injunction to identify whatever was found, the latter resolved to postpone further examinations until the Bishop's return. The Bishop, however, delayed his return, and the Vicar at last was induced to thoroughly examine the vault and its contents. Therefore, in the presence of many persons, the vault was reopened, and upon the cover of the urn was read the inscription:

"El Almirante, D. Luis Colon, Duque de Veragua, Marquis de ——."

The remains were thus identified as those of Don Luis, grandson of the Discoverer, and the last word of the inscription, which had become obliterated, was assumed to be *Jamaica*, as his Marquisate came from that island. He was the first Duke of Veragua and the first Marquis of Jamaica.

About this time the voice of tradition was again heard whispering through the aisles of the cathedral: "*This place still holds the mortal remains of the Discoverer; he still sleeps within these walls.*" Among those who learned of the discovery, in May, of the remains of Don Luis Columbus was a lawyer by the name of Don Carlos Nouel. He saw the remains, examined the coffin, read the inscription, and pronounced upon its genuineness. He further related to the Vicar Billini that there had been communicated to him a secret by Don Tomas Bobadilla to the effect that at the time it was proposed to transfer the remains of Columbus from San Domingo to Havana, a canon of the Cathedral, by the name of Ximenez or Zimeno, had succeeded in substituting the remains of some other person for those of Columbus, and suffered the Spaniards to bear the false burden to the Cuban cathedral. The substitution was kept a secret, the knowledge of the deceit being transferred from generation to generation until it came to Don Tomas Bobadilla, who, dying in the town of Puerto Principe in Haiti, desired it should be at last communicated to the authorities of the Cathedral by the lawyer, Don Carlos Nouel. This Don Tomas Bobadilla was said to be a descendant of that Francisco de Bobadilla who superseded the Admiral in the government of Española

and whose cruelty sent him in irons back to Spain. This story either required a superhuman action on the part of a cathedral *attaché* in the hurried moments between the proposition of General Aristizabel and the removal of the alleged remains, or else a conspiracy in which more persons than the humble canon were concerned. No one believed this canon or any canon capable of such a feat of strength and cunning, and no one seems seriously to have been interested in the conspiracy theory until it was considered by the Spanish Royal Academy and demolished as it should have been. Just as it is practically impossible that one individual, an ecclesiastic of an inferior grade, should have unaided raised great stones from the pavement, transferred leaden coffins, removed all traces of his work in a public building visited day and night by worshippers and penitents and officials, so is it equally impossible that a conspiracy could have existed, and which must have included ecclesiastics high in authority, loyal Spaniards, jealous of their nation's fame through the efforts of the Discoverer, without its being known at the time to the Archbishop, the Rev. Don Fra. Fernando Portillo y Torres. We have seen that General Aristizabel attributes to the Archbishop the inception of the idea of removing the remains, and the Archbishop himself acknowledges this interpretation of the origin of the proposition. This high ecclesiastic was himself a Spaniard. He had reason to expect the early occupation of San Domingo by the French, who were just emerging from the horrors of a revolution, which taught respect neither for the living nor the dead. If he desired the transportation of the remains of Columbus to Cuba, it was a natural act of reverence for Spain's adopted son and a distrust of the new guardians of the island. But, aside from this, it is repugnant to our sense of decency to accept upon rumour, and that of the most indefinite kind, a conspiracy of priests and bishops, built of deceit and dissimulation. If the remains taken to Havana in 1796 were not the veritable remains of Columbus, the error was not the result of deceit practised by one priest or by a score of priests.

There was, however, a circumstance which gave some strength to the charge of a conspiracy—not that of the year 1795, but an alleged conspiracy in connection with the discovery of 1877. About the year 1875 there was published in Puerto

Plata a journal entitled *El Porvenir*, in which the administration of General Gonzales was urged to beg of Spain the restoration of the ashes of Columbus, and there was a correspondence between the two governments on the subject, resulting, however, in no action on the part of Cuba. At the same time the Dominican General Luperon wrote for the *Diario de la Marina*, a periodical published in Havana, an article in which he favoured the return of the remains "*á San Domingo pues la voluntad del Almirante fué que sus cenizas reposasen aquí, fuese esto ó no . . . Español*"[1]: "to San Domingo, because it was the will of the Admiral that his ashes should repose here, whether this island was or was not Spanish." Another Dominican writer, D. José Gabriel García, in his *Memorias para la Historia de Quisqueya*,[2] published in 1876: "*se queja amargamente de la exhumacion verificada en 1795, y la considera como un acto de injusticia hácia Santo Domingo*": "complains bitterly of the exhumation which was verified in 1795, and considers it as an act of injustice toward San Domingo."

The Spanish Academy, in its report on *Los Restos de Colon*, calls attention to the finding of documents in the general archives at Havana by Señor Lopez Prieto, which show that D. Luis Cambiaso, the Italian Consul at San Domingo, on several occasions endeavoured in the name of his government to obtain from Spain the remains of Columbus, and that a proposition of that character was presented from representatives of the municipality of Genoa as early as 1848.

When, therefore, in the year 1877 there spread the news that the veritable remains of the Discoverer had never left the cathedral vault in San Domingo, but were now found and identified, the Spaniards declared that the Dominicans, after vainly attempting to secure from Havana the coffined remains which they all at that time agreed to be those of Christopher Columbus, had now conspired to deceive the world by claiming to have unearthed the true remains in the *Capilla Mayor* of the Dominican cathedral. We may now turn to this discovery and determine for ourselves if there was a conspiracy, or if, after

[1] The reader now knows that the great Admiral never expressed in any Will or document a desire to be buried at San Domingo. At the time of his death his alleged enemies were in possession of the administration of the government in that island, and it is not likely he would trust his bones to their keeping.

[2] The old native name of Haiti, Iti, Española, Hispaniola, Santo Domingo.

many generations, chance had brought to light the veritable remains. Bishop Roque Cocchia returned from his pastoral visit to Haiti on August 18, 1877, and was duly informed of the finding by Vicar Billini of the remains of Don Luis Columbus, the third Admiral. On the first day of September, 1877, the Bishop invited the clergy, the Governor of the island, and the consular body to visit the Cathedral and examine the remains found in the preceding month of May. There seems to have existed a tradition in San Domingo that vast treasures had been buried in times past in the ground of the Cathedral, and doubtless this public examination was suggested by the Bishop for the purpose of allaying false rumours as much as to have a cloud of witnesses of his discovery. In the presence of this distinguished body of guests, the box or urn was again removed from the vault and a hasty inventory of its contents taken, which has been summed up as "a good number of bones, most of them in fragments, some, such as the skull, in good condition, besides the iron sheets of the urn." The identification of these remains on this occasion seems to have depended on the evidence of the Vicar Billini, Don Carlos Nouel, the engineer Castillo, and others who had been present in the previous examination nearly four months before; for the cover of the coffin or urn containing the inscription could not now be found, and it was only on December 18, 1879, that this important documentary evidence was recognised officially and restored to the coffin.[1]

The examination of this tomb, and the presence of so many interested spectators, revived the tradition as to the burial-place of the First Admiral; and the Bishop says, in a work written by him several years later, he was influenced by this tradition to impress on the Vicar Billini the propriety of making a search in the direction indicated by the tongue of rumour. The story of hidden treasure was again repeated, and from that moment the people were alert and active in observing the motions of priests and workmen. On Saturday, September 8, 1877, those who were prosecuting the search found opposite the door leading into the Chapter Room in the presbytery, and about a metre from the wall, a vault, and in it a coffin containing

[1] This faet appears from a later writing of the Bishop of the date of 1892. If the Spanish Academy had known this at the time, it would have given them an opportunity to comment on the missing evidence.

human remains. In the coffin were found galloons, or lace military ornaments. The Bishop was immediately sent for, and with others examined the vault and the remains. The vault was not in the old presbytery or *Capilla Mayor*, but across the line dividing the old and new, and consequently in the presbytery as enlarged by the work of 1783. It is important to observe this fact, for some writers seem to regard the presbytery as a sort of general burying-ground, and fail to distinguish the area of the presbytery in its various stages of enlargement. The Bishop Cocchia himself says in his later work that this vault from which were taken the remains with the galloons, was "outside the boundary of the ancient presbytery," and in the diagrams accompanying the printed documents and published at the time, the fact is clearly depicted that this vault was not in the presbytery as it existed prior to the year 1783, but in the presbytery as enlarged that year. Some of those present thought the remains to be those of Isidore Peralta, the Governor in the year 1783, and some regarded them as those of Juan Sanchez Ramirez, who distinguished himself in the revolt against the French in 1809.[1]

During certain hours of the following day, Sunday, by the Bishop's authority, the search was continued and a vault was found near the door leading into the Chapter Room and within the line of the ancient presbytery or *Capilla Mayor*. The vault was empty, and it was immediately remembered that it was from a vault in this immediate neighbourhood that General Aristizabel took the "fragments of bones" in the year 1795. Nothing more was found on that day, but on Monday, September

[1] Juan Sanchez Ramirez was not undeserving the high honour of a burial in the Cathedral Church of San Domingo. He was a native of Cotuy, and raised the standard of revolt among the Spaniards against their French rulers. At *Palo Hincado* he defeated the French under the famous veteran Ferrand, who having killed a subordinate leader of the enemy with one pistol of a brace he carried, observing the battle going against him, blew out his own brains with the remaining pistol. In July, 1809, Ramirez, with an English force from Jamaica and another English force under Admiral Cumby and General Carmichael, defeated the French without a serious battle, and on July 10, 1809, the English flung their flag to the breeze and took possession, not for themselves, but for the Spaniards, in token of the restoration of San Domingo to its ancient rulers. On July 11, 1809, General Carmichael handed over the city to the patriot chief General Ramirez, himself keeping the keys of the city, to be presented by the English Ambassador to the Spanish authorities at Seville.

The remains found in the vault of the Cathedral of San Domingo on September 8, 1877, were said to have been subsequently identified as really those of General Ramirez.

10, 1877, the Vicar Billini and the engineer Castillo, with two working-men, came upon a vault adjoining the empty one opened the previous day, and between it and the principal wall on the Gospel side of the ancient presbytery or *Capilla Mayor*. The sacristan of the Cathedral, Jesus Maria Troncosa, was despatched to summon the Bishop, who soon arrived. The Spanish consul, José Manuel Echeverri, and the Italian consul, Luigi Cambiaso, reached the Cathedral at about the same time. Both of these gentlemen had been in attendance upon the work of searching and of making repairs more or less constantly for several days. The vault was at that time only partially opened, and the Bishop ordered the aperture widened so that he could satisfy himself that there was a box of metal within the vault. This he did and found that the upper plate, or part of the metal box, was incrusted with lime. The Bishop inserted his hand and managed to break off a certain quantity of the crust so that he was able to read the two words—P.^{er} A.^{te}. The persons around the vault with one voice interpreted this to mean *Premier Almirante*, or *First Admiral*. Only one person in all the world ever bore this distinguishing title, and he was none other than Christopher Columbus, the Discoverer. The Bishop then directed that work should be suspended and that every person should leave the Cathedral. The doors were closed and locked. The government at once sent some sentinels, who surrounded the Cathedral, a movement which gave colour to the rumour that an immense treasure of gold and precious stones had been found. A crowd soon gathered and divided in accepting the two versions, the false one as to the treasure, and the true one as to the finding of the alleged remains of Columbus.

In the meantime the Bishop hastily communicated with the ecclesiastical, civil, and military authorities of the island, inviting the principal functionaries by special letters, giving notice that at four and a half o'clock that same afternoon the vault and its contents would be publicly and carefully examined.

The reader will remember that as yet no critical examination had been made of the contents of the vault, beyond such as the Bishop himself had made, and which resulted in his reading the two words, or rather their abbreviations—P.^{er} A.^{te}. The aperture opened by the engineer Castillo and his two workingmen was not yet large enough to either introduce or remove

an object the size of the leaden box or urn. Nevertheless, the assurance with which the Bishop invited his guests to witness the formal and complete examination has seemed to the Spanish Academy suggestive and suspicious·

"His Excellency, Hon. Buenaventura Baez,
"President of the Republic of Santo Domingo.
"Santo Domingo, Sept. 10, 1877.

"Ex. Señor:

"In working in the presbytery of the Cathedral, a vault has been found and in it a small metallic box. I am almost sure that the same contains the remains of Christopher Columbus.

"Consequently, I invite Your Excellency to honour with your presence the Act of Investigation, which will take place at 4.30 this afternoon, and to order, if you think it well, some discharges of guns, in case the operation shall result as happily as may be hoped.

"Accept, Your Excellency, the sentiments of my highest consideration.

"Fr. Roque Cocchia."

"To Señor Don Marcos A. Cabral,

"Minister of the Interior and of the Police of Santo Domingo:

"Señor Minister:

"In continuing the works in the holy Cathedral, there has been found at the right of the superior altar, a small metallic box, which certainly contains the remains of some eminent defunct person.

"Tradition says that at the same point, below the archiepiscopal throne, were interred the remains of the great Italian, Christopher Columbus.

"With such a pleasing hope and in order to proceed with all necessary importance and solemnity, I have the honour to invite you to kindly assist in the formal investigation of the said small box, which will take place this day at 4.30 p.m.

"I profit by this occasion to reiterate to you the sentiments of my distinguished consideration.

"Fr. Roque Cocchia."

Similar invitations were sent to the President of the Ayuntamiento, or Municipal Council, and to the Consular Body of San Domingo.

Accordingly, at the hour of four in the afternoon, or half an hour after, there gathered in the Cathedral a notable throng, composed of the ecclesiastical, military, and civil authorities, men eminent in the professions, citizens of distinguished private stations, and a miscellaneous crowd excited by the reported finding of the remains of Columbus. His Excellency, Buenaventura Baez, the President of the Republic, was prevented by

illness from participating in the important function. The following official act will describe with substantial accuracy, if not with fullest detail, the several steps taken during the examination:

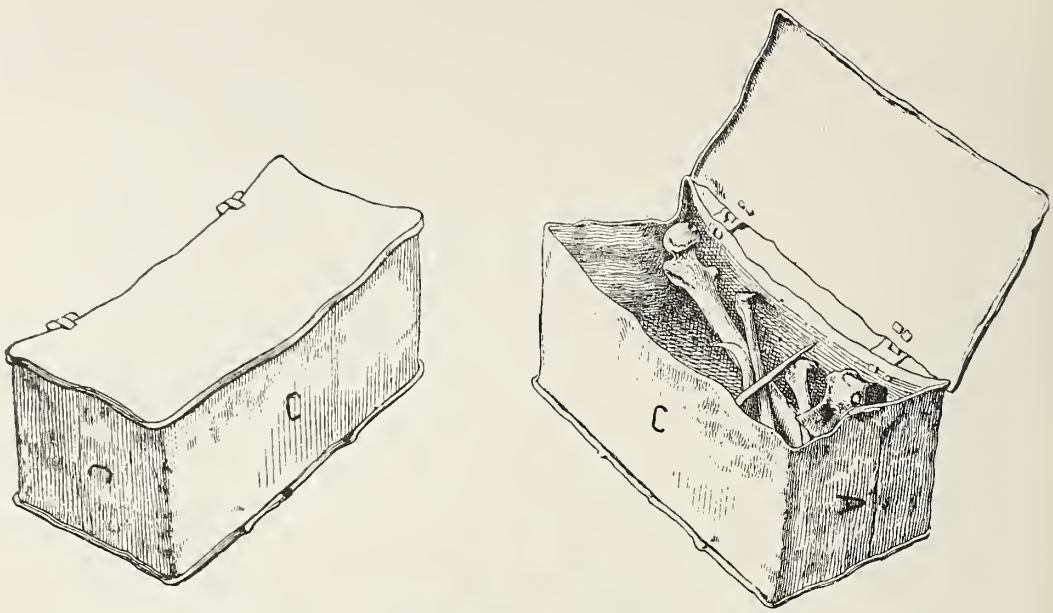
ACT WRITTEN BY NOTARIES, SEPTEMBER 10, 1877

"In the city of San Domingo, September 10, 1877, it being 4 o'clock in the afternoon, upon the previous invitation by the Most illustrious and Most Reverend Señor Don Fr. Roque Cocchia, Bishop of Orope, Vicar and Apostolic Delegate from the Holy See in the Republics of Santo Domingo, Venezuela, and Haiti, assisted by the Presbyter Father Friar Bernardino d'Emilia, Secretary of the Bishopric; by the Señor Canon, Honorary Penitentiary, Rector and Founder of the College of 'San Luis Gonzaga' and of the House of Beneficence, Apostolic Missionary, the Presbyter Don Francisco Xavier Billini, provisional priest of the Holy Cathedral Church; and by the Presbyter Don Eliseo Iandoli, substitute priest of the same Cathedral:

"There were gathered in the Holy Cathedral Church, the Señores:— General Don Marcos A. Cabral, Minister of the Interior and Police: The Licentiate Don Philip Dávila Fernandez de Castro, Minister of Foreign Affairs: Don Joaquin Montolío, Minister of Justice and Public Instruction: General Don Manuel A. Cáceres, Minister of Finance and Commerce: and General Don Valentin Ramirez Baez, Minister of War and Marine: the citizen General Don Braulio Alvarez, civil and military Governor of the Provincial Capital, assisted by his Secretary Don Pedro M. Gautier, the Honourable Members of the illustrious Municipal Council of this Capital, Citizen Don Juan de la Cruz Alfonseca, President, and Citizens Don Felix Baez, Don Juan Bautista Paradas, Don Pedro Mota, Don Manuel Cabral and Don José Bonetty, Aldermen: the citizen General Don Francisco Ungria de Chala, Commander of Arms of this Capital: the Citizens Don Félix Mariano Lluveres, President of the Legislative Chamber, and Don Francisco Xavier Machado, deputy of the same Chamber: the members of the Consular Body accredited in the Republic, Señores Don Miguel Pou, Consul of his Majesty the Emperor of Germany, Don Luis Cambiaso, Consul of his Majesty the King of Italy, Don José Manuel Echeverri, Consul of his Catholic Majesty the King of Spain, Monsieur Aubin Desfougerais, Consul of the French Republic, Mr. Paul Jones, Consul of the Republic of the United States of North America, Don José Martin Leyba, Consul of his Majesty the King of the Low Countries, and Mr. David Coen, Consul of her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain: the citizens Licentiates in Medicine and surgery, Don Marcos Antonio Gomez and Don José de Jesus Brenes: the Civil Engineer Don Jesus Maria Castillo, Director of the Works on this Cathedral, the High Sacristan of the same, Don Jesus Maria Troncoso and the undersigned Notaries Public, Don Pedro Nolasco Polanco, Don Mariano Montolio and Don Leonardo del Monte y Aponte, being successively first Provisional Notary of the Ecclesiastical Court and the second Titular Notary of the Municipal Council of this capital.

"The Most Illustrious Lord Bishop in the presence of the Gentlemen above designated and of a numerous concourse, announced: that while the Holy Cathedral Church was undergoing repairs, under the direction of the Reverend Canon Don Francisco Xavier Billini, it had come to his knowledge that according to tradition, and notwithstanding what appears from public documents in regard to the removal of the remains of the Admiral Don Christopher Columbus to the city of Havana in the year 1795,—the said remains might exist in the place where they had been deposited, such place being indicated as at the right of the chancel beneath the place occupied by the Episcopal Chair: that, desiring to clear up the facts which tradition had brought to his notice, he authorised the Reverend Canon Billini, upon his petition, to make explorations in the case: and as this was being carried on, in the morning of this day, with two workmen he discovered at the depth of two palms a little more or less, the opening of a vault which permitted part of a metal box to be seen: that the said Señor Canon Billini immediately sent the High Sacristan Jesus Maria Troncoso to the Archiepiscopal Palace to make known to his Eminence the result of the investigations, at the same time informing the Señor Minister of the Interior, begging them for their assistance without loss of time: that his Eminence immediately went to the Holy Cathedral Church, where he met the Señor Jesus Maria Castillo, civil engineer, charged with the repairs at this time, and the two workmen, who in company with the Canon Billini were guarding the small excavation which had been made, and at the same time the Señor Don Luis Cambiaso, who had been called by the said Canon Billini, arrived: that he personally assured himself of the existence of the vault, as well as of the fact that it contained a box, according to what the Canon Billini had reported, and discovering an inscription on the upper part which appeared to be the cover, he ordered that things should be left in the condition in which they were found, and that the keys should be confided to the Canon Billini; proposing to invite, as he had done, his Excellency the Great Citizen, the President of the Republic, General Don Buenaventura Baez, his Ministry, the Consular Body and the other Civil and Military authorities cited at the head of this Act, for the purpose of proceeding with all due solemnity to the extraction of the box, and of giving all required authenticity to the result of the investigation: and having notified the authorities, by order of the same, municipal guards were placed at each one of the doors of the temple.

"His Illustrious Lordship, having placed himself in the presbytery next to the excavation which had been commenced, and being surrounded by the authorities above mentioned and by a most numerous concourse composed of persons of all ranks, the doors of the temple being opened,—caused the excavation to be continued: a flat stone [lapida] was removed which permitted the extraction of the box, which being taken out and presented by his Illustrious Lordship, proved to be of lead. The said box was exhibited to the assembled authorities and then was carried in procession in the interior of the temple, showing it to the people.



Lead Box Containing Ashes of Christopher Columbus.

Large Initial Letters on Outside of Box Containing Remains of Christopher Columbus.

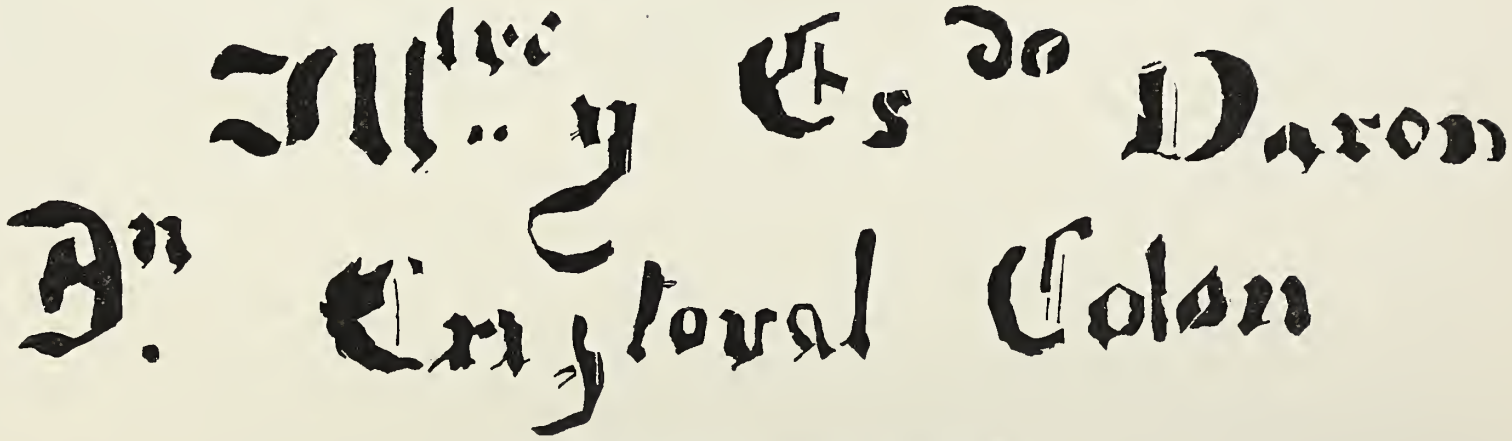
"The pulpit in the left nave of the temple being occupied by his Illustrious Lordship, the Reverend Canon Billini, bearer of the box, the Minister of the Interior, the President of the Municipal Council and two of the Notaries public, the signers of this Act;—His Illustrious Lordship opened the box and exhibited to the people part of the remains which it contained: he likewise read the diverse inscriptions which exist upon it and which prove in an indisputable manner that they are really and effectually the remains of the Illustrious Genoese, the Great Admiral Don Christopher Columbus, the Discoverer of America. The truth of the matter being assured in an incontestable manner, a salvo of twenty-one guns discharged by the Artillery of the Plaza, a general peal of the bells, the strains of the band of military music, all announced to the city such a happy and memorable event.

"In continuation the authorities gathered in the Sacristy of the Temple and proceeded in the presence of the undersigned Notaries public, who certify hereto, to the examination and identification of the box and its contents: it resulted from this examination that the said box is of lead, has hinges and measures forty-two centimetres long, twenty-one deep and twenty and one half wide: it contains the following inscriptions: on the exterior part of the lid D. de la A. Per. Ate.: on the left side C: on the front side C: on the right side A.: the lid being raised the following inscription was found engraved on the interior of the same in Gothic-German characters: Illtre y esdo Varon Dn Cristoval Colon: and within the said box, the human remains, which were examined by the Licentiate in Medicine Don Marcos Antonio Gomez, assisted by the Señor Don José de Jesus Brenes, also Licentiate in medicine,—these remains proved to be:—A femur injured in the upper part of the neck or perhaps between the large 'trochanter' and its head: a fibula in its natural state; a radius also complete: a clavicle complete: an ulna: five complete ribs and three incomplete: the sacral bone in bad condition: the coccyx: two lumbar vertebræ: one cervical bone and three dorsals: two calcanei: a bone of the metacarpus: another of the metatarsus: a fragment of the frontal or coronal, containing the half of an orbital cavity: a third part of the tibia: two fragments more of the tibia: two ankle-bones: an omoplate head: a fragment of the lower mandible: half the head of the humerus: the whole comprising thirteen small fragments and twenty-eight large bones, the others being reduced to dust.

"Moreover, a leaden ball was found, weighing an ounce a little more or less, and two small screws from the box itself.

"Having terminated the examination of which mention has been made, the ecclesiastical and civil authorities and the Illustrious Municipal Council, determined to close the box and seal it with their respective seals and deposit it in the sanctuary of *Regina Angelorum* under the responsibility of the said Señor Canon Penitentiary, Don Francisco Xavier Billini, until something else is determined upon: the placing of the seals then took place by his Illustrious Lordship, by the Ministers, the Consular Members

Inscription Found on Exterior of the Cover.



Inscription Found on Interior of the Cover.

and the undersigned Notaries: and in conclusion they determined to carry the said box to the mentioned church of *Regina Angelorum* triumphantly, accompanied by the veteran troops of the capital, the batteries of artillery, the bands and all that could give eclat and splendour to such a solemn act: for this the population found itself prepared, as has been noted, in regard to the great number of people who filled the temple and plaza of the Cathedral:

"We certify to all this, and also that the present Act has been signed by the Gentlemen stated above and other notable persons.

"Fr. Roque Cocchia, of the Order of Capuchins, Bishop of Orope. Apostolic Delegate of St. Domingo, Haiti, and Venezuela. Apostolic Vicar of St. Domingo.

Francisco X. Billini.
[There is a seal of the College of 'S. Luis Gonzaga.']

Marcos A. Cabral.
Minister of the Interior and Police.
[There is a seal of the Ministry.]

Joaquin Montolío.
Minister of Justice and Public Instruction.
[There is a seal of the Ministry.]

Valentin Ramirez Baez.
Minister of War and Marine.
[There is a seal of the Ministry.]

Pedro M. Gautier.
Secretary.
[There is a seal of the Government.]

Aldermen,
Pedro Mota.
Manuel M. Cabral.
Felix Baez.
Juan B. Paradas.
José M. Bonetty.
[There is a seal of the Municipal Council.]

P. Fray Bernardino d'Emilia, Capuchin, Secretary of the Most Excellent Delegate and Apostolic Vicar.
[There is a seal of the ecclesiastical Court.]

Eliseo Iandoli.
Substitute priest of the Cathedral.

Felipe Dávila Fernandez de Castro.
Minister of Foreign Relations.
[There is a seal of the Ministry.]

M. A. Cáceres.
Minister of Finance and Commerce.
[There is a seal of the Ministry.]

Braulio Alvarez.
Governor of the Province.

Juan de la Cruz Alfonseca.
President of the Municipal Council.

Francisco U. de Chala.
Commander of Arms.

Félix M. Lluveres.
President of the Legislative Chamber.

Francisco Xavier Machado.
Deputy to the Legislative Chamber.

José Manuel Echeverry.
Consul of Spain.
[There is a seal of the Consulate.]

Miguel Pou.
Consul of Germany.
[There is a seal of the Consulate.]

David Coen.
British Vice-Consul.
[There is a seal of the Consulate.]

Aubin Desfougerais.
Vice-Consul of France.
[There is a seal of the Consulate.]

The Licentiate in Medicine and Surgery, Marcos Antonio Gomez.

Luigi Cambiaso.
Consul of Italy.
[There is a seal of the Consulate.]

Paul Jones.
United States Consul.
[There is a seal of the Consulate.]

José Martin Leyba.
Consul of the Netherlands.
[There is a seal of Consulate.]

Jesus Maria Castillo.
Civil Engineer.

The Licentiate in Medicine and Surgery,
José de Jesus Brenes.

The High Sacristan,
Jesus María Troncoso,

and

Leonardo Del Monte y Aponte,
Mariano Montolio,

Pedro Nolasco Polanco,
Notaries.

[There are three seals.]"

CHAPTER CXXXVI

THE DUST AT GENOA

In one or two important details the official act is incomplete in its statements. Señor Luis Cambiaso, the Italian Consul, in a letter dated San Domingo, May 11, 1898, declares that during the examination there fell on a carpet some of the dust of the remains, which he immediately gathered, and that he received another small quantity from the hand of Don Joaquin Montolio, Minister of Justice and of the Police of San Domingo, who had gathered it up as it fell. These grains of the precious human dust were placed in a glass vial and with due ceremony were presented to the municipality of Genoa, and to-day form one of the most interesting relics exhibited to strangers who visit the Town Hall of that Ligurian capital.

"[UN SELLO.]

"[UN SELLO.] "[UN SELLO.]

"Habilitado para los años de 1877 y 1878.

"Sello quinto 25 cts. para los años de 1875 y 1876.

"Los notarios publicos de esta Ciudad que firmamos la presente certificamos y damos fé de que el dia diez del presente mes de Setiembre, despues que se examinarón en nuestra presencia los restos del Gran Almirante Don Cristobal Colon, cuya operación se realizó en una mesa.—El Señor Ministro de Justicia Don Joaquin Montolio recojió con una cortaplumas algunas de las particulas y polvos, que se desprendieron de las huesos principales los que á nuestra presencia se los ofreció y entregó cortesmente al Señor Don Luis Cambiaso, Consul de S. M. el Rey de Italia, que estos polvos y particulas fueron colocados inmediatamente en una vasija de vidrio, de cinco centimetros largo y tres y medio de ancho cuya vasija es de figura eliptica y que tapado, lacreado y sellado á nuestra vista. Y para los fines que puedan convenir al Señor Consul de S. M. el Rey de

Italia libramos la presente en Santo Domingo á los doce dias del mes de Setiembre del año mil ochocientos setenta y siete.

"firmado—LEONARDO DEL MONTE
Y APONTE.

"[UN SELLO.]

"firmado—MARIANO MONTOLIO.

"[UN SELLO.]

"Per Copia conforme all' originale. Santo Domingo, 10 Maggio, 1898. Console Generale, Luigi Cambiaso."

"[A SEAL.]

"[A SEAL.] "[A SEAL.]

"Made out for the years 1877 and 1878.

"5th seal 25 cts. for the years 1875 and 1876.

"The Notaries Public of this city who sign the present certify and testify that on the 10th day of the present month of September after the remains of the Great Admiral, Don Christopher Columbus, were examined in our presence, which operation took place upon a table,—the Señor Minister of Justice, Don Joaquin Montolio gathered up with a penknife some of the particles and grains of dust which fell from the larger bones; that they in our presence were courteously offered and handed to the Señor Don Luis Cambiaso, Consul of his Majesty, the King of Italy, that these particles and grains of dust were immediately placed in a glass receptacle 5 centimetres long and $3\frac{1}{2}$ wide, which receptacle is of an elliptical figure and which was stopped up, covered and sealed, under our eyes. And for the purposes which may be agreeable to the Señor Consul of his Majesty, the King of Italy, we draw up the present in San Domingo, September 12, 1877.

"Signed. LEONARDO DEL MONTE Y APONTE.

"[A SEAL.]

"Signed. MARIANO MONTOLIO.

"[A SEAL.]

"An exact copy of the original. San Domingo, May 10, 1898. Consul General Luigi Cambiaso."

Copy of the Original Act, Kept in the Notarial Archives of the City of Genoa, in Relation to a Portion of the Remains of Christopher Columbus.

Progressive number 144.

"Official report of the consignment to the Municipality of Genoa of a Relic of Christopher Columbus, by the brothers, the Cavalier Luigi Cambiaso, Royal Consul to Italy in San Domingo and the Cavalier Guiseppe Giambattista Cambiaso, Consul General of the Republic of San Domingo, in the Kingdom of Italy, residing in Genoa.

"In the reign of his Majesty Humbert I., by the grace of God and the will of the nation, King of Italy. In the year one thousand eighteen hundred and seventy-eight—

"On this present day, Wednesday, the twenty-fourth of July at two

Repository in the Municipal Hall at Genoa, in which is the Crystal Locket Containing a Small Portion of the Ashes of Christopher Columbus.

o'clock past meridian, in the City Hall in the Palace of the Municipality in Via Nuova, in Genoa—

"We, the Cavalier John Gaetano Gambaro, Notary of the College of Genoa, residing in this city, Notary of the Municipality, by the present acknowledge this act:

"That, the Members of the Municipality of this city under the Presidency of the Commendator Henry Parodi, Lieutenant General of the Royal Army, retired, Senior Alderman, being in session: Present, the most Illustrious Aldermen Gian Casto Goggi, Bombrini Raffaele, Luigi Argento, Commendator President Angel Merello, Cavalier Lawyer Luigi Centurini, Marquis Colonel Joseph Marassi—

"With the assistance of the Secretary Cavalier Professor Barrister Nicolo Magioncalda.—

"There were introduced by the Municipal Counsellor Commendator Barrister Anthony Crocco, President of the National Historical Society of Liguria, in this town, the Cavalier Luigi Cambiaso, Royal Consul of the Kingdom of Italy in the Republic of San Domingo and Cavalier Giuseppe Giambattista Cambiaso, Consul General of the Republic of San Domingo in Italy with residence in Genoa, both sons of the deceased Giacomo Cambiaso:

"Who thereupon deposed:

"That during the work of repairs in the Church of San Domingo, the Cathedral, the existence of a tomb happened to be discovered in which were placed the mortal remains of Christopher Columbus, which fact was certified to by an Act solemnly drawn up on that very day in which the said remains were discovered, the Tenth day of September in the year eighteen hundred and seventy-seven, before and in the presence of the principal authorities of the Republic, of the Diplomatic Body residing in that town, of the Ecclesiastical dignitaries of that Cathedral and of other notabilities, under the care of the Notaries of that Capital, Mariano Montolio y Rio, Pedro Molasco Polanco and Leonard Delmonte y Aponte, of which they present an authentic copy.

"That during the examination of the bones gathered in the coffin, which was undertaken with due solemnity, in the presence of all the authorities, dignitaries and notables as above mentioned, the dust that came from the decaying of the bones was diligently gathered and a small quantity of said dust was handed to the Royal Consul, Luigi Cambiaso, who carefully had it immediately put in a vial of crystal duly sealed with the seal bearing the initials L. C. of the aforesaid Royal Consul and with the seal of the Notary on the ribbon which was tied around the vial under the gold that ornaments it.

"That they, the Royal Consul to Italy at San Domingo, and the Consul of the Dominican Republic in Genoa conceived the idea of giving such a precious relic to the Municipality of Genoa, their native city, and the native town of the immortal Columbus: and thus, accompanied by the aforesaid Commendator Anthony Crocco, President of the National His-

torical Society of Liguria, have come here, in order to complete the consignment of the same to the Municipal delegates:

"And in carrying out the conception thus announced to the Municipal Council, the intention first formed by them and the manner in which they became possessed of this most precious dust having been told in detail, they hereby consign this dust to the Municipality of Genoa, placing in the hands of the aforesaid mentioned Senior Alderman the vial above described, and the Notarial Act certifying to its solemn identification, as well as the official report attesting the authenticity and the consignment of the dust contained in the vial, which is affirmed by Notarial Act in regular official form:

"The aforesaid Royal Consul of Italy in San Domingo has read to the persons present the above mentioned acts and concludes by expressing the hope that the Municipality of Genoa and all those who will join, will do their utmost to the end that the remains of the one who discovered the New World may be given back to his native country:

"He now consigns the relic and the acts that accompany it to the aforesaid Senior Alderman, who receives them in the name of Genoa, who solemnly thanks the Royal Consul for Italy in San Domingo and the Consul of the Republic of San Domingo in Italy, with residence in Genoa, for the most precious record, thanks which he gives in his own name and in the name of the Municipal Council here assembled, of the Communal Council and of the citizens of Genoa, whose sentiments he feels sure he voices, manifesting to them the expressions of gratitude for this most noble action and for the dedication which with the most delicate sentiments they wished to make to the town of Genoa, as by the inscription engraved on the gold mounting which surrounds the vial, and which is as follows:

"'Ashes of the immortal Christopher Columbus, found in the Cathedral of San Domingo on the Tenth day of September One thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven—To the City of Genoa by its affectionate sons, Giuseppe Giambattista and Luigi Cambiaso.'

"He further adds that this most esteemed memento and the Acts that accompany it, will be religiously kept, together with the autographs and Book of Privileges of which this municipality is the jealous depositary and strict guardian.

"The aforesaid Commendator Barrister Crocco adding to the thanks proposed for the Municipality, those of the National Historical Society of Liguria, over which he presides, declares that he has taken great interest in this event, and it becomes his duty to offer in honour of the Municipality a copy of the lecture read by the General Secretary of that Society, Cavalier Belgrano and applauded by the said Society, giving a critical examination of all the documents by which the fact of the discovery is made known beyond question.

"Of which above facts, desiring the Civic administration to make record by an authentic Act, we, the Notaries, have drawn up a testimonial written on three sheets, and have read them in a clear and intelligible

voice to all the persons present, and in the presence of witnesses well known to us as capable and called to attest this Act in the persons of Emanuel Ivaldi, son of the deceased John Ivaldi, Director the *Imposta Municipale*, and Vincence Zee, son of the deceased Nicolo Zee, *Civico Catastaro*, both of them born and domiciled in Genoa, who, with all the stipulating parties and ourselves as Notaries, we do subscribe ourselves, as follows:

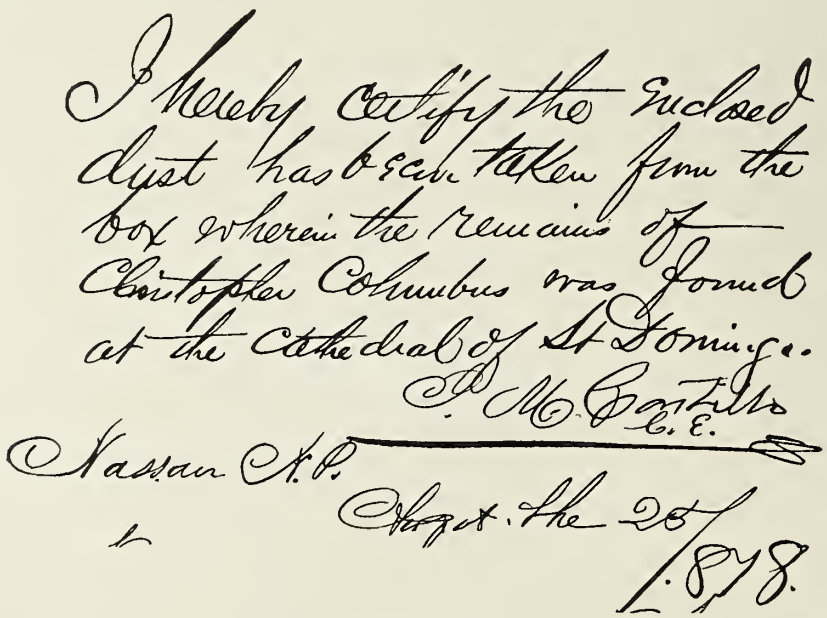
"Signed. Lewis Cambiaso.
G. G. B. Cambiaso.
Anthony Crocco.
E. Parodi.
Goggi.
Lewis Argento.
R. Bombrini.
A. Merello.
L. Centurini.
Marassi.
E. Ivaldi.
J. G. Gambaro, *Notary*.

"(Registered in Genoa the 12th of August, 1878. Register 118, No. 4847.)"

CHAPTER CXXXVII

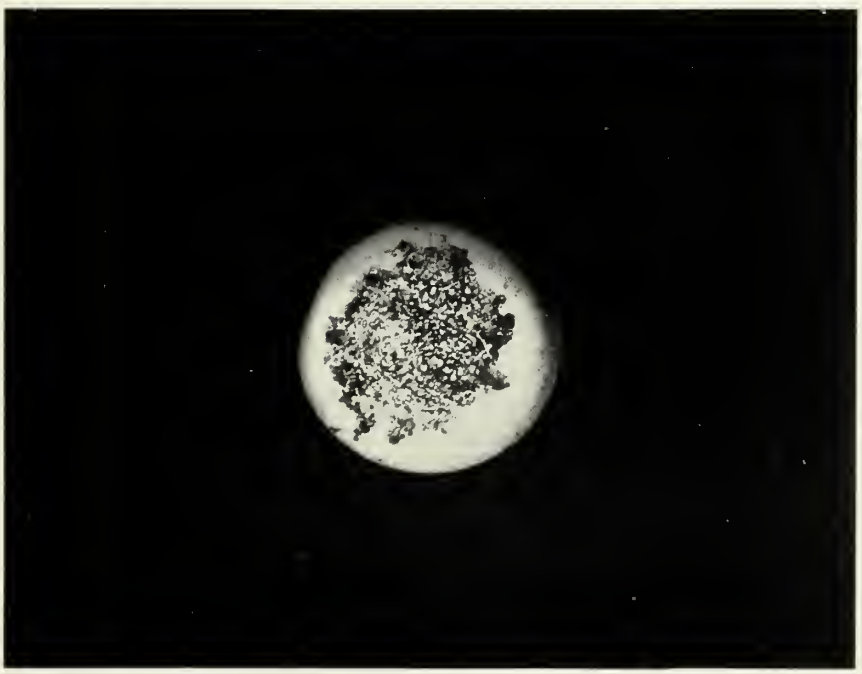
THE CASTILLO LOCKET

Señor Jesus Maria Castillo, as we have seen above, was the Director of Works of the Cathedral, and was in the immediate charge of the repairs to that edifice. He, too, bore an important part in the exhumation of the remains and in handling the box and its contents during that famous examination on September 10, 1877. Some grains of the dust of these precious remains were taken by him during the examination. One portion was placed in a round crystal locket. This, with the following certificate of authenticity, was given by him to Mrs. Epes Sargent.


I Hereby Certify the Enclosed dust has been taken from the box wherein the remains of Christopher Columbus was found at the Cathedral of St Domingo.
J. M. Castillo C. E.
Nassau N. P.
August the 25
1878.

Affidavit of Señor Castillo.

The Castillo Locket, Containing Portion of the Remains of Christopher Columbus.



Slightly Enlarged View of Castillo Locket.

In June of the year 1882 Señor Castillo gave into the hand of Mr. G. W. Stokes of New York, who was then leaving San Domingo for home, a portion of the dust he had gathered, with instructions to have part placed in a locket and to keep for himself the remainder. It was contained in a small vial. The locket was constructed, some dust placed within and delivered to Señor Castillo, who gave it in turn to the daughter of Señor Don Carlos Nouel of San Domingo. The remainder Mr. Stokes kept himself, part in the original vial at his own residence, and another part in a small vial which he deposited in the Lenox Library, New York, on May 4, 1901. The quantity of dust in each of these portions is very small, a few grains only. Soon we shall have to speak of two other little collections of the dust found on this occasion.

CHAPTER CXXXVIII

THE SPANISH PROTEST

Before we leave the Cathedral and are departed out of its sacristy, we must describe another scene, one which is not recorded in the Notarial Act,—indeed, it occurred after the notables present had appended their signatures to the document. Among those present on that occasion and included in the list of those signing the act, and therefore testifying to their faith in the discovery at that time of the veritable remains of the First Admiral, was the Consul for his Catholic Majesty of Spain, Don José Manuel de Echeverri. He had known of the record of the supposed reception of the great Discoverer's remains by Havana in the year 1796, but in view of the fact that the said record recited no proofs of authenticity beyond rumour and tradition, and that no signs indicated the identity of the said remains, so that the notary on that occasion simply certified to the fact that they were *various parts of some defunct*, he was constrained to yield his faith to the present discovery of the veritable remains which were not only found in that portion of the Cathedral designated by the voice of tradition for over three hundred years, but which were accompanied with indorsements and inscriptions speaking eloquently of their true identity. Impressed with this sentiment and feeling that he stood in the presence of the relics of the great Discoverer, there suddenly came to him the import of what all this must mean to the country he represented. If these were the true remains, those in Havana, guarded jealously by the Spaniards, were false. If the remains in Havana were false, they had been delivered to General Aristizabel on that December day in the year 1795 by error or deceit. In any event these present re-

mains belonged now not to San Domingo, but to Havana. The Consul, loyal to Spain, loyal to her colony—Cuba, and to its capital, Havana,—could not silently assent to the possession of these remains by San Domingo. By his side stood Miguel Pou, the German Consul, and, after hastily consulting him, he addressed the Bishop as follows:

"Sir, the contents of the tomb just discovered, being the veritable remains of the First Admiral of the Ocean, of which fact no doubt whatever is admissible, you should agree with me that the presence of these remains in San Domingo is due either to the perpetration of a horrible crime or to an error occurring in the exhumation of 1795. Alive to the discharge of your duties, you ought to conclude that nobody more than yourself is compelled to return to Spain the most precious remains in question, which belong exclusively to her. In my position as the Representative of the adopted country of the Hero, I feel it my duty to claim and to maintain if necessary that I should be one of the guardians of the said coffin containing his remains which were they for a moment permitted miraculously to speak would, I feel convinced, exclaim, '*Consul, let us away to our own Spain.*'"

These impromptu words, embodying as they do a most sincere and earnest protest, are worth remembering in view of the reward his fidelity brought him in his subsequent early removal from the Consulate office and his official disgrace by Spain.

CHAPTER CXXXVIIII

THE CHURCH "REGINA ANGELORUM"

The examination had continued well into the evening of September 10, 1877, an hour not very favourable for a thorough investigation. Moreover the sacristy was not particularly adapted for this purpose, and the crowds inside and outside were anxious and impatient. It was determined in the sacristy by those present that the remains should be transferred to the Church *Regina Angelorum* (La Reina de los Angeles), of which the Reverend Father Billini was Vicar, there to remain till such time as the Cathedral Church should be repaired and ready again to receive its precious charge. It was now half an hour after eight o'clock in the evening and the long session in the church had prepared the crowd for its share in the payment of honours. The iron box had been encased in a wooden coffin, locked by a single key which remained in the possession of the Bishop, sealed with the seals of the civil and consular authorities, placed on a portable bier covered with drapery of rich damask taken from the altar, the four corners being held by two members of the consular body and two representatives of the civil authorities. Thus arranged, the remains were borne along in procession, the clergy, with the Bishop at the head, leading, followed by the Consuls, the civil and military authorities, many eminent private citizens, while an immense crowd of people escorted the cortège to the Church *Regina Angelorum*. The military had contributed its escort as well. Two battalions of troops and a brigade of artillery with their cannon and with their bands playing a measured funeral march, added solemnity to the scene. The bells throughout the city were set ringing and there was a profusion of illumination with fireworks from the balconies of the richly decorated

houses on the route of march. If the dead, whose passing at Valladolid was noted by never a word of sorrow or remembrance, by the tolling of no bell, the sound of no dirge, could have witnessed this scene of tardy acknowledgment, there must have been experienced by one dweller in the spirit world a good, honest, wholesome sensation of gratified pride, a feeling natural to every human being born into the world, a feeling as natural as that which worships and bows and praises, and which if eliminated in the world beyond, will leave a soul cramped and mean, needing mightily some rich celestial compensations.

When the procession reached the church—*Regina Angelorum*—the coffin was placed on the High Altar and brief but appropriate discourses were pronounced by the Bishop and the Vicar Billini. In conclusion the people indulged in loud acclaims "in honour of the Hero and of Isabella, the Catholic." The sleep of the dead was perturbed even in this church. The protest of the Spanish Consul was not the only voice raised in a high key of indignation. While the civil authorities had been duly invited to participate in the exhumation and two of its representatives were assigned to hold the drapery of the bier as it passed from church to church, it was the ecclesiastical authorities which issued invitations, which controlled the proceedings, and which now guarded the remains. The question of jurisdiction must be raised. Accordingly the President of the Municipal Council—the Ayuntamiento—published or caused to be published a claim that the disposition of the remains made in the sacristy of the Cathedral on the evening of September 10, 1877, was not final or authoritative and the right to make a final and even different disposition lay alone with the Municipal Council. This naturally aroused the ecclesiastical authorities and the Bishop at once addressed the following letter to the President:

"*Señor President of the Honourable Ayuntamiento.*

"San Domingo, September 17, 1877.

"Mr. President:

"I have read in *La Patria* the disposition which the Honourable Municipal Council has believed it could make under date of the 10th of the current month.

"It is a question of patriotism and I praise the idea and the noble sentiments which have animated the Honourable Ayuntamiento in dictating this disposition. But I do not accept either the competence or the prac-

tical result, in regard to the right which the Honourable Ayuntamiento arrogates to itself, in disposing of the remains of the immortal Columbus. And by the present I protest in the most formal manner, by the right which in such a matter belongs to me in my character of Chief of this Archdiocese for myself and for my successors.

"As you see, I do not open a question. The precious treasure belongs to San Domingo; in that, there can be no question of any kind.

"The matter is purely of affection, of glory, and in that, as the great deposit has been preserved and found by us in the Cathedral, it should remain where found, until a great monument being raised also by us and in the said Cathedral,—it can be removed to the same with due pomp and solemnity.

"I reiterate to you, Señor President, and to the Honourable Municipal Council, the assurance of my most distinguished appreciation.

"Fr. Roque Cocchia."

Reply of the Ayuntamiento to the Bishop of Orope, relative to the deposit of the remains of Columbus:

"San Domingo, September 25, 1877.

"The Honourable Ayuntamiento acknowledges your note, dated the 17th of this current month, relative to the disposition which it dictated and which was published in *La Patria* in regard to the deposit of the remains of the immortal Don Christopher Columbus; which note contains a protest against the measure taken by this corporation.

"It has felt with much regret that you, perhaps by an honourable excess of zeal for the prerogatives of the high dignity which you represent, wrongly interpret the Act, attributing to it a usurpation of functions or a contempt of the rights of a third party in a matter of so much importance.

"It has not been its intention to reach this extreme and much less to disregard the degree of direct intervention of other authorities, like that of your own, in regard to the ashes of the celebrated Admiral; but, accommodating itself to the Act drawn up in the holy temple of the Cathedral, and considering its legitimate character of direct representative of the people, to whom by right belong these venerated remains wherever may be the place of their deposit or wherever they may have been found, it was just that it should dictate a disposition which gave irrefutable validity to the deposit that was made in the 'Reina de los Angeles.' It was logical that some competent authority should take the initiative, and there is none better than that which emanates directly from the people and represents it on all occasions.

"The possession, the preservation and the care of the remains of the great Genoese constitute a perfect right and duty of the Dominican people, because of its having been his will, and by a thousand other providential circumstances; and that right united to that obligation, were enough in the opinion of the 'Municipio' to decree in the manner which it has done

(which carries with it no implication of any kind) that it, solely and exclusively, reserves the right of disposal when the opportunity arrives, without the direct concourse of other legitimate authorities, of the illustrious remains of the immortal man who gave a world to the true faith, to civilisation and to science.

"This Corporation hopes that you, with these explanations, will remain satisfied and will withdraw the protest, which has caused so much regret to the representatives of the just and virtuous people of San Domingo.

"Salute, etc.,

"Juan de la Alfoncesca.

"To the Bishop, etc., etc."

This claim of the city authorities, for a time at least, was effectual and, as we shall soon see, the remains were constructively in the guardianship of the Ayuntamiento although they were in the immediate charge of Vicar Billini.

On the fourteenth day of September, 1877, it being the festival of the raising of the Holy Cross, the Bishop Roque Cocchia issued a Pastoral letter in which he officially announced to the clergy and laity the discovery, the successive steps which led thereto, calling upon all the churches to ring their bells and directing that the *Te Deum* in the Dominican language should be sung in San Domingo and providing that upon each succeeding tenth day of September this ceremony should be repeated as a memorial of the discovery of such a precious treasure.

CHAPTER CXXXX

SECOND EXAMINATION

We must now return to the protest of the Spanish Consul, Señor José Manuel de Echeverri. Each foreign Consul present on the occasion of finding the remains of Columbus, September 10, 1877, immediately communicated the news to his home Government. The Spanish Consul hastened to inform his Majesty's Government at Madrid and the colonial authorities at Havana. That this news was considered important is evident from the steps taken to investigate the matter. On October 23, 1877, the President of the Spanish Cabinet, Señor Canovas, at Madrid, by order of the King, his Majesty Alfonso XII., directed a communication to the Royal Academy of History, inclosing documents furnished by the Spanish Consul at San Domingo, relating to the discovery of the "true remains" of Christopher Columbus, with the request that the said Royal Academy should institute an inquiry and report concerning the value of said documents. It was not till November 11, 1878, that the Academy made its report.

According to the command of the King, a circular was sent to all the Representatives of Spain abroad, by the Minister, under date of December 17, 1877, in which the latter said substantially as follows:

"I consider so insufficient the proof given by the authorities on the discovery in the present year at San Domingo, that I judge the discoverers to be under a hallucination brought on by the double blindness of their enthusiasm and their critical poverty, not to adjudge them victims of a sad mystification. In consequence I have found nothing that could destroy the legitimacy of the remains of the great man, which since so many years have rested under the Nave of the Cathedral of Havana, whither they were brought with such pomp and ceremony that we cannot now

admit doubts concerning the alleged substitution. The government, however, not being an infallible judge and to place so important a matter under a clear light, I immediately placed the affair in the hands of the only authorised tribunal, that is the Scientific Corporation of the Academy of History, the only authority that can open the register of the human facts, study them in the light of its science and judge them with severe impartiality, the only authority that has the necessary qualifications to invalidate or to sanction the new discovery. . . . Each is therefore to govern himself according to the above communication, and in his official or private conversations with the diplomatic or consular authorities to make it known that Spain maintains and proclaims as legitimate the burial of the remains of Christopher Columbus placed on January 19, 1796, in the Cathedral of Havana . . . and to suspend whatever favourable opinion any one may have regarding the new discovery until the aforesaid Academic corporation shall give its definite and authoritative verdict."

About the same time, December, 1877, the Government of Spain, not awaiting the report of its own agent especially appointed for this purpose, addressed an order through the Governor of the island of Cuba, the centre of its colonial power, to Señor José Manuel Echeverri. Agreeable to this order the Consul presented himself before the Minister of Foreign Affairs for the Government of the Republic of Santo Domingo and addressed him on behalf of the Government he represented, as follows:

"Excellency, I have the honour to present myself to your Excellency to make to you this communication: according to an official document received this very day (December, 1877) the government of H. M. the King (q. D. g.) directs me to procure and forward to Spain in the shortest possible time the items of information that I here enumerate:

"*First.* A legalised copy of the Act of Exhumation of the mortal remains found lately in the Cathedral of this Capital.

"*Second.* A photographic reproduction of each one of the four sides and of the cover of the coffin exhumed in the said excavations, with fac-simile heliotypes or other forms of reproduction, of the inscriptions which are upon the aforementioned coffin.

"*Third.* A certificate from the Honourable scientific faculty giving the state of preservation in which the said coffin was found, stating scientifically the effects produced on its exposed parts by the action which any material may have produced on them during the 341 years passed since the transferment of the same to this island.

"*Fourth.* A detailed and sufficient report, to promote or furnish historical proofs, showing if at any time the pavement of the Cathedral has been removed, particularly in the space where the remains of the hero have

been found, and if in any way it is known if the said remains were really interred under the ground or in a sepulchre which would have preserved them uninjured and without danger that the bones of the great man might have been confused with those of other dead bodies.

"I conclude, begging your Excellency to give the necessary instructions to the end that this information may be obtained in the shortest possible time so that I on my part may execute the order given me by my government." [1]

Two days later the Consul received a communication informing him that the Council of Ministers had decided to furnish him such information as was asked for in his request and asking him to name a day when the scientific examination might take place. The second day of January in the year 1878 was appointed for this new, thorough, and scientific investigation, and the following form of official invitation was issued:

"Saint Domingo, December 26, 1877.

"Messrs. Consuls:

"I am in receipt, under this same date from the Señor Consul of Spain, of a note in which he says to me:

"That, by order of his government, in order to make an identification, and to take by means of photography some pictures of the box which contains the precious remains of Columbus, he would like to have the latter opened for such purpose.

"Therefore, having recognised the motive and the official character of the petition and having seen the authorisation of the Government of this Republic, for which reference is made to the Civil Authority, I have believed it my duty to accede, as Ecclesiastical Authority.

"But finding the precious deposit to be under the seals and protection of all the Ministry, of the Governor of the Province, of the Honourable Municipal Council, of the Honourable Diplomatic and Consular Body, resident in this Capital of the Señor Penitentiary, as depositary, and my own; I have the honour to invite your Excellencies in order that you may kindly assist to-morrow at 3.30 in the afternoon, in the sanctuary of *Regina Angelorum*, in witnessing the opening of the box, the signing of the Act of this operation, the placing of the seals anew and the leaving of the deposit with the same guarantees in the responsibility of the same depositary.

"Receive, Señores Consuls, the sentiments of my highest and most distinguished consideration.

"(Signed.) F. Roque, Bishop of Orope,
"Delegate and Apostolic Vicar."

[1] This account of the relationship of the Spanish Consul to the exhumation and the several examinations of the remains of Columbus is taken from his book, *Dó Existen Depositadas Las Cenizas de Cristobal Colon?* Published at Santander in 1879, and the same year reprinted at San Domingo.

"I believe that 3.30 in the afternoon is almost useless for the taking of a photograph, in my humble opinion: I believe that it should be at 10.30 in the morning or at 1 in the afternoon.

"(Signed.) The Consul of the German Emperor.
"MIGUEL POU."

"In regard to the hour, the Señor Consul of Spain has arranged with the photographer and advised his colleagues, the Minister of the Interior, the Governor and the President of the Municipal Council and myself.

"(Signed.) F. ROQUE, Bishop.
"(Signed.) JOSÉ MANUEL DE ECHEVERRI.
"A. AUBIN DESFOUGERAIS.
"PAUL JONES.
U. S. Consul.
"D. COEN."

As in the case of the first examination, a formal Act was drawn up reciting the various steps taken on this occasion, the truth of the recital being attested by those present. The reader will notice that the protest made by the Ayuntamiento seems to have been effective, since the actual act of opening the coffin was performed by its President, indicating the acknowledgment of his official guardianship.

ACT OF JANUARY 2, 1878

"In the city of San Domingo, capital of the Dominican Republic, at 12 o'clock noon, January 2, 1878, we Leonardo Delmonte y Aponte, Public Notary of this city, at the request of his Excellency, the Minister of Justice and Public Instruction, went to the ex-monastery of *Regina Angelorum* and there found assembled the Ministers General D. Marcos Cabral of the Interior, Police and Agriculture; Don Felipe Davila Fernandez de Castro of Foreign Relations; Don Joaquin Montolio, of Justice and Public Instruction; General Don Felix Mariano Lluveres, Minister of War and Marine; General D. Braulio Alvarez, civil and military Governor of this Province; the members of the illustrious Municipal Council of this city, Señores Don Juan de la Cruz Alfonseca, President, Don Felix Baez, Don Manuel Ma. Cabral, Don José Ma. Bonetty, Don Antonio de Soto, Don Francisco Aybar, Aldermen; and Don Manuel de Jesus Garcia, Secretary; Don Manuel José de Echeverri, Consul of his Catholic Majesty, the King of Spain; Don Luis Cambiaso, Consul of his Majesty the King of Italy; Don Miguel Pou, Consul of the Emperor of Germany; Don José Martin Leyba, Consul of the King of Holland; Señores Don Pedro Ma. Pineyro; Don Mariano Socarrez and Don Manuel Duran, Doctors of Medicine and Surgery, commissioned to inspect the condition of the leaden box in which lie the remains of the Great Admiral, Christopher Columbus, the Discoverer

of America, found September 10 of the past year 1877 in the Cathedral of this city; Señor Don Ramon Alonso Ravelo, Constitutional Alcalde, assisted by his Secretary Don José Llaverias and Señores Don Apolinar Tejera, Don Manuel Ma. Santamaria, Don Rafael Ramirez Baez, Don Jose Francisco Pellerano and Don José Joaquin Machado, witnesses required by the said Señor Alcalde, in order to certify the condition in which shall be found the seals placed on the box already cited, the 10th of September last by the notaries not here present in this Act; and a numerous concourse of particular persons, national and foreign.

"The President of the Illustrious Municipal Council stated that by disposition of the Governor of the Republic, acceding to a solicitation of the Consul of his Catholic Majesty, the King of Spain, he was about to raise the seals and open the box which contains the remains of the grand Admiral Christopher Columbus, in order to make certain examinations which the Spanish Academy of History had believed it best to demand, in order to determine upon the authenticity of the discovery of September 10, already mentioned. The Señor Canon Billini, depositary [trustee] of the box and remains found in the same, presented and delivered it, closed [lacreada] and sealed to the President of the Ayuntamiento. The said box and the seals referred to, being examined, everything was found intact, and the same as it had been delivered the 10th of September last, according to the Act of that same date, which was in hand. Continuing the Act, each one of the Ministers of State, the Consuls and the President of the Municipal Council broke their respective seals; the Señor Canon Billini removed his and that of the Señor Bishop of Orope, Apostolic Delegate; the Consul of Italy, that of the Consul of the U. S. A., both having sufficient authority; and the Alcalde assisted by his Secretary and witnesses removed the seals of the absent notaries and we removed our own. The box being opened, there was found within it another of lead, of rough construction, apparently very antique, somewhat bruised, with projecting cover joined to the box by hinges riveted, which being scrupulously examined resulted in showing in the interior as well as on the exterior, the same inscriptions, and in being the same in which were found the bones of the Discoverer and which were given over for deposit the 10th of September to the Canon Billini, for his custody. The scientific gentlemen already mentioned made their examination of the box in sight of every one. On removing the dust of the bones which lay in the box, one of the scientists ['facultativos'—generally used in speaking of medical men] found and extracted a sheet of silver of quadrangular form, beaten with a hammer, eighty-seven millimetres long, thirty-two wide, with two circular holes in the upper part, which coincided with two others which are in the leaden box beside the hinges. The sheet of silver has inscriptions engraved on both sides; on one side it says 'Ua. Pte. de los Rtos. del Pmer. Alte. D. Cristoval Colon, Desr.' and on the other side, 'U. Cristoval Colon.' The examination of the medical men being completed, a photograph was taken of the four sides of the said box, it being undertaken through vigilance in

a dark room, the custody of the said box being entrusted to the President of the Municipal Council and other aldermen present, although the operation was under public inspection. The photographer, Narciso Arteaga, delivered the negatives to the President of the Municipal Council, and he delivered them to the Canon Billini, for deposit. The Alderman Francisco Aybar was charged with the execution of having fac-similes made of the inscriptions on the box and plate (sheet of metal). All the operations being terminated about 5 o'clock in the afternoon, the box of lead which contains the remains was arranged anew in the other box of wood, and the Ministers, the President of the Municipal Council and the Consuls present placed their respective seals on the box; afterwards it was closed with a key and was delivered by the President of the Municipal Council to the said custodian Canon Billini, who, as representative of the Bishop of Orope, Apostolic Delegate, placed thereon the Bishop's seal, as well as his own; and the Consul of Italy placed his, and that of the Consul of the U. S. with sufficient powers. The Alcalde, assisted by his Secretary and witnesses, placed his seal and we, the acting notary, placed our own. The Act being concluded, the present Act was drawn up, which will be deposited in the archives of the Illustrious Ayuntamiento of this Capital, and which the persons named in it signed, having first read and approved: to all of which I, the Notary, certify. (Signed.)

"[By persons named in the Act above.]"

The scientific representatives making the examination on that occasion made their report as follows:

"Report of the Medical Commission Charged with the Verification of the Condition of the Box Containing the Remains of Christopher Columbus:

"The Medical Commission required to pass judgment on 'the state of preservation of the box which incloses the venerated remains of the immortal Columbus,' proceeds to give the result of its investigations simply and clearly: the circumstances occurring in that Act of January 2 of the present year, 1878: and its scientific opinion and conclusions conscientiously, as required by professional duty and the great importance and delicacy of the matter.

"The box closed and the dimensions being taken of the lid, which slightly exceeds the body of said box, measures 44 centimetres long, 21½ wide and 22 high. Its appearance is metallic of a whitish colour in parts, very particularly towards its bottom, dark grey in others. It presents on the exterior the letters and inscriptions which are given in the Act of September 10, 1877, and many depressions and bruises, probably caused by external violence. Also some cracks in the union of the 'perimetro' with the bottom, by which there constantly escape portions of the interior dust.

"A part of the grey dust which covers the exterior being separated and the fine whitish coating which covers it in part being destroyed, we classify it as 'protoxido de plomo hidratado,' which forms on the surface of this

metal on contact with air or humidity: and after having made small cuts in it, observing the brilliant bluish-white of the metal, its malleability and other properties, we have recognised the box as of lead.

"One plate only forms the lid, fastened by two hinges which are also of lead; another plate forms the body united by rivets on the right side, middle part, and a third forms the bottom, also united by rivets.

"In the posterior face middle and upper part are two holes placed horizontally at a distance of 55 millimetres between them.

"The uncommon and rough appearance of the box, the antique form of its letters and inscriptions, its solid and particular construction and its union by rivets, together with the other circumstances observed, induce us to believe that it is of antique construction and that it may well have the 341 years of age which it is supposed to have, since we know that lead resists indefinitely the action of time.

"Once the coating of grey dust or the sub-oxide which covers its surface, being formed, this metal is preserved inalterable through centuries.

"The lid being raised, it is found to be fastened solely by the two aforesaid hinges, and the edge or thickness of the plates is seen, measuring two and as much as three millimetres in some places.

"On the interior face of the lid may be seen very legibly, the following inscription:

"'Ilustre. i Esdo. Varon. Dn. Cristoval Colon.'

"In the interior of the box we find some human bones, detoriated, light, easily crumbled between the fingers, some fragments and dust. On removing these in order to see the bottom we find a ball of lead about 30 'gramos' in weight, two small screws and a plate of silver, with two holes which exactly correspond to those described in the box.

"The plate has two graven inscriptions, and measures 87 millimetres in length and 33 in width.

"The lack of some elements and the passing of the time, the photographers and others requiring the remaining light in order to do their work, and the inadequate conditions in which we found ourselves, surrounded and hampered, so to speak, by the Illustrious Municipal Council, some members of the clergy, various authorities, a multitude of strangers and a numerous concourse of the people, in which all with equal care made efforts to approach and witness the Act; all these circumstances then prevented us from making a more profound and extended examination.

"Being attentive, however, to the letter of the communication of his Excellency, the Minister, in which he begged us to 'examine the state of preservation of the box which inclosed the venerated remains of the immortal Columbus we believe that we have given our opinion frankly and sincerely upon this point, adjusted to the light of truth and of science.

"We believe that the lapse of time from the period to which the said box belongs would not alter the good conditions in which it is found, if it continued isolated from all organic matter.

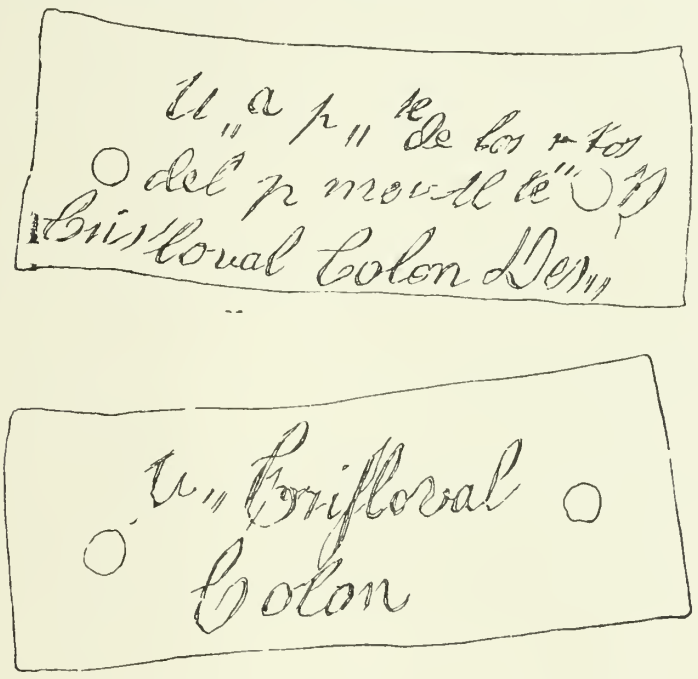
"In leaving our charge thus fulfilled, we have the honour to salute your Excellency with our most distinguished consideration.

"San Domingo, January 18, 1878. (Signed.)

"PINEYRO.—SOCARREZ.—DURAN.

"His Excellency the Minister of the Dominican Republic."

While it is not stated in the Act, we learn from the Spanish Consul that in this investigation, on January 2, 1878, the seals placed upon the outer coffin on the tenth day of the preceding



Inscription on the Two Sides of the Silver Plate Found in Box Containing the Remains of Christopher Columbus.

September were examined through a magnifying glass in order to satisfy those present that they had not been tampered with. The second investigation was begun at high twelve, in the fulness of the day, and completed by five o'clock in the afternoon. It will be remembered that the first examination, that of September 10, 1877, was begun late in the afternoon and it was long after eight o'clock in the evening when it was finished. We find the scientific examiners in this second investigation complaining of the passing light and of the multitude pressing them upon every side. It must have been under far more

trying conditions that the first investigation was held. Hence the failure to find the thin plate of silver[1] is not inconsistent with a performance at the first investigation on the part of the examiners as faithful and as complete as the circumstances admitted. It was at the bottom of the leaden box, underneath the dust and pulverised bones, and was of such slight thickness that one's fingers might pass over the bottom of a leaden box filled with dust without at first discovering it. The importance of this corroborating witness unknown at the first trial and now summoned spectacularly to appear at the second cannot be over-estimated. Every proof points to its presence, though uncalled and unknown, at the first trial and of its possession by the Court as an exhibit. It could not have been introduced in the interval between the two examinations. That is to say, it could not have been so introduced unless the persons holding the many sealing instruments were in a conspiracy, and this would require collusion on the part of the ecclesiastical and civil authorities, as well as on the part of the several members of the consular body. It could not have been inserted into the coffin surreptitiously by some interested individual for the simple reason that it had two holes which exactly fitted over two other holes in the leaden box beside the hinges. It will be remembered that at the first examination two screws were found, and these two screws exactly fitted the two holes in the plate and the two holes in the leaden box. But it is also to be remembered that the two holes in the leaden box were as much a discovery at the time of the second examination as the silver plate itself. The Act of September 10, 1877, does not disclose the presence of screw-holes in the box itself.[2] Is it possible that the same individual who might have fabricated the plate had on that September evening found the two holes in the box, measured them with such exactness that only mechanical tools could have been employed for the purpose, and then have waited

[1] The thickness of the plate is not given. It was 87 mm. long by 33 mm. wide; that is to say, about $3\frac{7}{16}$ inches long by $1\frac{5}{16}$ inches wide. The two holes were 55 mm., or $2\frac{3}{16}$ inches apart.

[2] By implication the holes in the box might be understood. The passage reads: "*Y dos pequenos tornillos de la misma caja*": "And two small screws from the same box."

This does not locate or measure the distance between the holes, information which would have been absolutely necessary to enable any one to fabricate a plate to screw into the said holes of the box themselves. So far as any one could determine

patiently till there should occur some unknown and unexpected and totally unnatural opportunity for inserting the said plate within the coffin! If the Spanish Academy had not appealed to the King of Spain, if the King of Spain had not directed his Consul to apply for a new examination, the seals might have remained unbroken and the coffin unopened for ever. The question of conspiracy is no more to be entertained in connection with this second examination than on the occasion of the finding of the remains on September 10, 1877. The very simplicity of the inscription on the plate stamps it as genuine. Whosesoever hand engraved those letters, it certainly had no great skill. It is evident that the engraver's first effort was unsatisfactory, but the plate was of silver and not to be abandoned or rebeaten. Therefore it was turned over and a fuller and more detailed inscription was cut into the plate, identifying the *Christoval Colon* of the rejected side, whose name is corrected to *Cristoval Colon*, with that *Cristoval Colon* who was the *Premier Almirante* and the *Descubridor*. As we have said, this certainly is a spectacular presentation of a witness, the star witness, so to speak, of the entire case. But to our mind it was unpremeditated, unarranged, unexpected, and its discovery was due entirely to the opportunity demanded and secured by the Spaniards, who have claimed that the discovery in 1877 of the remains in the Cathedral of San Domingo was a solemn farce, the remains themselves fraudulent, the world deluded, and truth mocked.

The Spanish Consul transmitted to his Government a certified copy of this second Act, the report of the scientific examiners, and such other details as he had been directed to gather. Shortly after he was notified that he had been removed from his office and directed to transfer his effects to the Vice-Consul of France. He appears to have been a zealous, alert official and his colleagues have since spoken of him as an honest,

from published reports, the two screws mentioned in the Act might have no connection with each other. They might be in juxtaposition or separated by the length of the box.

It is true that in his book published in the year 1892, the Rev. Roque Cocchia, then Archbishop of Chieti, says that they found on the box two small holes. He mentions in the inventory two small iron screws, but does not associate them at all with the "two small holes" found on the box. But it must be remembered he is speaking of an occurrence fifteen years previous in its action, and probably confuses the two examinations. In his earlier report he makes no mention of these holes.

intelligent, and upright man. Acting almost on an inspiration, he had publicly protested, directly the remains were found on that evening of September 10, 1877, that the remains belonged to Spain, an error or a fraud having delivered the wrong remains to his nation in December, 1795. This should have been the key-note on which to utter Spain's protest and there would have been heard from the civilised world echoes of sympathy and support. But Fatality had its clammy touch on Spain then, as on other occasions before and since, and she contented herself with denying the evident and closing her eyes to the visible.

The very agents of the Academy of Spain sent to San Domingo to investigate this matter of the remains never viewed them or asked to examine them.[1] Of course the question of title would have been embarrassing. By the correspondence of December, 1795, it does not appear that France, in whose name was then registered San Domingo and therefore its Cathedral, and therefore its deposits, ever consented to the removal of the remains which were given over to General Aristizabel on December 20, 1795. On the other hand, the failure to have recorded a protest and the peaceable possession for more than eighty years might be construed into an undisputed title, but a title to the remains in Havana, and not to those in San Domingo, a claim to what Spain already possessed and not to what she did not possess. If the Government of San Domingo should regard itself as bound to fulfil the obligations of France from which it had title, it could have demanded the written or verbal agreement of France to deliver to Spain the veritable remains of Christopher Columbus before she honoured the obligation. Could Spain produce this obligation? An ecclesiastic, the Rev. Don Fernando Portillo y Torres, Archbishop of San Domingo, delivered on December 20, 1795, a coffin said to contain the remains of Christopher Columbus and a key to the said coffin to Marshal Don Joaquin Garcia, the Spanish Captain-General of the island of Santo Domingo,—the French Commissioners not yet having appeared to receive the island from France,—and the Spanish Captain-General Joaquin Garcia handed over coffin and key to Don Gabriel de Aristizabel, Lieutenant-General of the Spanish Royal Armada, and this coffin and key were in turn delivered

[1] The Bishop of Orope, the Rt. Rev. Roque Cocchia, and Luigi Cambiaso are our authorities for this statement.

to the Spanish Governor of Havana as a trust until the King of Spain might determine what further disposition should be made of them. In all this we do not see that France had part, lot, duty, or obligation. It would then have been difficult for Spain to establish her legal rights to the remains of Columbus.

CHAPTER CXXXXI

THE THIRD EXAMINATION

When there arrived the first anniversary of this discovery of the remains, September 10, 1878, the event was celebrated in accordance with the Pastoral letter issued the year before. Cannon fired their salutes, the bells of the different churches were rung, and the *Te Deum* recited. The most important ceremony, as might have been expected, took place in the Church *Regina Angelorum*, where were still deposited the precious relics. At eight o'clock in the morning there gathered in the Palace of the Governor, the ecclesiastical, civil, and military authorities, the Consular Body, the Supreme Court of Justice, and prominent citizens to whom the Rev. Bishop Roque Cocchia announced that it was purposed to place the remains of the Discoverer in a repository more worthy of the great man, and to that end there had been prepared an urn of crystal. Those present then formed in procession and directed their steps to the salle of the College St. Luis Gonzaga, near the church, where the Vicar Billini had on deposit the coffin and its contents. Here the remains were transferred to the urn of crystal prepared for their reception and placed on a richly caparisoned bier. Then the procession once more wended its way to the Church *Regina Angelorum* and up to the presbytery, where the urn was deposited. During the procession different members of the civil, military, judiciary, and consular bodies alternated in performing the duty of bearers. The Bishop then mounted the pulpit and preached an excellent discourse on the suggestive theme, *Exultabent Ossa Humiliata*. The urn remained exposed to public gaze the entire day, guarded by the most distinguished citizens of San Domingo, and was viewed by a vast concourse

of people. At six o'clock it was again closed, placed in an outer box, and remanded to the custody of the Vicar Billini.

It was on this occasion, at the early morning meeting in the salle of the College St. Luis Gonzaga that the Reverend Bishop caused to be taken from the leaden box, as the remains were being transferred to the crystal urn, a small quantity of dust with two small fragments of bone, which he afterwards sent to his Holiness Pope Leo XIII., and also another small quantity of dust which he consigned to the University of Pavia, and a third small quantity of dust which he retained himself. These are his words.:

"On that occasion [referring to the anniversary day, September 10, 1878] I proposed to offer to the Pope Leo XIII. a relic of the great man and then and there a small quantity of the dust and two small fragments of bone were given to me. I sent immediately due notice to his Holiness, who was grateful and ordered that I should interpret to the Government his appreciation. I did so at once and the Minister of the Interior acknowledged this in his letter dated January 16, 1879, as follows:

"'I have had the honour of receiving and transmitting to the Government your courteous note of January 10, 1879, in which your Eminence informs me of the good reception given by his Holiness of the relic of the great Christopher Columbus that was dedicated to him the 10th of September last, the anniversary of the great discovery. The Government begs me to inform you of its gratification in hearing of his Holiness's having accepted the relic.'

"Of the other fragments, a small pinch was sent to Pavia, where it was delivered in the manner stated: the remainder I retained myself, in the presence of a witness and I keep the precious relic amongst my most sacred remembrances."

Whatever of desecration there may have been in this act, it was participated in by the Bishop's partner, the Dominican government. As to the University of Pavia, it seems that on November 22, 1877, Dr. Carlo Dell' Acqua, Assistant Librarian of the University of Pavia, wrote to the Bishop as follows:

"I am very glad to learn from the newspapers that in the Cathedral of your city have been found the mortal remains of Christopher Columbus. This city, Pavia, that had the honour of having Christopher Columbus as a student in its University, warmly participates in the joy of such a grand event. If your Excellency, as guardian of such precious remains, were able with due authorisation to send me a relic of that great man, I should

consider myself exceedingly fortunate to be able to offer it to the University, of which I am a member, confident that it will be preserved with the greatest respect."

The Bishop obtained this dust only on September 10, 1878, and it was nearly two years before a suitable opportunity occurred for transmitting it to the University. This opportunity occurred when the Bishop's Secretary (afterwards his successor as Apostolic Delegate, and still later, Bishop of Larino), the Rev. Father Bernardino d'Emilia, departed from San Domingo for Italy. The precious dust was consigned to his care and was duly delivered in the summer of 1880. In the interest of preserving historical fragments comparatively unimportant of themselves but essential to the careful student, we give the Act acknowledging the receipt of these ashes:

"In the year of our Lord 1880, this day Thursday, the 5th of August at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, in the city of Pavia and in the University, I, Dr. Cesar Rizzi, Notary residing in Pavia, record in this Act what follows:

"First: That in another hall of this University's Library and precisely in the so-called hall of the Professors, were gathered personally in the presence of invited guests who had been duly admitted: Mr. Commendator Joseph Bosi, Prefect of the Province of Pavia, as representative of the Royal Government and most especially as Delegate and representative of the Minister of Public Instruction; Cavalier Anzel Nocca, Senior Alderman of the Municipality of Pavia and as such representative of his Excellency Commendator Admiral William Acton, Minister of the Marine and also as representative of the Italian Geographical Society; the Barrister John Vidari, Provincial Deputy at Pavia, as representative of this Provincial deputation; Barrister Emilio Pellegrini, President of the Administration of the Royal College Ghisilieri of Pavia; the Commendator Reverend Joseph Chiazza, Rector of the 'College Borromeo' of Pavia; Mr. Cav. Jules Villa, President of the Civil and Correctional Tribunal of Pavia; Commendator Tullius Brugnatelli, ordinary Professor of Chemistry in this University, Messrs. Cav. John Rizzi and Barrister Joseph Dapelli, Municipal Aldermen of Pavia; the Reverend Don Francis Magnani, Parish Priest of the Church of St. Francis, as representative of his Excellency Monseigneur Augustin G. Riboldi, Bishop of the City and of the Diocese of Pavia; the Reverend Don John Dell' Acqua, as representative of the Clergy of Pavia, the Rev. Bernardino d'Emilia, Capuchin, charged by his Excellency Rev. Monseigneur Archbishop Roque Cocchia, of whom he is Secretary, and Messrs. Cav. Professor Alexander Nova, Cav. Prof. Eugenio Balbi, Cav. Dr. Angel Vecchi and Cav. Barrister Nobile Zanino Volta, members, with the Mayor of Pavia (who is absent), of the Committee for the reception of the afore-

mentioned relic and for the erection of a monument to Columbus, the great Navigator, in Pavia.

"Second: That Commendator Bosi as representative of the Government and Delegate of the Minister of Instruction did first make a speech in which he rendered publicly and solemnly the most sincere thanks to the Government of the Republic of Santo Domingo, to Monseigneur, the Archbishop Roque Cocchia and to the bearer of the precious relic, Don Bernardino d'Emilia; to which address this last-mentioned answered most frankly, deploring the absence of Cav. Dell' Acqua, Assistant Librarian. Afterwards speeches were made by the Rector of the University and President of the Committee, Prof. Nova, the Vice-Librarian, Barrister Volta, expressing the same sentiments advanced by the Prefect, and finally Cav. Nocco, Alderman, who presented his thanks in the name of the city, of the Minister of Marine and of the Geographical Society.

"Third: That in accordance with what was above stated the Reverend Don Bernardino d'Emilia, from Calitri, consigned formally to the Rector, Prof. Nova, in his quality of President of the Committee, the relic which consists (according to the description in the document given by Monseigneur Roque Cocchia) of small fragments of bones and a pinch of dust enclosed in a small pyramid of crystal duly sealed by the Notary Perez of San Domingo, by the Consul of Italy in San Domingo, Cavalier Lewis Cambiaso, and by Monseigneur Roque Cocchia.

"Fourth: That the said small pyramid was by the Rector Nova placed in the hands of the Vice-Librarian, Barrister Volta, that he acknowledged receipt of the same, promising to preserve it with care in the safe of the said Library, until it shall be decided to have it placed elsewhere, by the Committee or by the authorities.

"Fifth: That the Reverend Father Bernardino d'Emilia invited by the Prefect, gave an account of how the discovery took place in the Cathedral of San Domingo, of the remains of Christopher Columbus, the great Admiral, and all about the festivals which took place in that Capital in order to celebrate the happy event, a speech which was received with cheers by all the people present and listened to with the most intense interest.

"The said Act by me written out was made public, by reading it, the reading being done by me, in a high and clear voice to all those present, the witnesses included, and was thence signed by all those present, as well as the witnesses and by me, the Notary as last signed."

[Here follow the signatures of those persons mentioned in the first paragraph.]

In his speech made on that occasion, the Barrister Volta gave the credit for initiating the movement which resulted in obtaining the precious relic, to the Director Cavalier Dell' Acqua. The Capuchin Bernardino d'Emilia, the Envoy bearing the relic, remarked as follows:

"Only to-day I have had the great honour to consign into your hands the treasure confided to me, I mean the precious relic of Christopher Columbus which through my means has been sent you by Monseigneur Roque Cocchia, formerly Bishop of Orope and now Archbishop of Chieti, to whom I have had the honour of acting as Secretary for the last six years, and upon this fortunate occasion I am deputed by him to bring you the relic and to interpret his sentiments. Receive, therefore, Monsieur the Rector and as well the Committee and the City, this small urn, this small pyramid containing a pinch of dust and a few fragments of the veritable remains of the Great Navigator, discovered not long since in the Cathedral of San Domingo and at which discovery I was present. I rejoice most exceedingly with all my heart, in accomplishing to-day the desire of so many learned citizens, admirers of the glory of Christopher Columbus, a glory that most probably sowed its first seed from the studies acquired by him in this ancient asylum of the sciences. The City of his birth received not long ago a small pinch of the remains of the Great Navigator, the remains most fortunately discovered by the Italian Roque Cocchia, in the Cathedral of San Domingo. Now, let Pavia rejoice and be happy, having received so precious a relic of that great man, envied by all Nations, and may the youths of this Athenæum receive from these remains vital sparks of love for knowledge together with the constant attachment to noble purposes."

CHAPTER CXXXXII

THE FOURTH EXAMINATION

On the second anniversary of the discovery of the remains, September 10, 1879, the restorations being completed in the Cathedral, the authorities decided to deposit the remains once more and finally in the Cathedral Church. The Bishop declares that the ceremonies on this occasion were more solemn but more quiet than on the previous anniversary, although losing nothing of their splendour or festival character. The remains were escorted from the Church *Regina Angelorum* to the Cathedral and there deposited in the vault or little chamber adjoining the Chapel of the Bastides, and there, in that little chamber of the Cathedral Church, these remains, be they veritable or false, rest until this day.

The next information we have of an examination of these relics is when Herr Rudolf Cronau, a German writer, having obtained the necessary authority, viewed the remains on the morning of Sunday, January 11, 1891. There were present the ecclesiastical authorities, the Secretary of the Interior of the Republic of Santo Domingo, all the Consuls of the Governments having representatives in San Domingo, as well as other prominent persons, among whom was Emiliano Tejera, who has written many pamphlets and articles on this subject. In his work entitled *Die Geschichte seiner Entdeckung von der altesten bis auf die neuste Zeit*, Herr Cronau has detailed for us the investigation on that occasion [1]:

"The two little sepulchral chambers, the position of which can be seen from the plan and the illuminations referring to the Sanctuary, occupy the

[1] This account is published as given in Herr Cronau's book without an attempt to correct the few errors.

entire space between the staircase *C* and the wall, and are separated from one another only by a thin wall 16 centimetres thick. Both vaults are covered with a cement-like mortar. Their interior can easily be seen from above, for they were purposely left in a way to be examined with ease.

"Both rather small rooms are empty: the contents of vault 2 are in Havana, and the leaded coffin found in vault 1 is kept under lock and key in a room behind the first side chapel on the left, in the cathedral. The door leading to this room can be opened only by means of three keys, of which the first is in the hands of the archbishop and the other two in those of the Government. The regulations require that the room should be opened only in the presence of one official connected with the Church, and two of the officers of the Government. Admission is granted very rarely and a record is kept of all visitors.

"In the centre of the room stands a rather large chest (which can also be opened only by the use of several keys), containing the disputed lead coffin. The coffin itself is inclosed in a glass case, held together by strong strips of wood and ornamented with silver handles. This glass case can, in its turn, be opened by means of several keys. In order, however, to prevent its being opened, a broad white silk ribbon had in 1877 been wound several times about the glass case, immediately after the body was placed here, and the seals of the Governments of San Domingo, the Church, and of the Consulates of Spain, Italy, Germany, England, France, Holland, and the United States were put upon the case.

"No one had opened the case since, and consequently the coffin and the remains were in exactly the condition in which they had been left in 1877. After the door of the room and the chest had been opened on the above-mentioned date (the 11th of January, 1891), in the presence of the witnesses enumerated above, the glass case and its contents were lifted out and were put on a table covered with brocade in the side nave of the church, and we were allowed to examine them. It turned out that the lead coffin was open; its cover was turned back and fastened to the cover of the glass case, so that the bones lying inside were plainly visible. A considerable number of the vertebræ of the neck and back, and parts of the arm and leg bones proved very well preserved. A vessel of glass contained the dust which had been found in the bottom of the coffin. Furthermore, one could see a little silver plate covered with inscriptions, and a round leaden bullet; the latter lay outside of the lead coffin.

"On the suggestion of the Secretary of the Interior of the Republic, the consuls of the foreign governments declared unanimously that not only the silk ribbon wound about the glass case, but also all the seals which had been put on in 1877, were absolutely intact. After this the seals were broken, the ribbon loosened, the glass case opened by means of three keys, and the lead coffin lifted out and put upon a table, so that an examination could now be carried on in the most careful way. The coffin itself proved badly oxidised and showed the effects of being dented in some places, but

in other respects was rather well preserved. A few fragments of the lead which had fallen off were found carefully wrapped in a piece of paper.

"The first thing to be done was, of course, to investigate the inscriptions on the lead coffin and the little plate of silver. The result was the discovery that the reproductions from these which have so far been published are in part very incorrect. This may be due to the fact that in the absence of good instruments an attempt was made, as Mr. Tejera assured us, to copy the inscriptions on wood by means of penknives. I made a special effort to make the correctest possible copies of all inscriptions. These I had photographed on zinc and then etched, and they may be compared with older representations of the inscriptions.

"The appearance of these inscriptions, which were engraved on the lead and the silver by means of a sharp instrument, shows them to be unmistakably old. On the outside of the left wall of the coffin was found the letter C, on the front wall a letter C, on the right side wall a letter A. These letters have been explained as the initials of the words, 'Cristoval Colon, Almirante.'

"The cover bears the inscription (the first of our reproductions) which has been interpreted as standing for 'Descubridor de la America, primero Almirante,' *i. e.*, 'The discoverer of America, the first Admiral.'

"The words standing on the inside, written in Gothic script, and partly abbreviated, have been translated as follows: 'The famous and excellent man, Don Cristoval Colon.'

"It has been believed by some people that the fourth letter of the word Cristoval ought to be regarded as an f. This would in no way impair the correctness of the inscription, as the spelling 'Criftoval' is found.

"As to the silver plate (which in our illustration is reproduced in its real size), it must be mentioned that it was found with the leaden bullet under the ashes which covered the bottom of the coffin. Two small screws which were also found there, and which corresponded to two holes in the plate, and to two other holes in the back wall of the coffin, show that the little plate was originally screwed fast on the inside of the coffin, but that in course of time the oxidising of the lead had caused the screws to become loose and to fall down together with the plate.

"Both sides of the plates are written upon and both inscriptions are evidently meant to state the same thing. It would seem, however, as if their author had not been satisfied with the first inscription, perhaps because it did not seem intelligible enough on account of its too great brevity, and had then tried to express the same thing on the other side more in detail. For it would otherwise seem senseless to write on both sides of a plate, one side of which was always invisible, because turned towards the side of the coffin. The more complete inscription, which was doubtless turned towards the beholder, has been interpreted as follows: 'Ultima parte de los restos del primera Almirante Cristoval Colon Descubridor,' *i. e.*, 'The last part of the remains of the first Admiral, Cristoval Colon, the Discoverer.'

"It is to be noticed that the first abbreviated word might also be resolved into 'una' or 'unica.' Then the first part of the sentence would be 'a part' or 'the only part.'

"We now must mention the leaden bullet found in the dust on the bottom of the coffin. The theory has been advanced that it was lodged in the body of Columbus during the first years of his career as a seaman and dropped from its place in the course of the decomposition. No special importance has been so far attributed to its presence. We, on the contrary, are inclined to consider it as a proof of the identity of these remnants and those of Columbus, for the reason that he says in a letter written to the Spanish monarchs during his fourth voyage, and mentioned above by us, 'My wound has opened again.'

. . . . . .

"During my stay of a month I made it a business to question a considerable number of persons who had been present at the discovery of the coffin, singly and without each other's knowledge, and found complete agreement in the statements of all of them.

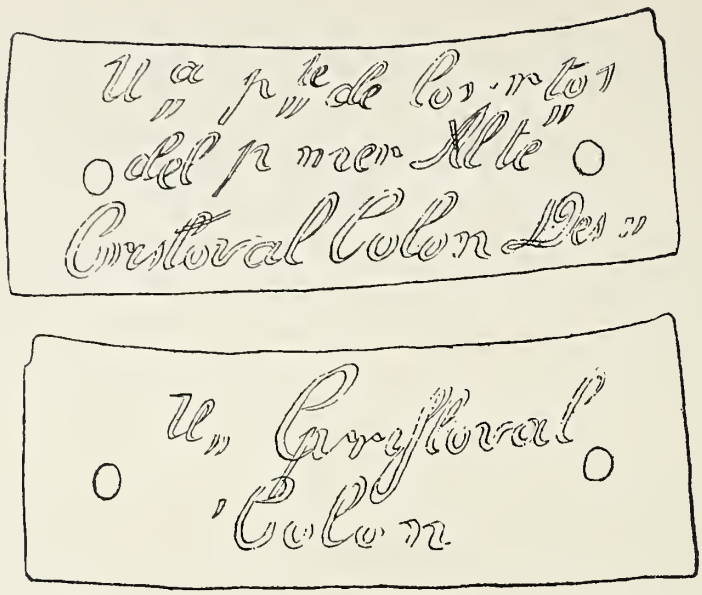
"After I had finished my investigation of the coffin and the remains (this took me about three hours) the ashes in the glass vessel were put into a silver casket ornamented with gold, and this casket was also put into the coffin. After the leaden coffin had been put back into the glass case the latter was again carefully closed, a ribbon with the three colours of the Republic San Domingo, red, white, and blue, was tied about it, and it was locked as it had been before; that is, by the governments, the church, and different consulates putting their seals upon it. Notaries who had been called read the report they had made, the coffin was put back into its old place, and those present at this memorable act took their departure. The author, and certainly all those who were there with him, went away with the conviction that the venerable remains of the great discoverer were lying and are still lying in the cathedral of San Domingo."

The leaden box is forty-four centimetres long, twenty-three high, and twenty-one wide. The lid is a single sheet of lead made so as to overlap the box in front and on the two sides.

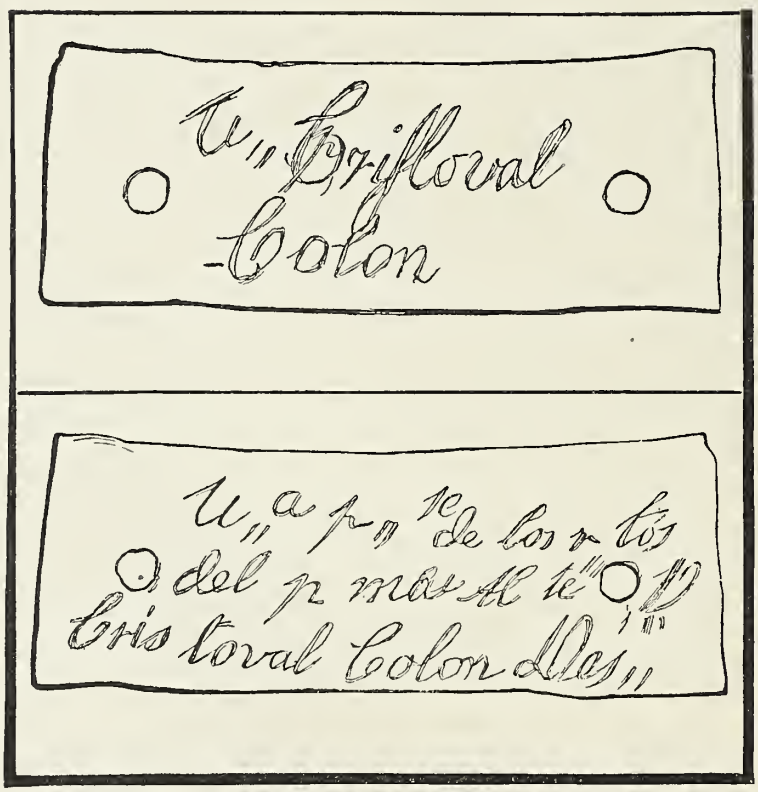
As we stand facing the box there is on the front side and about in the middle a large capital letter *C*, perpendicular in its position; on the right-hand side of the box is a large capital letter ⊢, horizontal in its position; on the left hand side of the box is a large capital letter ⊃, also horizontal in its position.

These were all the inscriptions found in connection with the remains when they were discovered in the Capilla Mayor of the Cathedral at San Domingo, on September 10, 1877. At the second examination, held on January 2, 1878, at the Church

Regina Angelorum, at the instance of his Majesty Alfonso XII., King of Spain, a silver plate was found with an inscription on both sides. We have quoted in full the description given by Herr Cronau of the remains, the urn, and the inscriptions as seen by him, and for purposes of comparison we give his fac-similes of the inscriptions on the silver plate and those made by the agent of the Spanish Academy, D. Antonio Lopez Prieto.



Inscription on Silver Plate as Taken by Agent of the Spanish Academy.



Inscription on Silver Plate as Taken by Herr Cronau.

CHAPTER CXXXXIII

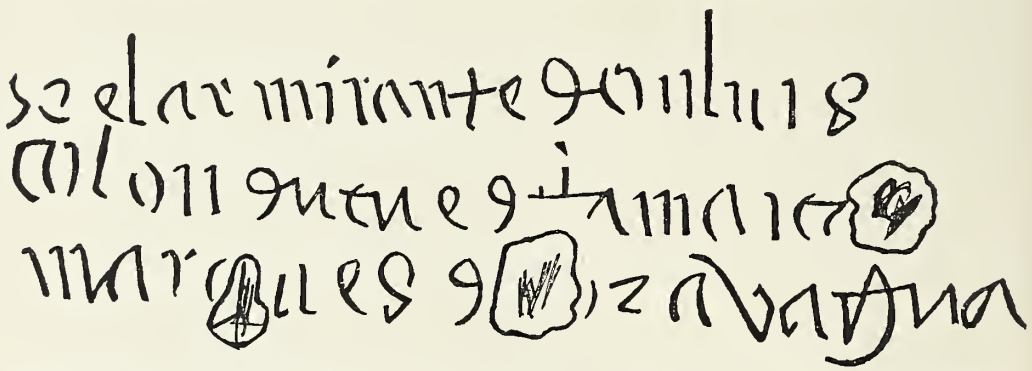
THE TRUE REMAINS

We have now before us all the inscriptions connected with the leaden box and the remains. There were no inscriptions or marks whatsoever on the leaden box found in the little vault adjoining the one from which the present box was removed, and which was unearthed in 1783 and which in 1795 was delivered to General Aristizabel for translation to Havana, and which, in 1899, was deposited in the Cathedral at Seville. Here were two vaults lying side by side, one next the wall, the other adjoining on the side farther away from the wall. We will call the first *A*, the second *B*. *A* was *next* the door leading to the Chapter Chamber. *B* was *near* the door leading to the Chapter Chamber. The unmarked leaden box, discovered in 1783 on the Gospel side of the altar, was described as taken from a vault *near* the door leading to the Chapter Chamber, not *next* it. History tells us that at least two of the Columbus family were buried in the Capilla Mayor of the Cathedral, Don Christopher, the First Admiral, and Don Diego, the second Admiral. Tradition tells us there were three buried in that Capilla Mayor, Don Christopher, the First Admiral; Don Diego, the second Admiral; and Don Luis, the third Admiral. Tradition tells us that the First Admiral was buried on the right, or Gospel, side of the High Altar, and that another of the family was buried on the left, or Epistle, side of the High Altar. Sometime previous to the repairs to the Cathedral in 1783, there was discovered a vault which we will call vault *C*, on the left, or Epistle, side of the altar in the old Capilla Mayor, and in it was found a leaden box with an inscription reciting that it contained the remains of Don Luis Columbus, but in describing

the discovery, the Canon of the Cathedral called him Don Luis, *the brother of Christopher Columbus*, meaning the Christopher Columbus who was the First Admiral, and the Discoverer of the New World. There is no evidence that there ever were buried within the sacred precincts of this original Capilla Mayor any other bodies than those of the Columbus family, and the Royal Decree of Charles V. gave that family the exclusive use of the said original Capilla Mayor. There never was any evidence that more than three members of the Columbus family were there buried. Those who assert that Don Bartholomew, the Adelantado, was buried in the Cathedral, say so on the authority of the Synod Report of 1683, in which Don Luis is called the brother of Christopher Columbus, referring to the First Admiral.

In December, 1795, vault *B* was opened and its unmarked box and the unidentified contents were transferred to Havana. In May, 1877, vault *C* was again found and opened, and from the inscriptions on the leaden box within, the latter was identified as containing, as its legend recited, the mortal remains of

"El Almirante, D. Luis Colon, Duque de Veragua, Marquis de—"



Inscription on Box Containing Remains of Don Luis Columbus, the Third Admiral.

On Sunday, September 9, 1877, there was found and opened a vault on the right or Gospel side of the High Altar, but removed somewhat from the wall. This vault was empty and was recognised as that from which, in 1795, a leaden box containing "parts of some defunct" was removed and transferred to Havana. This is our vault *B*. On Monday, September 10, 1877, there was found a vault on the right or Gospel side of

the High Altar adjoining the principal wall and between that wall and the empty vault, from which was taken a leaden box with the inscriptions as above given. This is our vault *A*, and, we confidently believe, contained for more than three hundred years the veritable remains of Christopher Columbus. If we approach this leaden box taken from vault *A* we will read the three capital letters from left to right *C. C. A.*, and we naturally interpret these to stand for Cristoval Colon Almirante,—Christopher Columbus, Admiral.

No one will dispute this reading or suggest another. On the top of the box on the outside of the cover is the inscription *D. de la A. Per. Ate.* Here is room for discussion. It will be admitted that this inscription stands for *Descubridor de la America, Primer Almirante, Discoverer of America, First Admiral.* This being admitted, the Spanish Academy says it follows that the inscription could not be contemporaneous with the death of Columbus or with the transferment of his remains about the year 1541 to San Domingo. In this inference we are in accord with the Spanish Academy. The New World was baptised America on May 5, 1507.[1] It was twice sounded in

[1] The *Cosmographiæ Introductio*, printed at St. Dié in the Vosgian Mountains, and in which it was first suggested calling the New World *America* after *Americus Vespucius*, is dated VII Kl. Maii 1507, that is to say, April 25, which being corrected by the Gregorian Calendar, gives us May 5, 1507, as the Baptismal day of America.

It is astonishing that people will still strain their imaginations in finding Indian names of tribes and places to suggest the name of America. Let us suppose that there were to be found somewhere on this continent a marble tablet with the name America or any word approaching it in appearance or sound, and that proof could be presented showing that this tablet was in existence, that it represented a people, a region, or a thing before 1507; it nevertheless would have absolutely no bearing on the naming of the continent. The editor of the *Cosmographiæ Introductio* suggested calling the continent *America* after *Americus Vespucius* because the latter had widely explored it, and since Europe, Asia, and Africa had feminine names, it was proposed that a feminine termination be given this name, and that accordingly it be called America. Martin Waldseemüller, who is credited with this suggestion, knew that Christopher Columbus and not Americus Vespucius was the first of modern men to set foot on the New World, indeed he read that fact in the writing of Vespucius himself in the very book he printed, but he also knew that Americus Vespucius had in his four voyages sailed and explored regions extending from about 38° north latitude to about 52° south latitude, and that the distance was equal to 90°, or the fourth part of the circumference of the globe Captivated by the glowing account of his explorations, the German student suggested the explorer's name for the New World, having probably the southern part thereof more particularly in his mind, and the world accepted his suggestion, *each new voice repeating with the use of the name its reason for that use.*

The reader is referred to the Author's *Continent of America* for a complete discussion of this question of the naming of America.

that year and again in 1509 men spoke the name at Strasburg. Some writers assert that the name was first spoken in English in the year 1510.[1] In 1520 Apianus placed it upon his map, and in 1522 it secured a permanent place on a Ptolemy map. In the Gerardus Mercator map of 1538 it was applied to both continents of the Western Hemisphere. By the middle of the sixteenth century, even by the year 1540, it was the common designation for the New World in Germany, Italy, France, the Low Countries, and England. The *Primera Parte de las Diferencias de Libros que ay en el Universo*, of Alexio Vanegas de Busto, printed at Toledo in 1546, designate the new parts as America.[2] But the use of the word America was not common in Spain in the sixteenth century. The universal Spanish designation of its possessions in the New World was *Las Indias*. *Nueva España* was used to designate a portion only of *Las Indias*. This designation has never entirely ceased, even in our day, and when Spain has so little occasion for its use. We therefore reject the inscription as contemporaneous with the death of Columbus. Nor is the leaden box or coffin itself contemporaneous with the death of the Admiral. Not that the appearance of its age would preclude this opinion, but the body of the Discoverer would not have been in a state to be rudely thrust into so narrow a receptacle either then, or in 1508, or for many years after. Perhaps in 1541 the exigencies of the condition may have been such as to have required for so long a transportation a box of lead. But if the inscription was made in 1541, we are of the opinion it was not made by a Spaniard or by direction of a Spaniard. We are not obliged, however, to consider this inscription by itself. Corroborative

[1] In the unique little tract preserved in the British Museum, entitled *A New Interlude and a Mery*, is this passage:

"*But this newe lands founde lately Ben callyd America, by cause only Americus dyd furst them fynde.*"

The date of this impression is not given, but it contains a manuscript note, saying:

"*First impression dated 25th Oct. II Henry VIII.*"

This would give the date as October 25, 1510. We have examined the book, and while the manuseript note is of a eomparatively late inseribing, and therefore not at all authoritative, there is internal evidenee that the book was printed prior to 1520.

[2] There was an edition of this work printed at Toledo, *En Casa de Juan de Ayala*, in 1540, but not having seen it, we do not know if it eontains this early Spanish use of the word.

evidence is found in other inscriptions connected with the box. On the inside of the cover of the box, we read:

"Illtr y Esdo Varon Dn Cristoval Colon."
"Ilustre y Esclarecido Varon Don Cristoval Colon."
"The illustrious and excellent man, Don Cristoval Colon."

Even if this inscription stood by itself unsupported by another identifying line or word, it could not be taken for that only other Cristoval Colon, the brother of Don Luis. The latter never had distinguished rank or title. It is said in criticism of the authenticity of this inscription that the curled form or the small letter *s* occurring in the middle of a word (as the fourth letter in Cristoval) was not used in that time. It is only necessary to point to certain books and manuscripts of the period to contradict this assertion. The reader will see in the quotation from the *Historie* at the beginning of our chapter xxxxviii. frequent use of the curled letter. It is met with more frequently during the sixteenth century in manuscripts than in printed books. Many examples of this use will be found in Silvestre's *Universal Palæography.*[1] The letter so common at the beginning or end of a word was slowly making its way into the heart of a word. We have seen it so used in manuscript as early as the year 1484. It had been undergoing a gradual transition in print, but by 1540 it had arrived. The old form "f," however, was more or less used in the middle of a word for two centuries. This inscription is by far the most elaborate of those found at the time, and was the work of an artist of no mean ability with the engraving tool. As to the two inscriptions on the silver plate, we have already discussed them. They certainly are crude and do not appear to have been made by the same hand which engraved either of the other inscriptions. The fact that the plate had an inscription on the inner side, whichever may have been the side fastened on the box, is not difficult to explain. The engraver was very properly dissatisfied with his work when he had completed one side of the plate. He had cut the Christian name of the Admiral with a letter *h* after the

[1] As, for instance, in Plate CCLXVIII., where, in the reproduction of the beautiful manuscript of the sixteenth century preserved in the Imperial Library at Vienna, we have both forms in the same word: DEUS JUDEX JUſTISSIMUS POTEſT.

C and had left no room for any other words than the two constituting the names. Naturally, he turned over the plate and began anew. This time he introduced what he may have at first intended to put upon the plate,—a description of the object for which the plate was engraved. He cut the characters which we may interpret:

> "Ultima parte de los restos del primer Almirante, Don Cristoval Colon, Descubridor": "The last part of the remains of the First Admiral, Don Cristoval Colon, the Discoverer."

The plate was then screwed into the leaden box with the first or rejected side, having the ill-spelled inscription, against the box, leaving the side with the fuller inscription to be read by some one who in after time might open the box. We do not believe historical writers should permit themselves theories, and yet it is impossible not to yield one's self at times to speculation. If, then, on this occasion we venture to express an opinion, it is that there was purposely no inscription on the outer side of the box for many years, or if there had been such distinguishing marks (and we must believe there had been, when the first remains of so distinguished a character were interred in the Cathedral), they had been removed, or a new box, with all inscriptions on the *inside* had been substituted for the other, and we believe that this was done about the time of the expected attack by the English in 1655. We have already alluded to the precautions taken to conceal from possible profanation the tomb of the First Admiral. Then, years later, the leaden box was discovered, the inscriptions on the inner side read, and, as concealment was no longer necessary, some more modern hand engraved the disputed line:

"D. de la A. P^{er} A^{te}."

There was found in this same leaden box, on September 10, 1877, a ball of lead, says the Act, *Del Peso de una Onza Mas ó Menos*, weighing an ounce, a little more or less.

The somewhat natural inference has been drawn that this ball was a bullet which had entered the living body of him

whose remains were there gathered, and that in the process of its return to dust, the bullet had dropped to the bottom of the box. This piece of lead has never been, so far as we know, critically examined to determine whether or not it was a bullet. Every round piece of lead is not a bullet. If it is a bullet, the question arises, Was Christopher Columbus, whose remains, according to the inscriptions, occupied the box, ever wounded in such a way as to admit of such a bullet entering his body? The reader will remember that passage in the *Lettera*, written July 7, 1503, from the island of Jamaica, and describing the trials and discomfitures of the voyage, in which the Admiral wrote the details of his stormy adventures off the coast of Veragua, and exclaimed, "*Quiui se me rinfrescó del male la piaga*": "Here my wound opened itself afresh." There has been great dispute as to the meaning of the word *piaga*. We have the authority of Professor Pio Rajna of Florence, probably the foremost philologist of the Italian language, for saying that the word was used at the time to characterise just such a wound as would have come from a bullet shot from a gun. This being so, two questions present themselves: first, Did any firearm exist prior to 1486, in which a leaden ball weighing an ounce, more or less, was used? and, second, Was Christopher Columbus ever known to have received such a wound? Neither of these questions can be satisfactorily answered. Considering the second question, out of its order, we may say that there are years of the life of Columbus unaccounted for in detail. He doubtless led a life more or less adventurous. If we were to believe his son Ferdinand, as reported in the *Historie*, Columbus sailed on expeditions with captains who were sea-rovers of the ideal practical sort. But neither dates nor seasons correspond with the adventures attributed to our hero. He certainly sailed the seas for years. He was in the South, where the Portuguese had pushed their way to the Equinoctial line. He was in the North, where the men of Bristol traded with the natives of Iceland and its neighbouring islands. He might have been wounded — indeed his own expression shows that he was wounded, but this brings us to the *first* question, Was he wounded by a bullet weighing *an ounce, more or less*, such a bullet, for example, as the piece of lead found in his coffin? No firearm of the fifteenth century, firing a shot of *an ounce, more or less*, so far as we have been able to

ascertain,[1] is preserved in any museum, public or private. This does not prove that no such firearm ever existed. But it is such a weapon so desirable in character that when once introduced it would have probably remained in use. In a paper read before the *Ligurian Society of History*, by Signor L. T. Belgrano, on July 21, 1879, the author introduces a document, the genuineness of which was attested by Cavalier Angelucci, himself a great authority on firearms and antiquities. This document was part of an inventory of the Great Castle of Pavia, dated in 1448—two years after Columbus was born,—in which the receipt was acknowledged of eight quintals of lead—one quintal of small shot containing 4500 in number. As the lead was from Genoa it is to be weighed by a Genoese standard, and a Genoese quintal was equal to about 47.649 kilogrammes, or 47,500 grammes, or 104½ pounds. Each shot then weighed 10.5 grammes, or not much more than a third of an ounce. The ball was weighed or estimated by the scientific investigators employed at the examination of January 2, 1878, and reported as weighing about *30 gramos*—a trifle less than one ounce. We do not interpret this to mean that there was a firearm existing as early as the middle of the fifteenth century which used a single bullet half an ounce in weight. No great accuracy could have been attained, as whatever barrel was employed had its bore smooth. The inference rather is that a gun was used firing several or many such pieces of lead together, in which case they would not be bullets, but, as the Pavia document says, *small shot.*

However mysterious the presence of this bit of lead, it does not in our judgment invalidate the testimony of history, of tradition, and of inscriptions all pointing to these remains as those of the First Admiral. If the whole matter was a conspiracy extending from December, 1795, to January, 1878, employing agents in three generations, agents capable of keeping and transmitting secrets, how could there have been introduced a piece of evidence certain, if taken by itself, to arouse doubt and excite distrust. A man, or a group of men, intelligent

[1] We may say that for months we had in one of the foremost European periodicals devoted to antiquarian matters, an inquiry of this nature: *Is there anywhere known a gun or firearm, or a reference to a gun or firearm, which in the time of Columbus and prior to his going into Spain* [1486], *fired a bullet weighing an ounce more or less?*

No answer was ever made to this inquiry.

enough to devise and execute so clever a deceit, would certainly have possessed sufficient intelligence to guard against such an unnecessary and, we acknowledge, unintelligible witness as this leaden ball.[1]

We have thus endeavoured to trace the remains of Columbus from his death at Valladolid on Ascension Day in the year 1506 to the present hour. We have found that they were probably first interred in the Monastery of the San Franciscans in Valladolid; that they were thence transferred about 1508 to the Monastery of Las Cuevas near Seville; that they were taken thence about 1541 to the Cathedral Church of San Domingo where they were interred in the Presbytery of *Capilla Mayor;* that they remained there until September 10, 1877, when they were taken to the Church *Regina Angelorum* in San Domingo; that on September 10, 1878, they were removed to the College of St. Luis Gonzaga in San Domingo, where they were transferred from the leaden box to a crystal urn, and the same day borne back again to the Church *Regina Angelorum;* that on September 10, 1879, they were transferred to the Cathedral Church to a vault back of the Chapel Bastides, in which they remain to this day.

We have also discovered that if the remains, if the bones and dust found on September 10, 1877, are the veritable remains of the great Discoverer, strange and not altogether pious circumstances have conspired to separate many particles of their precious ashes. We have seen Don Luigi Cambiaso, the Italian Consul, and Don Joaquin Montolió, the Minister of Justice, on

[1] While the Admiral was on the coast of Veragua and in the island of Jamaica, he suffered constantly from his infirmity, the gout. During an attack of gout a mechanical interference would take place, especially in the extremities or in the part affected, which would materially tend to reopen the track of a bullet, and if a foreign substance was imbedded or encysted where occurred the œdema, or infiltration of serous fluid into the cellular tissues due to the obstruction of the venous flow, the pressure would cause an irritation which would result in an inflammation or suppuration. This would be especially true of an old injury. To-day there are still innumerable cases where veterans of the Civil War in the United States suffer from the reopening of wounds received from bullets which entered the body more than thirty-seven years ago, and which are still lodged in the body.

A bullet $28\frac{1}{3}$ grammes, or one ounce avoirdupois, would in these days require a barrel 17.45 millimetres, or $\frac{11}{16}$ inch in diameter.

Lead bullets in early days carried much more silver than to-day, when this latter element is separated from the lead, and consequently the specific gravity would have been greater, and thus the diameter or barrel required would probably have been less.

the day of the discovery appropriate a pinch of the dust which they presented to the Municipality of Genoa where it now rests. We have seen on this same occasion Señor Jesus Maria Castillo, the civil engineer in charge of the repairs to the Cathedral, appropriate a second pinch which in turn he divided as follows:

A portion preserved in a crystal locket presented to Mrs. Epes Sargent, August 25, 1878.

A portion preserved in a crystal locket presented to the daughter of Señor Don Carlos Nouel.[1]

A portion preserved in a glass vial by Mr. G. W. Stokes of New York at his own residence.

A portion preserved by Mr. G. W. Stokes in a glass vail deposited in the Lenox Library, New York.

One of the above-mentioned crystal lockets—if indeed there were two—was exhibited by Señor Castillo in the city of Boston at the time he was soliciting funds for repairing the Cathedral Church at San Domingo.

We have seen Roque Cocchia, the Bishop of Orope, on September 10, 1878, appropriate a pinch of the precious dust which in turn he divided into three portions:

A portion which he transferred to His Holiness Pope Leo XIII.

A portion which he sent to the University of Pavia, where it is preserved with the greatest reverence.

A portion which he retained for himself, the present location of which we do not know.[2]

Thus, in addition to the main portion of the dust and bones of Columbus, now, as we believe, deposited in the Cathedral Church at San Domingo, we find no less than eight small portions scattered about the world. Perhaps the body of no saint has furnished a greater number of relics.

It is to be regretted that the Royal Academy of Spain did not cause to be made a more careful investigation of this question of the remains of Columbus and that it did not approach

[1] There is some reason to suppose that this is identical with the preceding item.

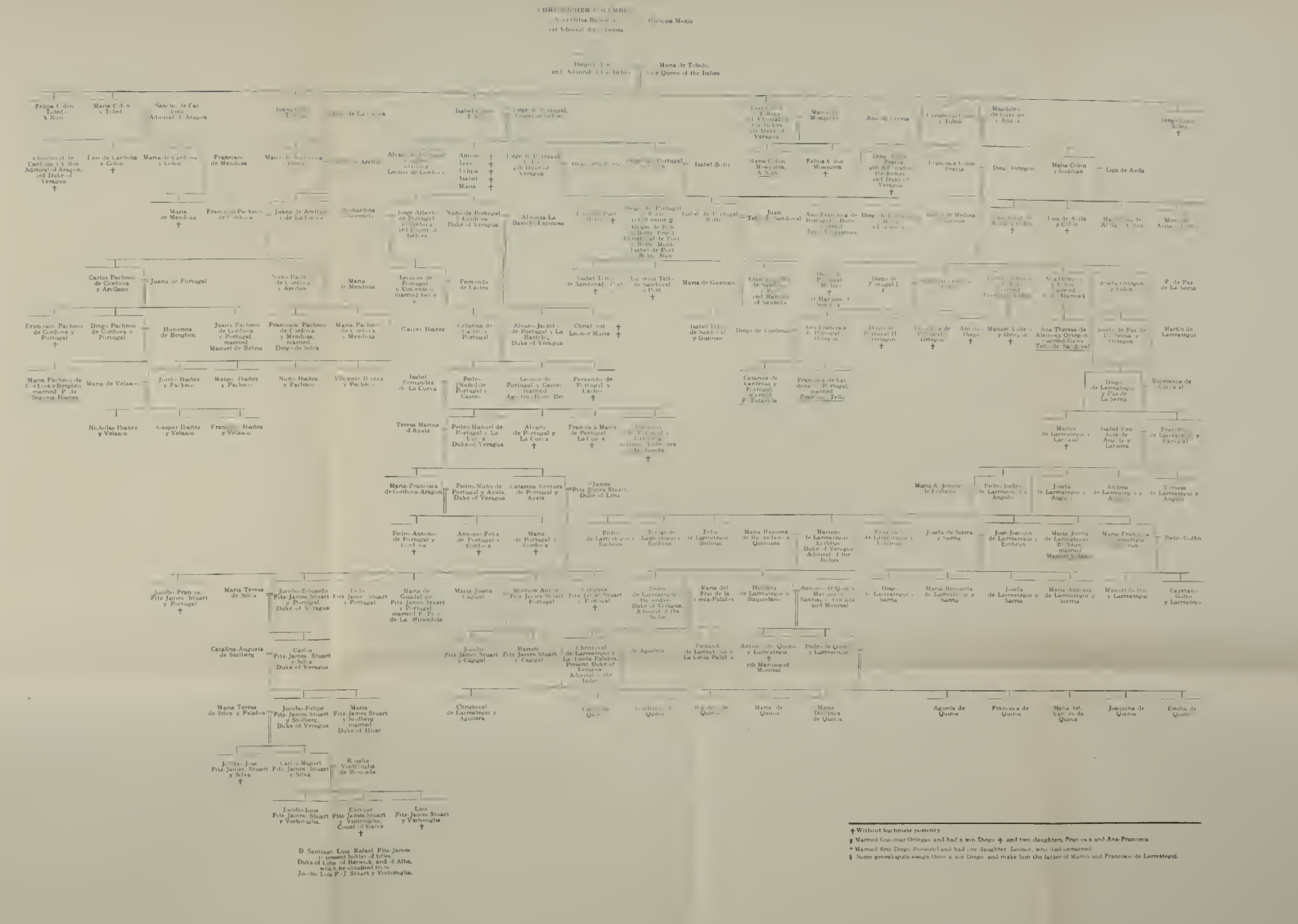
[2] The Spanish Academy of History, in its *Report* signed by Manuel Colmeiro, and dated Madrid, October 14, 1878, declares that in the month of the preceding May there was exhibited at Caracas "a portion of the sacred dust with a piece of the inscription stone that covered the vault." This relic was accompanied by certificates and notarial vouchers. We hear for the first time of an inscription stone, but it may be that the portion of dust was the one once possessed by the Bishop of Orope.

the subject more in a spirit of earnest inquiry and in a desire to know the truth. It was not merely a Spanish institution; it was a historical society. History knows no nation except the universal brotherhood of man. History acknowledges no loyalty except to truth.

The drama recorded by history was not composed by man, although acted by man. A higher power has clothed the figures, handed them their stammering parts, thrust them on the stage, and guided them through their struttings. If we could have directed all these steps with our present knowledge of the ways travelled and the things accomplished, we might alter much in the interest of apparent dramatic unity. We might have given Columbus his discovery in the days of his youth and in the fulness of his strength; we might have paid him with real rewards instead of postponing them to the Greek Kalends; we might have dug for him gold from the earth and hammered out for him gems from the stones and purchased him a crusading force to take for Rome the old Jerusalem; we might have closed his days on a couch by the throne and buried him beneath the High Altar of the Cathedral in Seville; and from this tomb only the final trump should summon his bones. But not so symmetrical is the pattern woven by destiny. If the world is full of justice and injustice, order and disorder, these in their coming and appearance are no more mysterious than the force which moves them in and out of the affairs of men. We do not know just what part we have or are to have in these movements. We do not know how much freedom we have in the operation of this force. It may not altogether sweep us along. The will of a man and the stretching of his arm may count against the direction of a current. At all events, supine indifference will not relieve us of responsibility. We may lift glasses to the sun, but the earth exacts of us toil and labour. The best we can get out of the life of Columbus is the lesson of religious faith, of unyielding purpose, of continued action and confidence in the existence and ultimate control of a Power greater than ourselves and which is employing us, as it employed Christopher Columbus, the Discoverer, for its own design and for the ultimate good of man.

PART X

ARBOR CONSANGUINITATIS



† Without legitimate posterity

‡ Married Guiomar Ortegon and had a son Diego + and two daughters, Francisca and Ana-Francisca

* Married first Diego Pimentel and had one daughter Leonor, who died unmarried

§ Some genealogists assign them a son Diego and make him the father of Martin and Francisco de Larrategui.

CHAPTER CXXXXIV

ROYAL AND PLEBEIAN BLOOD

The blood of Christopher Columbus flows to-day in the veins of two of the highest families of Spain. The one family has for its head the present Duke of Veragua and of La Vega, a Grandee of Spain of the first class,[1] Don Cristoval de Larreategui y La Cerda-Palafox. He was born June 8, 1837, and is entitled to call himself, as was his ancestor, Admiral of the Indies. From his accession to the title and until Puerto Rico [2] passed into our hands, he represented that island in the Congress of Deputies. His eldest son, Cristoval de Larreategui y Aguilera, born September 12, 1878, is heir to the titles and estates. The Larreategui family descend from Cristoval, the second son of the second Admiral, Don Diego, and his wife, Ana de Pravia, through their daughter, Francisca Colon, who married Diego Ortagan. The Larreategui family has been in possession of the titles only since the year 1790, when the courts decided the long legal contest in its favour. It is believed that to-day no direct revenue from the New World goes into the treasury of the House of Veragua.

The second family had for its last male head Don Santiago

[1] "Nada dirémos de los altos y distinguidos empleos, de las honorificas distinciones que posteriormente han obtenido sus sucesores de todos los monarcas españoles, nombrándolos vireyes, capitanes generales, presidentes y gobernadores de los consejos: á cuyas eminentes honras se debe añadir la *Grandeza de España*, declarada de primera clase por el Sr. D. Felipe V en 18 de Abril de 1712, á la casa y estado del duque de Veragua; y de los honores que aun en nuestros dias se han dispensado á las cenizas y á la buena memoria del primer almirante y descubridor del Nuevo-Mundo.

"We will say nothing of the exalted and distinguished employments and of the honourable distinctions which lastly have been obtained by all his successors from all the Spanish monarchs, they being named Viceroys, Captains-General, Presidents and Governors of the Councils: to which eminent honours must be added that of the *Grandeeship of Spain*, the house and estate of the Duke of Veragua being declared of the first rank by the Sr. D. Philip V, April 18, 1712: and the honours which even in our days have been paid to the ashes and to the memory of the First Admiral and Discoverer of the New World."—(Navarrete, vol. i., p. xcvii.)

If Navarrete is to be understood literally it is strange that this honour should be bestowed only in 1712. It can hardly mean that the head of the family was a Grandee of the second or third class. At that time the Berwick family possessed the titles through Catarina Ventura and perhaps the reference is to bestowing this honour on the Duke of Liria.

[2] At high noon, on Tuesday, October 18, 1898, Spain marched her troops out of the city of San Juan, the capital of the Island of Puerto Rico, and by that act fixed the hour when the island became the possession of the United States of America.

Luis Rafael Fitz-James, Duke of Liria, of Berwick and of Alba, who since 1847 possessed these titles. In this family, intermingled with Spanish and Portuguese streams, flows English blood. The Duke of York, afterward King James II. of England, and Arabella Churchill, sister of the great Duke of Marlborough, through an irregular connection became the father and mother of James Fitz-James, first Duke of Berwick,[1] and one of the great soldiers of history. This first Duke, by his first wife, daughter of the Earl of Clanricarde, was the father of James Francis Fitz-James Stuart, Count of Tinmouth, Baron of Bosworth, Duke of Liria, Grandee of Spain. This son married Catarina Ventura de Portugal y Ayala, descendant of Isabel, daughter of Diego and granddaughter of the First Admiral, who had married Jorge de Portugal. The blood lines of this Jorge de Portugal ran back to a common source with the stream flowing through Isabella the Catholic. This intermingling of the blood of Columbus and that which flowed in the veins of royalty is an interesting fact.[2]

João I., King of Portugal.

Affonso (Bastard),
Duke de Bragance.

Fernão I.

Fernão II.

Alvaro de Portugal.

Jorge de Portugal.

Alvaro de Portugal y Colon,
son of Isabel, granddaughter
of Christopher Columbus
the Discoverer.

João,
Constable.

Isabel of Portugal,
Wife of Jean II. of Castile.

Isabella the Catholic,
Queen of Castile and Leon,
Wife of Ferdinand V. of Aragon.

Joanna La Loca,
Wife of Philip of Burgundy.

Charles V.,
Emperor of Germany.

Philip II.
King of Spain.

[1] The Duke of Berwick, an Englishman, commanded a French army in 1707 against England, while his opponent, the commander of the English army, was a Frenchman, the Earl of Galway (Count of Ruvigny).

Afterward the first Duke of Berwick, having set Philip V. upon the throne of Spain, was obliged as a French servant to fight against him, but so broad and magnanimous was his spirit that he counselled his son, then a Spanish subject, to fight on the side of his Sovereign and consequently against himself. The best of the Stuarts, like some of the best of the Columbus family, seem to have come from an illegal union.

[2] See also the pedigree of Don Luis in our chapter cxxxxvi.

Thus we see that the House of Berwick y Alba many generations ago had its veins charged from the Royal blood of Portugal and from the Royal blood of England and Scotland. Some of the descendants of Dominicus Columbus, the Genoese weaver, can trace their lines back to the grandfather of Ferdinand of Aragon the Catholic, to the great-grandfather of Isabella the Catholic, to Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland, and to Henry VII., King of England. This is a glorious ancestry. But it is also true that the family tree of Columbus bore much forbidden fruit.

CHAPTER CXXXXV

DON DIEGO, SECOND ADMIRAL

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, the Discoverer of the New World, left two sons, Diego, whose mother was Philippa Moniz, and Ferdinand, whose mother was Beatriz Enriquez. As Ferdinand was never married and lived a most exemplary life, the question of his legitimacy belongs to the realm of ethics rather than to that of genealogy. Don Diego was a legitimate son and heir. We do not know the date of his birth. During the famous trial in the year 1513, one of the witnesses, Juan Rodriguez Cabezudo, testified that it was about twenty-two years before that date when there occurred the memorable return of Columbus to the Spanish Court on a mule from La Rabida, accompanied by a Franciscan friar, the witness testifying that he himself had loaned or rented him the mule.[1] It was at that time when,

[1] "Juan Rodriguez Cabezudo, vecino de Moguer, sabe que puede haber 22 años que este testigo vido al Almirante viejo en esta villa de Moguer, andando negociando de ir á descobrir las Indias, con un fraile de S. Francisco que andaba con el dicho Almirante, é que á este testigo le demandó el dicho Almirante una mula en que fuese el dicho fraile á la corte á negociar, y se la dió: y que sabe que el dicho Almirante se partió el año de 92 desta villa é de la villa de Pálos á descubrir las dichas Indias, é las descubrió y volvió en salvo al puerto de la villa de Pálos, descubiertas ya las dichas Indias. . . . Al tiempo que se partió le dió á D. Diego, su hijo, en guarda á este testigo y á Martin Sanchez, clerigo, é despues que vino de descubrir, este testigo le fué á ver y otros asimismo, y les mostró el dicho Almirante carátulas de oro que traia de las Indias, é seis ó seite indios que traia de allá, é que el dicho Almirante le dijo que habia descubierto muchas islas, é que habia mucho oro en las dichas Indias.

"Juan Rodriguez Cabezudo, citizen of Moguer, knows that it is about 22 years ago that this witness saw the old Admiral in this town of Moguer, going about making negotiations to go and discover the Indies, with a friar of St. Francis who went with the said Admiral. And that the said Admiral asked this witness for a mule for the said friar to go to the Court and negotiate, and he gave the mule to him: and he knows that the said Admiral started in the year 1492 from this village and from the village of Palos to discover the said Indies, and he discovered them and returned in safety to the port of the town of Palos, having already discovered the said Indies. . . . At the time of his departure he gave Don Diego, his son, to this witness and to Martin Sanchez, a priest, and after he came from making his discoveries, this witness went to see him and others went likewise, and the said Admiral showed them golden masks which he brought from the Indies and six or seven Indians whom he brought from there, and the said Admiral told him that he had discovered many islands, and that there was much gold in the said Indies."—(Navarrete, vol. iii., p. 580.)

discouraged at the indifference to his projects by the Sovereigns, Columbus, leading by the hand his little son Diego, halted at the Monastery of La Rabida in Palos. The witness declared:

". . . é que sabe que el dicho Almirante D. Cristóbal Colón viniendo á la arribada con su fijo D. Diego, que es agora Almirante, á pié, se vinó á Rabida, que es monasterio de frailes en esta villa, el cual demandó á la portería que le diesen para aquel niñico que era niño, pan y agua que bebiese."

". . . he knows that the said Admiral Don Christopher Columbus, in arriving on foot at the landing-place with his son, Don Diego, who is now Admiral, came to Rabida, which is a monastery of friars in this town, and asked the porter to give him bread and water to drink for the boy who was a small child."

This scene is fixed then at the end of the year 1491, and the only clue to the age of the son is found in the use of the words *niñico* and *niño*, little boy or child. The child might be anywhere from five to ten or twelve years of age. If the boy was ten years old in 1491, he would have been between four and five when Columbus brought him from Portugal into Spain. Diego, on May 8, 1492, was made page to the Prince Don Juan, who was born June 30, 1478, and it is not likely the young attendant was quite as old as his young master. Oviedo was a page in the Royal Household at the age of twelve, and perhaps this age may be accepted as that of Diego when he received his appointment to an office the duties of which he was not to fill for a time. Thus he would have been born about the year 1480, and have been between five and six when he came into Spain and between eleven and twelve when he stood hungry and weary by the porter's lodge at La Rabida. He was sent to Cordova to school where he remained until 1494, when his uncle Bartholomew, on his way to the New World, took him with him to Valladolid, where the Court then was. He continued in the suite of Prince Don Juan until the unfortunate heir to the crown died October 4, 1497. By Royal Letters Patent, dated February 19, 1498, Diego was appointed page to Queen Isabella at an annual salary of nine thousand four hundred maravedis. It is a curious fact that on the preceding day, February 18, 1498, his younger brother Ferdinand had been appointed to a like position and with a like salary. On November 15, 1503, Diego was appointed as one of the *Continos*, or Household Guard

of One Hundred. Although Ferdinand accompanied his father on the fourth voyage, there is no record of Diego's even expressing a desire to go to his father, notwithstanding that Columbus in 1499 asked to have him sent out to Española. When the Queen died on November 22 (or 26), 1504, Diego remained at the Court in Segovia for a while, as his father's letters indicate, and on February 22, 1505, he received the sum of fifty thousand maravedis [1] due him since the preceding year. Diego was with his father at Valladolid early in May, 1506, and was with him when he closed his eyes on the things of life, May 20, 1506. As we have already seen in King Ferdinand's Cedula, dated June 2, 1506, Diego is acknowledged as the heir and successor to his father's rights and titles and Nicolas de Ovando is ordered to pay him certain moneys. He was long getting his rights. King Ferdinand, with his new Queen, being departed from his Italian capital of Naples for Savona and thence to his own kingdom, Diego resolved to go to the King on his first arrival in Spain, and Queen Joanna granted him, under date of July 13, 1507, a safe-conduct. King Ferdinand landed at Valencia [2] on July 20, 1507, and on August 24, 1507, Diego had so conducted his affairs with the King as to receive another peremptory order on Ovando, requiring the latter to pay him his tenths due him under the Capitulation of 1492.

The popular impression is that Christopher Columbus died in poverty. We have already called attention to his household containing seven servants at the time of his death. In this Royal Cedula of Queen Joanna, Don Diego was suffered to pass with a retinue of twenty beasts of burden and six mules, with all his gold and silver and money and vestments and such things as he might require for his journey, and no examination was to be made of the cavalcade and its accoutrements provided Don Diego declared that what he had belonged to himself and his servants. As there is no record of the payment of money by the crown to Don Diego between May 20, 1506, and this date, over a year, we may assume that the First Admiral died possessed

[1] About $308 in our money.

[2] Ferdinand and his young Queen, Germaine de Foix, reached Codaques, near the Gulf of Rosas on the coast of Catalonia, July 10, 1507, but as there was a pestilence raging there, they moved slowly along to Valencia.

of sufficient means to maintain his sons in comfort and splendour becoming their position. About this time Don Diego must have formed a relation with Constanza Rosa of Burgos, by whom he had a child in the summer of 1508. In his Will of March 16, 1509, made at Las Cuevas, Diego provides somewhat illiberally for Constanza, with whom he seems to have broken, and whose child he seems never to have seen as he did not know even its sex: "*y por cuanto se ha dicho, que esta dicha Constanza parió un hijo ó hija de mi.*" At some time between the birth of Constanza's child and the making of his first Will, Diego was married to Doña Maria de Toledo y Rojas, daughter of Fernando de Toledo, Lord of Villorias, Grand Falconer, Commander-in-Chief of Leon, of the Order of St. James, and niece of the Duke of Alba. With his young wife Diego embarked from San Lucar early in June, 1509, and arrived at San Domingo, July 10, 1509, taking possession of the government by virtue of his rights. The islands of Jamaica and Cuba were settled under his administration.[1] There resulted from this union seven children, four girls followed in succession by three boys. The House of Larreategui is descended from the second son, Don Christoval, while the House of Berwick y Alba is descended from the fourth daughter, Isabel Colon y Toledo.

The second Admiral made frequent trips between Spain and Española. A letter of his dated from Seville shows he was in that city on July 19, 1511, while he was in Española in 1512. Don Diego was in Spain when proceedings were instituted by the King's Fiscal in the year 1513, an inquiry which seems to have been carried on both at San Domingo and at Seville.[2] At

[1] The credit of settling the fourth important island, that of Puerto Rico, is generally given Nicolas de Ovando. It was from the port of St. Elmo on Puerto Rico that Ponce de Leon sailed March 1, 1512, on his famous expedition to Florida.

[2] This famous Fiscal trial was divided into two sittings, the one held in the year 1513 and the other in 1515. Navarrete, in his third volume, gives an account of the trial, reproducing that part collected by Muñoz and supplementing it by much fuller reports made in 1826 and 1827 by the Archivist of the Indies, Señor Don Josef de la Higuera y Lara, and then copying much more abundantly from the originals himself, asserting even then that he had availed himself only of what he thought most important. Over and over again a proposition is stated simply as "proved by ten witnesses" or by twelve witnesses, giving in these instances neither their names nor any clue to what their detailed testimony might have been. This method of reproducing a judicial trial is unsatisfactory. What Navarrete deemed unimportant we might think of the utmost importance, and even the names of the witnesses might aid us in identifying more completely the companions of Columbus on his several voyages.

least, certain witnesses were examined in the island of Española and among the important depositions made there were those by Alonzo de Hojeda and Andrés de Morales. At the beginning of the year 1514 Diego was again in San Domingo, and at the order of the King he returned to Spain at the end of the year 1514 or early in 1515. It was while at the Court on this last visit that there occurred the conversation reported by Las Casas between King Ferdinand and Diego and which the latter repeated to him in 1516 when they were together in Madrid:

"Ferdinand: Mirad, Almirante, de vos bienes lo confiara yo pero no lo hago sino por vuestros hijos y sucesores.

"Don Diego: Señor, es razon que pague y pene por los pecados de mio hijos y sucesores, que por ventura nos los tiene?"

"King Ferdinand: Look you, Admiral, I would willingly bestow on you your rights if it were not for your sons and successors.

"Diego: Sire, is it reasonable that I should have to pay and suffer for the shortcomings of sons and successors whom I may never have?" [1]

His uncle, Diego Columbus, youngest brother of the Discoverer, died at Seville February 21, 1515, and named as his heiress Maria, the second daughter of Don Diego. This inheritance was conveyed afterward to Doña Maria de Toledo and by her to her son, Don Luis. Don Diego remained this time long at the Court, as the old King had died and it was necessary to watch his interests under the administration of the youthful Charles. However he was in Española in 1517 and again in Spain in 1518. In 1519 Diego had a part in the Council at Barcelona, presided over by King Charles. It was at Barcelona that the King received the news of his grandfather's death in January, 1519, and of his succession to the Imperial throne by the choice of the Electors at Frankfort on June 28 of that year, and when his Majesty sailed from Corunna on May 22, 1520, Don Diego was one of the cortège which escorted him to that Spanish port. It was on this occasion, when the newly elected Emperor needed money to present himself before his subjects in a manner befitting his state, that Don Diego advanced him ten thousand ducats. In his second Will made September 8, 1523, one of the items reads:

[1] Las Casas, *Historia*, vol. iii., p. 237.

"Item: El Emperador nuestro Señor, me debe diez mill ducados nuevos que le presté en dineros en la cibdad de la Coruña, quando fué á Flandes, como parescerá por una cedula firmada de su nombre, que queda en poder de la Virreina, mi muger."

"Item, the Emperor, our Lord, owes me ten thousand new ducats which I loaned him in cash in the city of Corunna when he went to Flanders, as will appear by a cedula signed by his name, which is in the possession of the Vice-Queen, my wife."

Thus we see the high fortunes to which the House of Columbus had arrived, when one of its sons could loan his Sovereign a sum of money equal to three times the cost of the expedition of discovery. As a slight recompense for this timely aid, Charles V. secured to him the title of Viceroy of the Indies, which, under the Capitulation, belonged among the titles and which had been denominated in two or three Royal Cedulas, but which it would seem had not been for some years fully acknowledged.

Diego now returned to his government and began the erection of that palace in the city of San Domingo the ruins of which are still to be seen.[1]

In 1523 the Emperor ordered Diego to return to Spain and render an account of his administration, charges having been made against him by Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon. He executed at San Domingo his second Will September 8, 1523, and on the sixteenth of the same month set sail for Spain.[2] He landed at San Lucar November 5, 1523, and went to Seville where he seems to have had a meeting with his accuser. In January 1524, he was in Vittoria in the presence of the Emperor. Again we find Don Diego remaining long in Spain. That he was much thought of by the Emperor is seen in the mission given him to meet June 12, 1525, the Venetian Ambassadors. His

[1] The oldest building in America erected by Europeans is the castle or tower, known as the Homenaje, erected in the year 1509, on the island of Santo Domingo and in the city of San Domingo, or the New Isabella. It stands at the mouth of the river Ozama, on its west or right bank. There are some ruins of a part of the chapel on the opposite bank which would be of a still earlier erection. It was from this chapel that it was said Bobadilla read his proclamation when he arrived at San Domingo to replace Columbus.

Near the Homenaje, and the most sightly object attracting the notice of the traveller as he approaches the island, stand the walls of the grand palace erected by Don Diego, the second Admiral. Its roof is gone, its magnificent corridors destroyed, and its courts harbour only beasts of burden and beasts of the field.

[2] Oviedo was on the ship returning with Don Diego, and relates in his *Libro de los Naufragios* (lib. 1., cap. iv.) the experiences through which they passed.

personality was pleasing. Las Casas describes him as of large stature like his father, a gentleman, well proportioned in body, of long visage,—another distinguishing feature of his father,—and of a dignified bearing.

Don Diego followed the Court from Burgos to Valladolid, from Madrid [1] to Toledo, always in the presence of his Emperor and always held in high esteem. When the Court went to Seville to attend the marriage, March 12, 1526, of the Emperor to Isabella, the daughter of Emmanuel, the King of Portugal, the second Admiral was unable to follow by reason of illness, and borne upon a litter he set out for Toledo, February 21, 1526. He never reached that city, but was forced to halt in the little town of Montalbin, six leagues from Toledo, where, in the house of Alonzo Tellez Pacheco, he died on Friday, February 23, 1526, at nine o'clock in the evening. He doubtless would have desired to have had sepulture in the Chapel of La Antigua in the Cathedral of Seville, but his remains were some years after transported to San Domingo and deposited with those of his illustrious father at the right of the High Altar in the Cathedral Church, there to rest until, as we believe, they were removed to Havana in the year 1795 by mistake for those of the great Discoverer.

[1] When we followed Columbus, the Discoverer, the Court was now in Andalusia and now in Aragon, now at Seville and now at Valladolid. But those cities were for the most part attractive in themselves. It was under Charles V. that Madrid became the capital. The climate of that city was never salubrious. It was over-hot in summer and in the winter cold and cheerless. Some one said of this Spanish city:

> "*El aire de Madrid e tan sotil*
> *Que mata a un hombre, y no apaga a un candil.*"
>
> "The air of Madrid is so sweet and so subtle—
> It will blow out a man, yet fan not a candle."

CHAPTER CXXXXVI

DON LUIS, THIRD ADMIRAL

If the character of Don Diego was not conspicuous for its virtues, that of Don Luis shone not at all. Don Luis was the fifth child but the eldest son of Diego and Maria de Toledo. He was born in San Domingo about 1521. As the oldest male child he was heir to his father and when Don Diego died, in 1526, he succeeded to his titles and estates. Maria de Toledo was a woman of strong character and determined upon securing for her son all those rights and privileges guaranteed to Christopher Columbus and his heirs and successors by the Capitulation of 1492 and subsequent grants. She departed for Spain in 1529 to seek a decision from the Courts or to make a personal appeal to the Emperor. She left behind her the young Luis, whose character doubtless owes something of its deformity to the removal of her shaping hand. The government of Española was, nominally at least, in the name of Don Luis, for Charles V., when he sent Francisco de Barrio Nuevo to end the war against the native chief Enrique, addressed the credentials of his envoy to Don Luis Columbus. The year 1536 was a critical period for the Columbus family. On January 28 of that year, the Cardinal Garcia de Loaysa gave out the decision of the Council of the Indies, which was amended and enlarged on July 7 and formerly confirmed by the Emperor on September 8, 1536. Under this judgment the heirs of Columbus were to renounce the revenues due them and in particular the tenth part of the gross receipts from the Indies, the title of Viceroy, and the privilege of nominating the persons who were to be employed in the New World, three of the most vital concessions granted by the Spanish Sovereigns to the Discoverer. In return for

abandoning these rights, Don Luis, or whoever might succeed him, was to continue to enjoy the title of Admiral of the Indies with its functions and privileges, and to assume the title of Duke or Marquis of Jamaica or the title of Duke or Marquis of Veragua, as he might elect; he was to possess in fief the island of Jamaica with a manorial domain of twenty-five square leagues on continental land in Veragua; and he was to draw a perpetual income of ten thousand ducats each year, this last sum being derived from the revenue of the island of Santo Domingo. His uncle, Don Fernando Columbus, dying in 1539, made Don Luis his heir, but with such conditions as to caring for and increasing the famous library at Seville, founded by him, that the nephew did not accept the legacy—an event anticipated in the Will of the uncle. Herrera records that Don Luis was made Captain-General in 1540 and the active administration of affairs devolved upon him. Harrisse believes him to have been in Spain for some period previous to his appointment. In 1541 there was born to Don Luis an illegitimate daughter, the first of many, on whom he bestowed the name of his third sister, Doña Juana Colon y Toledo. The following year he married in San Domingo Maria de Orozco [1] against the will of his mother. Notwithstanding Maria de Orozco was still living in 1547, Don Luis was married in San Domingo to Maria de Mosquera, daughter of Juan Mosquera, and as an evidence that the marriage was authorised we may refer to the ceremony having been performed by the Bishop of San Juan, Rodrigo de Bastidas. However, the legal evidence of his right to marry does not appear. Doña Maria de Toledo died at San Domingo May 11, 1549, a remarkable woman who brought into the family an infusion of rich blood—albeit it did but little for Don Luis,—and who secured tangible and permanent rights for her descendants by her forceful methods and her importunity.

Another remarkable fact connected with the Columbian genealogy is that the great-grandmother of Don Luis Columbus, the third Admiral, was Maria Enriquez, sister of Juana Enriquez, mother of Ferdinand the Catholic, King of Aragon. Thus Don

[1] The reader will find in the *Memorial del Pleyto* a great mass of information relative to the family of Columbus and their domestic transactions. This Maria de Orozco afterwards went to Honduras, where she married the Treasurer Castellanos and became the mother of many children.

Luis and the Emperor Charles V. were each but five generations removed from a common source:

Fadrique Enriquez,
Admiral of Castile.

Juana Enriquez, wife of Jean II., King of Aragon.	Maria Enriquez, wife of Garcia Alvarez de Toledo, 1st Duke of Alba.
Ferdinand the Catholic, Husband of Isabella of Castile.	Fernando of Toledo
Jean la Folle [La Loca], wife of Philippe le Beau.	Maria of Toledo, Wife of Don Diego Columbus, second Admiral.
Charles V., Emperor of Germany.	Don Luis Columbus, Third Admiral.

Don Luis returned to Spain in June, 1551, and the following year, at Seville, offered to endow the Monastery of Las Cuevas, so intimately connected with the family history.

Philip, the son of the Emperor, while yet governing Spain for his father, had taken from Don Luis his fief of Veragua, and in Letters Patent dated at Gand, September 28, 1556,[1] confirmed the new arrangements by which the title of Admiral of the Indies was to be retained and the ownership of Veragua abandoned, and by which a new title, that of Duke of La Vega, and an added income of seven thousand ducats were to be enjoyed by Luis.

It was about this time that Don Luis, notwithstanding that Maria de Orozco and Maria de Mosquera were both still living, married, at Valladolid, Ana de Castro Ossorio, daughter of Beatriz, Countess de Lemos, to whom he had long been affianced. But now he had married once too often. There was judicial notice taken of his delinquency, as he was arrested early in the

[1] It was not until October 25 or 28, in the year 1556, at the city of Brussels, that Charles V., with great pomp and ceremony, resigned the Kingdom of Spain and the possessions of Spain in the New World to his son, Philip II. Historians are not agreed as to the exact date of this transaction. Godlevius (*De Abdicatione Caroli V.*) and Herrera fix the date on October 25, but because Sandoval was an eye-witness and declares the ceremony to have occurred on October 28, the greater number of writers accept that date. The attention of the reader is again invited to our discussion of the date of the coronation of Charles V. at Aix-la-Chapelle. The testimony of the eye-witness, Alfonso Valdés, should not be ignored in fixing that event.

year 1559 and subjected to a trial and to punishment.[1] The infliction of this punishment seems to have dragged along awaiting a final conviction, and for five years he was confined in the fortresses of Arevalo, Medina del Campo, Simancas, and Madrid.[2] Finally, on August 4, 1566, he was sentenced to exile in Oran, Africa, for a term of ten years. Before this sentence was carried into execution, however, he managed in some way to marry a fourth time, his other three wives still living,—although he had accused, and obtained a divorce from, Maria de Mosquera,—on May 26, 1565, Luisa de Carvajal, who on the same day bore him a son, Christoval Colon y Carvajal. It was while still in exile that there died on February 3, 1572, at Oran, this wretched man, Don Luis Columbus, grandson of Christopher Columbus, himself the third Admiral of the Indies and the First Duke of Veragua and Vega. His remains were taken to the Monastery of Las Cuevas in Seville, and then, at some period of which we have no definite record, carried to the New World and deposited on the Epistle side of the High Altar in the Cathedral Church of San Domingo, beneath whose roof were sleeping his father, Don Diego, and his grandfather, the Discoverer.

Don Luis left two legitimate daughters by Maria de Mosquera: Maria Colon y Mosquera, who became a nun, and Felipa Colon y Mosquera, who married her cousin, Diego Colon y Pravia. Doña Felipa left no descendants. As we have seen, Don Luis also left two illegitimate children: a daughter, Juana Colon de Toledo, and by Luisa de Carvajal a son, Christoval Colon y Carvajal. This daughter, born at San Domingo, where she was educated, afterward went into Spain, where she married Versio Capitelo and was established at Gelves. The son of Luisa de Carvajal, Christoval, had been selected by his father to succeed to the titles, honours, and estates of the House, in case his legitimate daughter, Felipa, did not marry her cousin Diego, a marriage which, as we have seen, was duly consummated. Don

[1] It was in 1581, at the famous trial, that Don Luis's own nephew, Don Christoval de Cardona, produced the testimony and all the details of this scandal.

[2] While imprisoned at Madrid, Don Luis corrupted his gaolers, and again met Ana de Castro, whom he remarried on September 9, 1563, and who quite shortly after bore him a child. He was not even faithful to her, for he had a mistress at the same hour in Madrid by the name of Luisa de Carvajal, in whose house in the street d'Arenal he once received a wound at the hands of some rivals.

Luis, however, in his Will, left his son some money which Christoval Colon y Toledo refused to pay. His aunt Doña Felipa, the nun, gave him an annual pension of four hundred ducats. When Don Diego Colon y Pravia, the Fourth Admiral, died without children, this Christoval Colon y Carvajal, by virtue of his father's Will, contested the inheritance, but without avail. He died in 1601, aged 36, without posterity.

CHAPTER CXXXXVII

THE HOUSE OF PORTUGAL–COLUMBUS

THERE was much litigation connected with the inheritance of the titles and estates of the family. Directly Don Luis died, his daughters instituted proceedings to prevent their cousin, Don Diego Colon y Pravia, from assuming the titles. He was accused of being illegitimate, and another and worse bar was sought to be introduced—*Don Diego no es descendiente legitimo y natural del Almirante don Christoval Colon, antes es espurio incestuoso y tal que no puede succeder en este estado.*[1] As Harrisse remarks, it is difficult to see how depriving Don Diego of the titles could have benefited the daughters of Don Luis, since they could only inherit on the exhaustion of male heirs; and there were at that time living Christoval de Cardona, son of their aunt Maria and her husband Sancho de Cardona, Admiral of Aragon, and also Alvaro de Portugal, son of their aunt Isabel and her husband Jorge of Portugal, founders of a long and proud line, holding the titles for generations. The contest against Don Diego did not last long and ended by Maria's withdrawing the suit and by Felipa's marrying her cousin, the defendant, at Madrid, on May 15, 1573. Thus Don Diego Colon y Pravia, son of Don Christoval, brother of Don Luis, became the fourth Admiral of the Indies. Four years later Doña Felipa died, and Diego died January 27, 1578, without posterity.

Don Diego was immediately succeeded by Don Christoval de Cardona y Colon, eldest son of Maria Colon y Toledo and her husband Sancho de Cardona. It was he who obtained possession of the famous chest deposited in the Monastery of Las Cue-

[1] Formal allegation made by Doña Maria, June 25, 1572, in *Memorial del Pleyto*, No. 176.

vas and who was accused of tampering with the pages of the Majorat. He died in November, 1583, leaving no legitimate issue. The deaths of Don Diego and Doña Felipa without children opened a question of inheritance which the Courts alone could decide, and into the contest there entered as claimants not only the relatives of that generation; not only Christoval de Cardona and Alvarez de Portugal; not only Maria de la Cueva and Francisca Ortegon; not only the illegitimate Christoval de Carvajal, but there came from Italy Baldassare de Columbus of Cuecaro and Bernardo de Columbus of Cogoleto, whose lines, if ever they touched it, branched off the main trunk long before Dominicus, the weaver, or his father, Johannes, came into life. We have already in the earlier part of this work told the story of these Italian claimants. It is now sufficient to say that the Council of the Indies decided the case in favour of the descendants of Isabel, the fourth daughter of Don Diego, the second Admiral and awarded the Majorat, with its rights, titles, and privileges, to her grandson, Nuño de Portugal, the son of Alvaro de Portugal y Colon. This Alvaro de Portugal had a son older than Nuño de Portugal, one Jorge-Alberto de Portugal y Cardona, but he died in 1589 before the heir had been judicially named, leaving no issue.

Nuño de Portugal y Cordova was born at Seville about 1568 and was created Knight of Alcantara by Philip II. He married in April, 1593, a rich heiress, Aldonza Portocarrero, daughter of Diego de la Bastida Espinosa. He died at Madrid, March 9, 1622. He left two sons, Alvaro-Jacinto and Christoval, and a daughter, Leonor-Maria. He had two illegitimate daughters, Luisa and Catarina.

Alvaro-Jacinto de Portugal y la Bastida succeeded his father in the titles. He married his niece, Catarina de Castro y Portugal, in 1614, by whom he had two sons, Pedro Nuño I. and Fernando, and a daughter, Leonor. He also had two illegitimate daughters who ended their days in a convent. He was named Captain-General and died at Lisbon as he was embarking for Flanders, April 26, 1636.

Pedro Nuño I.[1] de Portugal y Castro was born at Madrid, December 13, 1618, and succeeded his father as Duke of Veragua

[1] We call him Pedro Nuño First to distinguish him from his grandson of the same name.

and Admiral of the Indies in 1636. He was a patron of letters and was a soldier of reputation, a redeeming twig on an unsound tree. He gained the honour of the Golden Fleece, distinguished himself at the siege of Lerida, and commanded the marines in the Low Countries. He married, in 1645, Isabel Fernandez de la Cueva, Duchess of Najera, widow of Jorge Manrique de Cardenas, who, dying in 1657, left him one son, Pedro Manuel. He made a second marriage, January 5, 1663, espousing Maria-Luisa de Castro, daughter of the Count of Lemos, who died September 10, 1670, leaving one son, Alvaro, and two daughters, Francisca-Maria and Catarina. A descendant of the second Admiral's daughter, Juana Colon y Toledo, by the name of Carlos Pacheco de Cordova, had instituted a suit inherited from Luis de Avila, against this Pedro Nuño I. for a restoration to his family of the Majorat. This suit, after running for eight-and-twenty years was finally, on March 20, 1664, decided in favour of Pedro Nuño I. But this decision was broken finally in 1790, when the Majorat was bestowed on the House of Larreategui, the present holders. In the year 1661 Pedro Nuño petitioned Marianne of Austria, Regent for her son Charles II. of Spain, asking reparation for losses that his possessions on the island of Jamaica had suffered at the hand of Admiral William Penn, in 1655, when the English took possession of the island. He was appointed June 19, 1672, Viceroy and Captain-General in Mexico, in which country he died December 13, 1673.

Pedro-Manuel de Portugal y la Cueva was born December 25, 1651. On the death of his father, in 1673, he inherited his titles and became Admiral of the Indies, a title meaning little or nothing even at that time. He had other titles, being Count of Gelves and Marquis of Villamizar. On August 30, 1674, he married Teresa Marina, daughter of the Count d'Ayala and of Catarina Faxardo de Mendoza. They had one son, Pedro-Nuño II., and one daughter, Catarina Ventura, and from this daughter came the Berwick-Alba line. Pedro-Manuel was Knight of the Golden Fleece in 1675, Viceroy of Gallicia in 1679, and afterward Viceroy of Valencia. In 1693 he was appointed Viceroy of Sicily, which office he held for several years. He was President of the Council of Orders in 1703, a position he held until his death at Madrid, September 10, 1710.

Like his father he was a man of letters and a correspondent of the famous national poet Calderon, and it is to him that the world owes much of its information concerning the great Spanish poet.

Pedro Nuño II. was born at Madrid October 17, 1676. He succeeded, in 1710, on the death of his father, to the titles of the Majorat. On April 17, 1702, he married Maria Francisca de Cordova, eldest daughter of Fernandez de Cordova-Cardona, Duke of Sessa, and of his wife, Margarita d'Aragon, who died May 28, 1712. They had two sons, Pedro-Antonio, born May 17, 1707, and dying July 16, 1711, and Antonio-Felix, born January 11, 1711, and dying young; and they had one daughter, Maria-Teresa, born November 23, 1709, and dying March 31, 1713. Pedro Nuño II. reached very high preferment in the public service of Spain, having been appointed in July, 1705, to visit the Court of France in the capacity of Envoy Extraordinary to represent the King on the occasion of the death of the Duc de Bretagne. In February, 1707, he was made Viceroy and Captain-General of Sardinia where, in 1708, he was taken prisoner in the Château de Cagliari, besieged by the Imperial troops. He was Viceroy and Captain-General of Navarre in February, 1712, and Adviser to the Council of War in November, 1726. Saint Simon, in his *Mémoires*, relates his acquaintance with this man, having met him at Madrid in 1721, where the Duc d'Orléans sent an Embassy to Spain to demand the hand of the Infanta for Louis XV.

"He had come into France," says Saint Simon, "under that title—Marquis of Jamaica—with the scheme of recovering from the English the island of Jamaica of which he claimed to have been despoiled by them. A long time after my return he came back into France for the same scheme which he in vain followed for two long years, spite of all the Duke of Berwick or I could say to him, entertaining himself meanwhile with a famous opera singer. Finally he fell ill: fear of the Devil overcame him, and he separated himself from this girl, for whom he provided liberally. The vapours and scruples shut him up from seeing any one. He distributed large charities and announced often that he repented of having angered God—such was his expression. Finally he went back into Spain by little journeys: but he lived for two years always confined with the same vapours, visible only to his sister, the Duchess of Liria, whom by his death he left one of the richest heiresses in all Spain. He had presided over the financial interests of the Indies as a member of the Council with ability and honesty.

The jealousy of Alberoni had kept him prisoner two years in the Château of Malaga, where he had so accustomed himself to captivity that he scarcely wished to go out. He was a man of much wit and knowledge, and of so incredible bodily indolence that it affected his ambitions; a little avaricious, very suave and good, uncleanly and slovenly to a degree, for which he was reproached unmercifully; of strong character, agreeable and instructive in company, charming in society, when he took the trouble to lend himself to social duties. He was beloved and well received in the best circles, often in spite of himself and his slothfulness, up to the time when the vapours made him a recluse. And so ends this branch of the House of Portugal."

Pedro Nuño died, then, at Madrid July 4, 1733, without issue, and the male line of the House of Portugal y Colon died with him.

CHAPTER CXXXXVIII

THE HOUSE OF BERWICK–ALBA

Pedro Nuño II. had an only sister, Catarina-Ventura de Portugal y Ayala, born July 14, 1690. She married, August 15, 1709, for her first husband Francisco de Toledo, Count of Vilharda, and on December 31, 1716, for her second husband, James Francis Fitz-James Stuart, Baron of Bosworth, Duke of Liria, only son of the famous Duke of Berwick, whose father was James II. of England, and whose mother was Arabella Churchill. When, therefore, Pedro Nuño II. died in 1733 without issue, his sister Catarina-Ventura, Duchess of Liria, succeeded to the Majorat. She was a woman as great of force and of ambition as her brother had been deficient in those qualities. She succeeded to the honours because she took them. Her husband became Admiral of the Indies, Duke of Veragua, and La Vega. She had a son, and he, not she, should have assumed the titles. In 1738 the husband died, and in 1740 the Duchess of Liria passed away, leaving the Majorat to her son, Jacobo-Francisco Eduardo.

Jacobo-Francisco-Eduardo Stuart of Portugal, the eldest son of Catarina, was born October 11, 1717, and died July 16, 1718. On December 28 of that same year Catarina bore her husband another son on whom they conferred the name of his deceased brother. He grew to manhood and married Maria-Teresa, daughter of the Count Gelves and sister of Fernando de Silva, Duke of Huesca, and to them was born a son, Carlos-Fernando.

Carlos-Fernando Stuart y Silva was born at Liria, March 25, 1752. He was both Duke of Veragua and Duke of Berwick, and was a Court official under Charles III. He married Catalina-Augusta, daughter of the Prince of Stolberg, by whom he had one son, Jacobo-Felipe, and one daughter, Maria.

CHAPTER CXXXXVIIII

THE FOURTH ADMIRAL

Jacobo-Felipe Carlos Stuart y Stolberg was born at Paris, February 25, 1773. He was the last of this house of Portugal y Colon y Berwick to bear the title of Duke of Veragua and to hold the estates of the Columbus family. The suit which had long been pending against his family and in the interests of the Larreategui family was decided against him and in favour of the latter in 1790. He married Maria Teresa de Silva y Palafox, daughter of the Duke of Hijar, and from them the present family of Berwick-Alba is descended.

Diego Columbus, son of the Discoverer, and the second Admiral of the Indies had, besides his four daughters, three sons, Don Luis, the Third Admiral, Don Christoval Colon y Toledo, and Don Diego Colon y Toledo. This last married Isabel Justenian and died without issue, or, as Harrisse himself guardedly says, in speaking of the Columbus descendants, *without legitimate posterity.* It was to the descendants of the second son, then, Don Christoval, that the Majorat belonged. This fact was recognised at first, and, as we have seen, his son Don Diego Colon y Pravia inherited after his uncle, Don Luis, died, and became fourth Admiral of the Indies. On his death without issue, the Majorat went to the descendants of the Second Admiral's daughter, Isabel, and we have been following that line through Jorge of Portugal and the Berwick and Liria families, until the law in 1790 awarded the Majorat, or what was left of its rights, titles, and privileges, to the descendants of Don Diego's second son, the grandson of the Discoverer, Don Christoval Colon y Toledo.

CHAPTER CL

THE LARREATEGUI

As we have seen, Christoval Colon y Toledo, by his wife, Ana of Pravia, had two children: a son, Diego Colon y Pravia, the fourth Admiral, dying without issue, and a daughter, Francisca Colon y Pravia, born in San Domingo and married to Diego Ortegon, a Judge of the Court at Quito in the Province of Peru. She declared herself as the heiress of the Majorat on the death of her brother, April 28, 1578, although it was many years after this that she went to Spain. When she did reach Madrid she employed all the available machinery of the Courts. She was doubtless not in possession of wealth, for there was accorded her a pension of five hundred ducats pending the judgment in her case. From a document dated April 1, 1605, we learn that she was at that date a widow. She herself died in April, 1616, without leaving any sons, but she was the mother of four daughters: Guiomar, Jacoba, Ana, and Josefa Ortegon y Colon. In the year 1584 she had described herself in a document as the mother of nine daughters, and as only these four are mentioned in later papers, it is probable the other five died in infancy. The oldest daughter, Guiomar, married her cousin, Diego, son of Jorge de Portugal and of his wife Genoveva Botti. She died in 1621, leaving one son, Diego, who died without issue, and two daughters, Francisca de Portugal y Ortegon, who died unmarried in 1630, and Ana Francisca de Portugal y Ortegon. This last, Ana Francisca, married Diego de Cardenas y Valda, member of the Council of the Indies, of which union there were two daughters: the one, Catarina de Cardenas y Portugal, married to Francisco Tutavilla, Duke of Saint Germain, of Naples, Captain-General of Estramadura, Viceroy of Valencia,

and of Catalonia, who died at Madrid January 30, 1679, leaving no posterity; the other daughter, Francisca de Cardenas y Portugal, married to Francisco Tello, a relative, from whom she was divorced or for whom the marriage was annulled, she also dying without issue. The second daughter of Francisca and Diego Ortegon, Jacoba Ortegon y Colon, married Francisco Vallejo Vela and brought him a marriage portion of ten thousand ducats, showing that the family were in wealth at that time. Two sons were born of this union: Antonio Diego, dying an infant, and Manuel Antonio Vallejo y Ortegon, born at Olmedo, January 10, 1617. Jacoba died the following year and the boy was brought up by Baltasar de Alamos, his uncle by marriage. This Manuel Vallejo bade fair to be a great soldier and took part in the campaigns of Italy. His is an important figure in this history because when Luis de Avila died in 1636 he was the heir to the Majorat, according to the rule recognised in the decision of 1790, but he died without issue in the hospital of S. Andrea of Vercelli, May 20, 1641, without issue. The third daughter of Francisca and Diego Ortegon married Baltasar de Alamos y Barrientos. This last was a man of parts. He was given to letters and translated Tacitus into Spanish, entering the Council of the Indies and living a long and useful life, finally dying at the age of eighty-eight. History is at a difference in regard to his children, some holding that he left only daughters, of whom mention is alone made of Ana Teresa married to Garcia Tello de Sandoval, and others introducing a son by the name of Diego, who is said to have been the father of Martin and Francisco de Larreategui, the latter the ancestor of the present family of that name and holders of the title. The learned and indefatigable Harrisse, however, who has given great study to this genealogical tree, is inclined to establish this Diego, father of Francisco de Larreategui, as the grandson of Josefa Ortegon, to whom we now come. Josefa Ortegon y Colon, fourth and youngest surviving daughter of Francisca and Diego Ortegon, had a daughter, Josefa de Paz de la Serna y Ortegon, who married Martin de Larreategui, member in 1651 of the Council of Castile, and founder of the family now holding the titles and honours of the House of Columbus. One son and heir, Diego, born in 1640, resulted from this union. He was

Knight of the Order of St. James and a Judge in the Court of Valladolid.[1] Diego, from his marriage with Esperanza de Carvajal, had two sons: Martin, who died without issue, and Francisco de Larreategui y Carvajal, by whom the line was perpetuated. This last, in 1668, was enrolled in one of the six colleges of nobles and became a lawyer of distinction. It is believed that he was the author of a legal work entitled *De Præstatione Culpæ in Contractibus*, printed in 1678. He married Isabel Ventura de Angulo y Labarra and left one son, Pedro-Isidoro, and three daughters, Josefa, Andrea, and Tomäsa. Pedro-Isidoro de Larreategui y Ventura de Angulo, the son, was born at Madrid in 1695. He, too, gave himself to law and became a professor in the University of Salamanca, Knight of the Order of Alcantara, Vice-President of the Council of Castile, and Count of Torre-Arias. He married Maria Antonia Jimenez de Embrun and had six children: Mariano, Tomas, José-Joachim, Felix, Pedro, and Francisco, as well as two daughters, Maria-Francisca and Maria Josefa.

Mariano de Larreategui y Embrun was at the head of the House when the Council of the Indies decided the long legal contest for the rights of Columbus in his favour June 16, 1790, and subsequently on March 10, 1793, both decisions being confirmed in January, 1796.

Thus we have brought the descendants of Columbus to a period when the family of Larreategui is suffered in peace to bear what is left of those great honours conferred on Christopher Columbus for his discovery of a New World, and which are but shadows of names, while of his thirds and eighths and tenths there remains in America not a foot of earth nor from its revenues a single maravedi.

[1] The Dukes of Veragua evidently preserved a genealogical family tree in which the son and heir of Josefa de Paz de la Serna is Francisco de Larreategui. Eminent genealogists, as well as Harrisse, make this son and heir to be Diego, and his son to be the Francisco de Larreategui by a marriage with Esperanza de Carvajal.

APPENDIX

DOCUMENT No. 1

ROYAL AUTHORITY FOR ESTABLISHING THE MAJORAT

Don Fernando and Donna Isabella by the Grace of God King and Queen of Castile, Leon, Aragon, Sicily, Granada, Toledo, Valencia, Galicia, Majorca, Seville, Sardinia, Cordova, Corsica, Murcia, Jaen, the Algarves, Algeciras, Gibraltar, and the islands of Canary, Count and Countess of Barcelona, and Lords of Biscay and Molina, Dukes of Athens and Neopatria, Counts of Roussillon and of Cerdagne, Marquises of Oristano and of Goziano. Inasmuch as you, Don Christopher Columbus, our Admiral, Viceroy, and Governor of the Ocean-Sea, have supplicated and petitioned us as a favour that we give you our power and authority, to make and establish out of your possessions, vassals, hereditaments, and perpetual offices, one or two majorats to the end that there may be perpetual memory of you and of your house and lineage, and that those who come after you may be honoured, which having seen, and having considered that it is the prerogative of Kings and Princes to honour and advance their subjects and people, particularly those who serve them well and loyally, and because in the making of such majorats honour comes to the Royal Crown and to these our realms and for their advancement, and counting the many good and loyal and grand and continuous services which you the said Don Christopher Columbus our Admiral have done us and each day have done us, and particularly in discovering and placing under our power and sovereignty the islands and continental land which you have discovered in the said Ocean-Sea, largely because we hope with the help of our Lord God it will redound much to His service and our honour and for the advantage of our realms, and since it is expected that the inhabitants of the said Indies will be converted to our Holy Catholic faith, we have found it good and by this our Letter, of our own motion and on certain knowledge and of our absolute Royal power which in this interest we seek to employ and which we as King and Queen and Lords supreme in temporal affairs do employ, we give, licence, and empower you for each occasion and whenever you desire and may elect as well during your lifetime by simple contract and order, as for

a donation among the living, or by your testament and last will and codicil, or in any other way which you desire and that you may be enabled to make and may make a majorat or majorats, by one or two or three instruments or by many such in whatever way you may desire and see good, and that you may be enabled to revoke, devise, correct, enlarge, lessen, decrease, or increase, once, twice, thrice, or whatever number of times or in whatever way you desire or deem good, and that you may be enabled to establish in the said majorat or majorats your son Don Diego Columbus, your principal legitimate heir and whomever of your lawful sons now yours or hereafter yours, and in fault of or failing sons, then one or two of your relatives or other persons whom you may select and deem it good to select, and that you may be enabled to make and do constitute it of any vassals, jurisdiction, houses, lands, hereditaments, wills, fields and other such hereditaments and possessions, and of such offices which you may hold from us by law and by inheritance, and of all that aforesaid and of everything and of every part which you may now hold and possess and which belongs to you to have and to hold, as well by favours and donations as by abandonment, acquisitions, trafficking, exchanges, passings, or by whatever other honourable or lucrative titles, or in whatever other manner and for whatever cause or reason it may be, you shall be enabled to make and may make the said majorat or majorats according to your will and choice and disposition, as well of the said your possessions and things, in entirety and completely without any diminution of any part or parts thereof, to the end that the said possessions and whatever portion and part of the said majorat may descend inviolably to the said Don Diego Columbus your son and to your said heirs and descendants in whom you may make and establish the said majorat or majorats, together with the conditions, limitations, charges, settlements and insurances, appointments and substitutions, modes, rules, penalties and submissions, which you may desire or deem good, and with such ordinances, orders, agreements, covenants, and according to such form and manner as you shall settle and order and dispose and licence by one or by many writings as aforesaid. The whole of which, and of every portion and part thereof, are to be considered to be expressed and declared as if they were expressly specified word by word, from now henceforth, of our said certain knowledge, and of our own motion and absolute Royal power, which in this instance we propose to use and do use, we commend, approve, confirm, and interpose in this and in every portion and part thereof, our decree and Royal authority and commands that the whole and every part thereof be valid and kept inviolably both now and for ever, notwithstanding it and every portion and part thereof be contrary to express law and against all form and order, and be such and in such a manner as of necessity ought to be expressed and be especially mentioned in this our Letter, and which could not be incorporated in the general expressions thereof, and that it be observed as well and as completely as if over each portion, part, and article thereof our approval, licence, and order were affixed as and according to such form in your said disposition or disposi-

tions shall be contained. The whole of which it is our pleasure may be so done, notwithstanding that your other lawful sons and your other relatives, kinsfolks, and descendants and collaterals may be aggrieved in their estates and allowances which to them belong, and which the said Don Diego Columbus your son and him or them on whom you may establish the said majorat or majorats, or commands or legacies, may receive and have every great and notable increase beyond what rights and laws you are able to leave to them in your testament and last will and give as donations among the living, or in any other manner; the which said possessions which you shall thus include and place in your said majorat or majorats it is our favour that they shall be inalienable and indivisible for ever, and that the person or persons in whom you shall establish the said majorat or majorats and that he whom according to your dispositions shall hold it or they who shall hold it shall not be able to sell, give, donate, alienate, divide, or separate them nor be able to part with them or lose them for any debt that may be due or for any other reason or cause nor for any crime or criminal act which he may commit except leze-majesty or perduliones or treason or the crime of heresy the which we desire and it is our Letter shall be observed notwithstanding the laws which contain those majorats are not to have effect even if may be by virtue of such Letters and warrants as may by them be granted, and moreover notwithstanding such laws and statutes, decrees and ordinances, usages and customs, styles and forms, both common and municipal, of the Kings our ancestors which may be contrary to what is aforesaid; or to the laws and decrees which say that anything done in prejudice of a third party who understands that he is injured or wronged is invalid; and the law which declares that prohibitive decrees are not able to be revoked, and that which says that Letters granted contrary to law, statute, or decree ought to be disobeyed and not fulfilled even though they contain derogative clauses and other assurances and non-obstantes clauses, and the law which says that the defence of the party is promised by natural decree and that it is not able to be taken away and ought to be revoked, and that the laws, statutes and valid decrees are not able to be revoked except by the Cortes or by any other thing, effect, condition, strength, mystery which may be contrary to what is above said even though it be urgent or necessary or mixed or any other manner. For of our said certain knowledge and of our own motion and absolute Royal power which in this behalf we propose to use and do use as Kings and Sovereign Lords supreme in all that is temporal, considering it as if expressed and declared as if it had been here word by word set down and expressed, we dispense therewith and abrogate and derogate and take away and remove it in so far as it touches or belongs or may have any part in this our Letter and in what there is therein contained, all that is obtained by deceit or fraud, and every other obstacle and impediment. And we supply such defence or other things of whatever kind or effect and of decree, of substance, and of solemnity which may be necessary and desirable to supply for the validation and corroboration. And we command the illustrious prince Don Juan our very

dear and very beloved son and the Infantes, prelates, dukes, counts, marquises, grandees, masters of orders, priors, commanders, lieutenant commanders, and the alcaldes of the castles and the fortified places, members of our council, auditors of our chamber, chancery, alcaldes and officers of our household, court, and chancery, and all other governors and assistants, alcaldes, bailiffs, judges, provosts, regidors, knights, esquires, officers, and good men of all the cities, villages, and places of these our realms and dominions who now are and from henceforth may be, to observe towards you this favour which we do you in all and through all according to what is therein contained and not to interfere with you contrary thereto or to any part thereto at any time or in any manner or for any cause or reason that is or may be, and that there shall be fulfilled and executed and brought into effectual execution and disposition and dispositions which you may make of the said majorat or majorats, powers and legacies, according to and by the form and manner which may be contained in each one thereof without awaiting or hoping for another Letter or command from us or a second or third notice: the whole of which we order our high chancellor and notaries and other officials who are at the bureau of our seals, to deliver to you and to pass and to seal our Letter of privilege in the most strong and binding form which you may require, and neither the one nor the other of you shall make or do this in any other manner under penalty of our displeasure and of 10,000 maravedis for our chamber on each one through whom it shall fail to be done and fulfilled; and moreover we command the man who shall show you this our Letter to summon you that you shall appear before us in our court wherever we may be within fifteen days following that of the said summons, under which also we command our notary public who shall be required for that purpose, to give to the person showing our order and testimonial signed with his seal in order that we may know how our order is fulfilled.

Done in the city of Burgos on the 23d day of the month of April in the year of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ, 1497. I THE KING, I THE QUEEN. I Fernand Alvares de Toledo, secretary of the King and of the Queen our Sovereigns, caused this to be written by their command and in the endorsement of the said Letter was inscribed the following *in due form*: Rodricus doctor. *Registered and sealed*, Alonso Peres.

DOCUMENT No. 2

MAJORAT OR ENTAIL OF HIS ESTATES AND TITLES BY CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

FEBRUARY 22, 1498

February 22, 1498.

THE MAJORAT

IN the name of the most Holy Trinity, which inspired me with the idea and afterwards made perfectly clear to me, that I could navigate and go to

the Indies from Spain by traversing the Ocean-sea westwardly; and this I made known to the King, Don Ferdinand, and to the Queen, Doña Isabella, our Lords; and it pleased them to give me provisions and an equipage of men and ships, and to make me their Admiral in the said Ocean-sea, to the westward of an imaginary line which they ordered drawn from pole to pole one hundred leagues west of the Cape Verde and Azores islands; and their Viceroy and Governor General in all the mainlands and islands which I might find and discover to the westward of this line; and they also granted that my eldest son should succeed me in the said offices, and in the same manner from generation to generation for ever and ever; and that I should have the tenth of everything that might be discovered and possessed and produced in the said Almirantazgo; and also the eighth part of the lands and all the other things, and the salary which fitly belongs to the offices of Admiral, Viceroy, and Governor, and all the other perquisites pertaining to the said offices, which is all more fully contained in my Privilege and Capitulation, which I have from their Highnesses.

And it pleased our All Powerful Lord that in the year One thousand four hundred and ninety-two I should discover the mainland of the Indies and many islands, among which is Española, which the Indian inhabitants call *Ayte* and the Monicongos call *Cipango*. Afterwards I came back to Castile to their Majesties, and they directed me to return to the undertaking and to found and discover more; and thus our Lord gave me victory so that I conquered and made tributary the people of the island of Española, which is six hundred leagues around; and I discovered many cannibal islands, and seven hundred to the westward of Española among which is Jamaica, which we call Santiago, and three hundred and thirty-three leagues of mainland of the part from south to west, also one hundred and seven of the part of the north, which I had discovered on my first voyage with many islands; as will be seen more fully by my writings, memorandums, and navigators' maps. And because we hope in that high God that before long we may have a good and great revenue in the said islands and mainland, of which for the reason aforesaid the tenth and the eighth belong to me, with the salaries and perquisites aforesaid; and because we are mortal and it is well that each one should order and leave declared to his heirs and successors what he possesses and might possess:—Therefore it appeared well to me to found a Majorat from this eighth part of lands and offices and revenue, as I will state below:

In the first place: My son, Don Diego, shall succeed me, and if the Lord should dispose of him without his leaving sons, then my son, Don Ferdinand, shall succeed: and if our Lord should dispose of him without leaving a son, or my having another son, Don Bartholomew, my brother, shall succeed; and then his eldest son: and if our Lord should dispose of him without heirs, my brother, Don Diego, shall succeed, being married or able to marry; and then his eldest son shall succeed him; and in this manner from generation to generation perpetually, for ever after; commencing with my son Don Diego, and his sons succeeding from one to another

perpetually, or he not having a son, Don Ferdinand, my son, to succeed, as aforesaid; and then his son, he and the aforesaid Don Bartholomew and Don Diego, my brothers, succeeding from son to son for ever after, if it should fall to them.

And if it should please our Lord that after having passed for some time in the line of one of the said successors, this Majorat should lack legitimate heirs, the nearest of kin to the person who inherited it and in whose possession it was proscribed, shall succeed him and inherit it; he being of legitimate birth, and his name, inherited from his father and ancestors, being Columbus. And no woman may in any manner inherit this Majorat, except that neither here nor in the other extremity of the world there shall be found a man of my true lineage whose name inherited from his ancestors shall be Columbus. And if this should happen (which God forbid), then in such a case the woman nearest in relationship and legitimate blood to the person who had in this manner come into possession of the said Majorat, shall have it; and this shall be with the conditions which I will give here below; which are to be understood as applying to my son, Don Diego, as well as to each one of the aforesaid persons, or to whomever may succeed, each one of them, which conditions they shall fulfil, and not fulfilling them, in such case they shall be deprived of the said Majorat, and the person nearest of kin to such a person in whose possession it was proscribed because of not having fulfilled what I say here shall have it; which person failing to fulfil said conditions shall be deprived of it, and another person the nearest of my lineage shall have it, providing he keeps the said conditions, which in this manner shall endure perpetually and shall be in the form above written. This forfeiture may not be understood for trifling matters originating from lawsuits, but for important matters appertaining to the honour of God, and to my honour and to that of my lineage, which means to fulfil freely what I have ordained, entirely as I say; all of which I recommend to the Courts of Justice. And I entreat the Holy Father, who now is, and those who may succeed in the Holy Church, if it should happen that this my will and testament may require his Holy edict and mandates in order to be fulfilled, that in virtue of obedience and under penalty of Papal excommunication he shall order it; and that in no manner may it ever be disfigured; and likewise I entreat the King and Queen, our Sovereigns, and the prince Don Juan our Lord, their first-born, and those who may succeed him, by the services I have rendered them and because it is just, that it may please them, and that they may not consent, that this my constitution of Majorat and testament, shall be disfigured, but that it may remain and be in the manner and form which I have ordained for ever; that it may be the service of the All Powerful God and the root and base of my lineage, and a memory of the services I have rendered their Highnesses; for I being born in Genoa came to serve them here in Castile, and discovered the Indies and the aforesaid islands for them, to the west of the mainland. Therefore I entreat their Highnesses that without lawsuit or demand or delay they may order summarily that this, my Privilege and

testament may be valid and may be fulfilled as may be, and is, contained therein; and I also entreat the Great Lords of the realms of his Highness, and the members of his Council and all the others who have or might have charge of justice or of a body (regimiento) that it may please them not to consent that this my will and testament shall be without strength and virtue, but that it may be fulfilled as ordered by me; as it is very just that a person of title who has served his King and Queen and the kingdom, should be respected in all that he may order and leave by testament or compromise, and Majorat and inheritance, and that it may not be transgressed in anything, neither in any part nor in all.

In the first place Don Diego, my son, and all those who succeed me and descend from me, and likewise my brothers Don Bartholomew and Don Diego, shall bear my arms, which I shall leave after my days, without inserting anything more in them, and shall seal with the seal of the arms. Don Diego, my son, or any one else who inherits this Majorat, after having inherited and been in possession of it, shall sign with my signature which I now use, which is an X with an S over it and an M with a Roman A over it, and over that an S and after it a Greek Y with an S over it, with its lines and points as is now my custom, and as will appear by my signatures of which many will be found, and as will appear by this.

And he shall only write *The Admiral* although he may be given and may acquire other titles from the King; this is to be understood in the signature and not in his enumeration of titles, where he will be able to write all his titles as shall please him; solely in the signature he will write *The Admiral.*

The said Don Diego or any one else who inherits this Majorat shall have my office of Admiral of the Ocean-sea, which is of the part to the west of an imaginary line which his Highness ordered drawn from pole to pole 100 leagues beyond the Azores and Cape Verde islands, beyond which they ordered and made me the Admiral of the Sea, with all the pre-eminencies which the Admiral Don Henrique has in the Almirantazgo of Castile; and they made me their Viceroy and perpetual Governor for ever after, in all the islands and main land discovered and to be discovered, for myself and my heirs, as appears more fully from my privileges which I have, and by my capitulation as above mentioned.

Item. That the said Don Diego, or any one else who inherits the said Majorat, shall distribute the revenue that it shall please our Lord to give him, in this manner, under the said penalty.

In the first place: He will give of all that this Majorat may yield now and for ever, and of whatever shall be had and obtained from it and by it, the fourth part each year to Don Bartholomew Columbus, my brother, Adelantado of the Indies, and shall do this until he has for his revenues a million maravedis for his maintenance, and for the service which he has rendered and continues to render in the service of this Majorat; which said million he will receive as aforesaid each year, if the said fourth part amounts to so much, and he has nothing else; but having some or all of

that amount in revenue, henceforth he shall not have the said million or a part of it; except that from now he shall have in the said fourth part as much as the said amount of a million, if it amounts to that; and as much as he has of revenue besides this fourth part, whatever sum of maravedis of known revenue from property which he might be able to rent, or perpetual offices, the said quantity of revenue which he may have in this manner or he will be able to have from the said his property or perpetual offices, shall be abated; and from the said million whatever marriage dower he receives with the woman he marries shall be reserved; so that all that he has with the said woman, it will not be understood that on account of it he will have to discount anything from the said million save what he acquires or possesses beyond the said marriage portion of his wife; and after it shall please God that he or his heirs, or whoever descends from him, may have a million of revenue from property and offices, if he should wish to rent them as aforesaid, he nor his heirs shall have nothing more from the fourth part of the said Majorat, and the said Don Diego, or whoever inherits, shall have it.

Don Ferdinand, my son, shall have of the said revenue of the said Majorat or of another fourth part of it, a million each year, if the said fourth part amounts to so much, until he has two millions of revenue in the same form and manner which is said of Don Bartholomew, my brother, he and his heirs, in the same manner as Don Bartholomew, my brother, and his heirs, have the said million or the part which is deficient from it.

Item. The said Don Diego and Don Bartholomew, shall order that Don Diego, my brother, shall have from the revenue of the said Majorat as much as will suffice to maintain him honestly, as my brother which he is, to whom I leave no stipulated sum, because he wishes to be of the church, and they will give him what is right; and this shall be in one sum, before anything is given to Don Ferdinand, my son, or to Don Bartholomew, my brother, or to their heirs, and also according to the income derived from the said Majorat; and if there should be disagreement in this, then in said case it may be referred to two of our kinsmen, or to other honourable persons, that they may choose one and he may choose the other; and if they should not be able to agree, the two said arbitrators may select another person of honour, who shall not be suspected by any of the parties.

Item. That all the revenue which I order given to Don Bartholomew and to Don Ferdinand, and to Don Diego, my brother, they may have and may be given to them as aforesaid, as long as they and their heirs are loyal and faithful to Don Diego, my son, or whoever inherits; and if it should be found that they were in opposition to him in anything pertaining to his honour and in opposition to the increase of my lineage and of the said Majorat, in word or in deed, by which there should appear and should be offence and abasement of my lineage and loss to the same estate, or any one of them, they shall not have anything from that time forward; so that they may always be faithful to Don Diego or whoever inherits.

Item. As in the beginning when I created this Majorat, I intended

to distribute, or that Don Diego, my son, or any other person who inherited it, should distribute to needy persons, the tenth part of the revenue as a tithe and in commemoration of the Eternal All Powerful God; for this reason I now say that, to further and carry out my intention, and in order that His High Majesty may aid me and those who may inherit this, here or in the other world, the said tithe shall yet be paid in this manner:

In the first place. Of the fourth part of the revenue from this Majorat, which I ordained and directed should be given to Don Bartholomew, until he should have a million of revenue, it shall be understood that the said tenth of all the rent of the said Majorat is included in this million; and that as the revenue of the said Don Bartholomew, my brother, increases, as something or all may have to be discounted from the revenue of the fourth part of the Majorat, that all the aforesaid rent shall be seen and counted in order to know how much the tenth of it amounts to; and the part which does not fall to, or exceeds, what the said Don Bartholomew requires for the million,—that the persons of my lineage who shall most need it shall have it in discount from the said tenth, looking out to give it to a person who has not Fifty thousand maravedis of income; and if the one who has least should come to possess an income of Fifty thousand maravedis, he shall have the part which two persons who shall be chosen for this purpose shall determine, together with Don Diego or with whoever inherits; so that it is to be understood that the million which I order given to Don Bartholomew comprehends the said tenth aforesaid of the said Majorat; and that all this revenue from the Majorat I wish and have ordered distributed to my nearest and most needy kinsmen; and after the said Don Bartholomew has his million and there is nothing owing him from the said fourth part, then the said Don Diego, my son, or the person who may have the said Majorat, with the other two persons whom I shall here designate, shall see and may see, that the tenth part of all this rent is given to, and possessed by, the most needy persons of my lineage who shall be here or in any other part of the world, where they shall be diligently sought; and it may be of the said fourth part from which the said Don Bartholomew is to have the million; which I calculate and give in discount from the said tenth, by reason of computation, that if the aforesaid tenth amounts to more, this excess also shall come from the fourth part and the most needy shall have it, as I have already said; and if it is not enough, that the said Don Bartholomew shall have it until his own increases, leaving the said million in part or in whole.

Item. That the said Don Diego, my son, or the person who inherits, shall take two persons of my lineage, the nearest of kin, and persons of spirit and authority, who will diligently examine the said revenue and the account thereof, and cause the said tenth to be paid from the said fourth part, from which the said million is given to Don Bartholomew,—to the most needy of my lineage who shall be here or anywhere else, and they shall inquire for them with much diligence and upon charge of their souls: and as it might be that the said Don Diego or the person who inherits

might not wish for some reason which may relate to their own good and honour, and the sustainment of the said Majorat, that the entire revenue from it should be known, I direct him that he shall yet make known the said revenue upon charge of his soul, and I direct the aforesaid two persons upon charge of their consciences and souls, not to denounce or publish it, save when it shall be the will of the said Don Diego, or the person who inherits, only making sure that the said tenth is paid in the manner aforesaid.

Item. That there may be no differences in the choice of these two nearest kinsmen who shall act with Don Diego, or with the person who inherits, I say that therefore I choose Don Bartholomew, my brother, for one, and Don Ferdinand, my son, for the other, and as soon as they enter into the matter they shall be obliged to name two other persons who shall be the nearest of my lineage and of great confidence: and these shall choose two others at the same time that they commence to employ themselves in this action: and thus it will be continued from one to another with much diligence, the same in this as in the other matter of government, for the benefit and honour and service of God, and of the said Majorat, for ever.

Item. I direct the said Don Diego, my son, or the person who inherits the said Majorat, to keep and always maintain in the city of Genoa, a person of our lineage who has a house and wife there, and I direct that he shall have an income so that he may be able to live honestly, as a person so near to our lineage: and that he may be the root and base of it in the said city, as a citizen thereof, so that he may have aid and protection from the said city in matters of his own necessity, since from it I came, and in it I was born.

Item. That the said Don Diego, or whoever inherits the said Majorat, shall send in the form of exchange or in whatever manner he is able, all the moneys which he saves from the revenues of the said Majorat, and shall cause to be purchased from them in his name and that of his heir, some purchases called *logros*, which the office of St. George has, and which now yield 6 per cent and are very sure moneys, and this shall be for the purpose which I shall state here.

Item. Because it becomes every man of rank and income to serve God, and for the benefit of his honour that it may be perceived that it is by himself and by means of his fortune, and as any money whatever yonder in St. George is very secure and Genoa is a noble and powerful city by the sea; and because at the time I started to go and discover the Indies it was with the intention of supplicating the King and Queen, our Lords, that the revenue which their Highnesses might have from the Indies, they should determine to spend in the conquest of Jerusalem; and in this manner I supplicated it, and if they do it, it will be a good design; and if not, that it may yet be the said Don Diego, or the person who inherits in this purpose to collect the said money in order to go with the King, our Lord, if it should be to Jerusalem to reconquer it; or to go alone with the greatest force that he has, that it will please our Lord if he has and shall have

this intention, to give him such aid that he will be able to do it, and may do it; and if he shall not have money to conquer all, that he will give him at least enough for a part of it; therefore let him collect and make his fund from his treasure in the places of St. George in Genoa, and let it there multiply until he has a sufficient quantity so that it may appear to him and he may know, that he will be able to do some good work in this matter of Jerusalem; because I believe that after the King and Queen, our Lords, and their successors, shall see that he is determined in this, their Highnesses will be moved to do it themselves, and will give him aid and comfort, as to a servant and vassal, who will do it in their name.

Item. I direct Don Diego, and all those who descend from me, especially to the person who inherits this Majorat, which consists as I have said of the tenth of all that shall be found and possessed in the Indies, and the eighth part of the other extreme of lands and revenue, all which with the perquisites from my offices of Admiral and Viceroy and Governor, is more than 25 per cent: that all the revenue from this and their persons and the power they have, shall be obliged and employed in sustaining and serving their Highnesses or their heirs, well and faithfully, as far as to lose and spend their lives and fortunes for their Highnesses; because their Highnesses, after God our Lord, gave me the beginning to have and to be able to acquire and obtain this Majorat; although I came to them in their realms, to persuade them to this undertaking and there was a long time that they did not give me support to put it in operation; although this is not to be marvelled at, because this undertaking was unknown to all the world and there was no one who would believe it, by which I am under very great obligation to them, and because since then they have always granted me many favours and much increase.

Item. I direct the said Don Diego, or whoever possesses the said Majorat, that if through our sins any schism should arise in the Church of God, or if through tyranny any person of whatever rank or condition he may be should wish to dispossess it of its honour and property, under the aforesaid penalty he shall place his person at the feet of the Holy Father, except he should be a heretic (which God forbid) to be determined for and used for the work of serving him, with all his power and revenue and estate, and in delivering the church from the said schism and preventing the church from being dispossessed of its honour and property.

Item. I direct the said Don Diego, or whoever possesses the said Majorat, that he shall always strive and labour for the honour and good and increase of the city of Genoa, and shall use all his strength and property in defending and augmenting the benefit and honour of the republic, not going in opposition to the service of the church of God, and the high estate of the King and of the Queen, our Lords, and of their successors.

Item. That the said Don Diego, or the person who inherits, or shall be in possession of the said Majorat, from the fourth part of which, as I have said above, shall be distributed the tenth of all the rent, when Don Bartholomew and his heirs shall have saved the two millions or part of it,

and when some of the tenth is to be distributed to our kinsmen,—that he and the said two persons with him, who shall be our kinsmen, must distribute and spend this tenth in the marriage of girls of our lineage who may require it, and in doing as much good as they are able.

Item. That at the time which is found suitable, he shall order a church built in the most proper place in the island of Española, which shall be entitled Santa Maria de la Concepcion, and it shall have a hospital upon the best possible plan, the same as those in Castile and Italy; and he shall order a chapel to be erected in which masses for my soul and the souls of our ancestors and successors shall be said with much devotion; as it pleases our Lord to give us a sufficient revenue so that the aforesaid may be fulfilled.

Item. I direct the said Don Diego, my son, or whoever inherits the said Majorat, to labour to maintain and sustain in the island of Española four good professors of the Holy Theology, with intention and idea of their labouring, and ordering that they shall labour, to convert to our Holy Faith all those people of the Indies, and when it pleases our Lord that the revenue of the said Majorat shall increase, that the professors and devout persons shall be increased in the same manner, and shall labour to make these people Christians: and for this, he shall have no regret in spending all that is necessary; and in commemoration of what I say, and of all the aforesaid, he shall have erected in the most public place in the said church of the Conception, a monument—bulto—, in order to continually remind the said Don Diego of what I say, and all the other persons who shall see it, on which monument shall be an inscription which shall say this.

Item. I direct Don Diego, my son, or whoever inherits the said Majorat, that each time and as many times as he is obliged to confess he shall first show this compromise, or the copy of it, to his confessor, and shall entreat him to read everything, that he may have reason to examine into the fulfilment of it; and it may be the cause of much good and the repose of his soul.

Thursday, February 22, 1498.

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X M Y
el Almirante.

DOCUMENT No. 3

ROYAL CONFIRMATION OF THE MAJORAT ESTABLISHED BY COLUMBUS

In the name of God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, three Persons in one Godhead, who live and reign for ever without end, and of the Blessed Virgin, Our Glorious Lady Saint Mary, His mother, whom we have for patroness and advocate in all our doings, and in her honour and service;

and in the name of the blessed Apostle Saint James, light and hope of the Spains, patron and guide of the Kings of Castile and Leon and of all the other Saints of the Celestial Court: we will that all present and to come may know, by the present Letter of privilege issued by us, and sealed by a public notary, that we, Don Ferdinand and Donna Isabella, by the grace of God, King and Queen of Castile, Leon, Aragon, Sicily, Granada, Toledo, Valencia, Gallicia, Mallorca, Seville, Sardinia, Cordova, Corsica, Murcia, Jaen, the Algarbes, Algecira, Gibraltar, the Canary Islands, Count and Countess of Barcelona, Lords of Biscay and of Molina, Dukes of Athens and of Neopatria, Counts of Rousillon and of Cerdania, Marquises of Oristan and of Goçiano, we have seen a writing of a majorat which you Christopher Columbus, our Admiral of the Ocean-sea and our Viceroy and Governor of the islands and continental land discovered and to be discovered in the Ocean-sea, have made by virtue of our Letter of privilege signed by our names inserted therein, written on parchment, and signed by your name: and signed by the public notary, running in this wise: In the noble City of Seville, Thursday, on the twenty-second day of the month of February in the year of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, one thousand four hundred and ninety-eight, being in the houses where lodges the very magnificent Lord, Don Christopher Columbus, High Admiral of the Ocean-sea, Viceroy and Governor of the Indies and the continental land, for the King and the Queen our Lords and his Captain-General of the ocean, which [houses] are in this city and parish of Saint Mary, there being present also the said Lord Admiral, and in the presence of me, Martin Rodriguez, public notary of the said city, and of all the notaries of Seville, who all were present, and to whom the said Lord Admiral presented before us the said writings, a Letter of privilege from the King and Queen our Lords by which he might establish a majorat, written on parchment and signed by the Royal names and sealed on the back with their seal &c.

[Here follows the Majorat as we have already given it.]

Wherefore we command all, and such is our will and pleasure, that the said Don Diego Columbus your son, may enjoy and shall enjoy the said majorat, and the others there designated, who may succeed him, with all the said clauses, and all the dispositions, ordinances, and all the other things in it contained and specified: and we rigidly forbid that any one or any persons shall dare to do aught contrary to the said Letter of privilege and confirmation we have made thereof in the manner aforesaid, or against that which is contained therein, or against any part thereof at any time or in any manner, to break or diminish it; for if any one or any persons do this or act contrary to it or to any part thereof, they shall incur our anger, and they shall receive the said penalty contained in the majorat, and they shall pay to the said Don Diego Columbus your son and to his successors, the whole of the costs, damages, and penalties as the said may happen: Wherefore we command the Prince Don Juan our very dear and well-beloved son, the Infantes, Dukes, Counts, Marquises, Grandees,

Master of Orders, Priors, Commanders and Lieutenant Commanders, Alcaldes of castles fortified and unfortified, and those of our Council, Judges of our Audiencia, Alcaldes, constables and other judicial officials, whosoever may be of our house, court, and chancery, and all the town authorities, Mayors, Alcaldes, Constables, Royal Directors of sheep-yards, Aldermen, Knights, Squires, Officials and Gentlemen, in all the cities and towns and villages of these our realms and dominions, as well those now as those to come, and each one and every person and persons thereof, that they shall not suffer it to be diminished, but defend and protect this said grant which we have made aforesaid; and that they shall take from the property of whatever person or persons shall act contrary to this order, as a penalty and to hold the same until our pleasure is known, that they may indemnify and make good to the said Don Diego Columbus, your son, and to those who by the said majorat shall succeed him, or to those you delegate, all of the said costs, damages, and losses incurred and to be incurred as aforesaid; and, moreover, if any person or persons fail in this we order the man to present this our Letter of privilege and on confirmation thereof, or the transcript thereof, signed by a public notary, that he summon them &c.[1]

Done in the city of Granada on the 28th day of the month of September in the year of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ one thousand five hundred and one. I THE KING=I THE QUEEN=I Fernand Alvarez de Toledo, secretary, and I Gonzalo de Baeza, accountant to the King and Queen our Lords, registering in the office of the principal notary of his privileges and their confirmation, we have caused it to be inscribed by his order=Fernand Alvazes.=Gonzalo de Baeza.=Rodericus, doctor.=Antonius, doctor.=Fernand Alvarez.=For the Licentiate Gutierrez.=Alonso Gutierrez, Concertado.

DOCUMENT No. 4

TESTAMENT AND CODICIL OF THE ADMIRAL DON CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, EXECUTED IN VALLADOLID, MAY 19, 1506

LEGALISED DOCUMENT IN THE ARCHIVES OF THE DUKE OF VERAGUA

IN the noble city of Valladolid, on the 19th day of the month of May in the year of the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ 1506,—before me, Pedro de Hinojedo, Clerk of the Court of their Highnesses and Notary Public of Province in their Court and Chancery, and their Clerk and Notary Public in all their Kingdoms and Seigniories; and in the presence of the witnesses below written: The Señor Don Christopher Columbus, Admiral and Viceroy and Governor-General of the islands and mainland of the Indies, discovered and to be discovered, which he said that he was: being infirm in body, said, that whereas, he had made his testament before a

[1] Navarrete here remarks in parentheses *citation in due form.* However, the Spanish scholar does not give the form of citation or summons.

Notary Public, that now he rectified, and rectifies, the said testament, and approved it and did approve it as good, and if it was necessary he executed it and did execute it anew: and now in addition to the said his testament, he had written a document with his hand and letter, which he showed and presented before me, the said Notary Public, which he said was written with his hand and letter and signed with his name: that he executed and did execute all that was contained in the said document, before me, the said Notary Public, according to, and in the manner and form which was contained in the said document, and all the bequests contained therein, that they may be fulfilled and be valid as his last and final will. And to fulfil the said his testament, which he had, and has made and executed, and all contained therein, every one thing and part of it, he named and did name for the Agents and Executors of his will, Señor Don Diego Columbus, his son, and Don Bartholomew Columbus, his brother, and Juan de Porras, Treasurer of Vizcaya, that all three of them may fulfil his testament and all contained therein, and in the said document, and all the legacies and bequests and obsequies in it contained. For which purpose he said that he gave and did give to all, sufficient authority, and that he executed and did execute before me, the said Notary Public, everything contained in the said writing, and to those present he said that he requested and did request that they would be witnesses. The witnesses who were present, named, and requested for everything aforesaid,—the Bachelor Andres Mirueña and Gaspar de la Misericordia, citizens of this said city of Valladolid, and Bartolomé de Fresco and Alvaro Perez, and Juan Despinosa and Andrea and Fernando de Vargas, and Francisco Manuel and Fernan Martinez, servants of the said Señor Admiral. The contents of which said document, which was written with the letter and hand of the said Admiral, and signed with his name, *de verbo ad verbum*, are as follows:

When I went from Spain in the year 1502, I made an order and Majorat of my property and of what then appeared to me to fulfil my will and the service of Eternal God, and my honour, and the honour of my successors: which document I left in the monastery of Las Cuevas in Seville, with Father Don Gaspar, with my other writings and privileges, and the letters which I have received from the King and Queen, our Lords. Which order I approve and confirm by this, which I write for the greater fulfilment and declaration of my intention. Which I order fulfilled in the manner here declared and contained, that what shall be discharged by this may not make the other void, because it may not be twice [written].

And I constituted my dear son, Don Diego, for my heir of all my property and the offices which I have by right and inheritance, from what I created in the Majorat, and he not having a male heir, my son Don Ferdinand shall inherit in the same manner, and he not having a male heir, that Don Bartholomew, my brother, shall inherit in the same manner, and in the same manner if he shall not have a male heir, that my other brother shall inherit; which is to be understood thus, the nearest kinsman of my lineage from one to the other for ever. And no woman shall inherit,

excepting no man can be found, and if this should happen, it shall be the woman who is nearest of my lineage.

And I direct the said Don Diego, my son, not to think or presume to change the said Majorat, except to increase and add to it; that is to say, that the income which he receives, with his person and estate, shall serve the King and Queen, our Lords, and the increase of the Christian religion.

The King and Queen, our Lords, when I served them in the Indies: I say served, because it appears that I, by the will of God, our Lord, gave the Indies to them, as something which was mine: I can say it, because I importuned their Highnesses for them, the way thereto being hidden and unknown to all who spoke of them, and in order to go and discover them, besides contributing the information and my person, their Highnesses did not spend or wish to spend for it, more than a million maravedis, and it was necessary for me to spend the rest: thus it pleased their Highnesses that I should have for my part of the said Indies, Islands and mainland, which are situated west of a line which they ordered drawn from pole to pole One Hundred leagues upon the Azores and Cape Verde islands—that I should have for my part the third and the eighth of all, and also the tenth of what is in them, as will be shown more fully by the said my privileges and letters of grace.

Because until the present time no revenue has been received from the said Indies, and as, of it, I can divide what I shall designate below, and it is hoped in the mercy of our Lord that a very great revenue may be received, my intention would be and is, that Don Ferdinand, my son, shall have a million and a half from it each year, and Don Bartholomew, my brother, One Hundred and Fifty thousand maravedis, and Don Diego, my brother, One Hundred thousand maravedis, because he is in the Church. More than this I cannot say definitely, because until the present time, I have not received, neither is there a known revenue, as aforesaid.

I say to more fully explain the aforesaid, that my will is that the said Don Diego, my son, may have the said Majorat, with all my property and offices, in the manner which has been expressed and as I have them. And I say that from the whole of the revenue which he shall have by reason of the said inheritance, he shall make ten parts each year, and one of these parts he shall divide among those of our kin who appear to be the most needy, and among poor people and in other pious works. And afterwards, he shall take two of these nine parts and divide them into thirty-five parts, and of the thirty-five parts Don Ferdinand, my son, shall have twenty-seven, and Don Bartholomew five, and Don Diego, my brother three. And because as aforesaid, my desire would be that Don Ferdinand my son should have a million and a half, and Don Bartholomew One Hundred and Fifty thousand maravedis, and Don Diego One Hundred thousand; and I do not know how this will come about, because until the present time the said revenue of the said Majorat is not known nor can it be computed; I say that this order above expressed shall be followed, until it shall please

our Lord that the said two parts of the said nine shall be enough and shall increase to such an amount as to provide the said million and a half for Don Ferdinand, the One Hundred and Fifty thousand for Don Bartholomew, and the One Hundred thousand for Don Diego.

And when it shall please God that this shall be, or if the said two parts to be understood from the nine aforesaid, shall amount to the sum of One million Seven Hundred and Fifty Thousand maravedis, then Don Diego, or whoever inherits, shall have all the surplus. And I say to, and request the said Don Diego, my son, or whoever inherits, that if the revenue from this said Majorat increases so much, that he will please me by giving the part here designated to Don Ferdinand and my brothers.

I say that I create a Majorat for Don Ferdinand of this part which I direct to be given to him, and that his oldest son shall succeed therein, and thus from one to another perpetually, without having power to sell, or exchange, or give or transfer it in any manner, and it shall be in the manner and form expressed in the other Majorat, which I have created for Don Diego, my son.

I say to Don Diego, my son, and direct, that when he receives sufficient revenue from the said Majorat and inheritance, that he shall maintain three Chaplains in a chapel which he shall have builded, who shall say three masses each day, one to the honour of the Holy Trinity, another to the Conception of our Lady, and the other for the souls of all the faithful dead, and for my soul and the souls of my father and mother and wife. And if his fortune is sufficient he may make the said chapel honourable, and increase the orisons and prayers for the Honour of the Holy Trinity, and if this can be in the island of Española, which God gave me miraculously, I would be glad that it might be yonder, where I invoked it, which is in the Vega that is called La Concepcion.

And I say to, and direct Don Diego, my son, or whomever inherits, to pay all the debts which I leave here in a memorandum in the manner expressed therein, and furthermore the other debts which it shall justly appear that I owe. And I direct him to make provision for Beatriz Enriquez, mother of Don Fernando, my son, so that she may be able to live honestly, being a person to whom I am under very great obligation. And this shall be done for the satisfaction of my conscience, because this matter weighs heavily upon my soul. The reason for which, it is not fitting to write here.

Done the 25th of August, 1505.

[Signed:] Christo Ferens.

The witnesses who were present and saw the Señor Admiral make and execute all the aforesaid, as written above: the said Bachelor de Mirueña, Gaspar de la Misericordia, citizens of the said city of Valladolid, and Bartholomé de Fresco and Alvaro Perez, and Juan Despinosa and Andrea and Fernando de Vargas and Francisco Manuel and Fernan Martinez, servants of the said Señor Admiral. And I, the said Pedro de Hinojedo, the afore-

said clerk and Notary Public, together with the said witnesses, witnessed the aforesaid. And I, therefore, affix this, my signature, here, to that effect. In testimony of the truth. Pedro de Hinojedo, Clerk.

In continuation of the codicil in the hand of the Admiral, there was a memorandum or annotation, also in his hand, to the following effect:

Citation of certain persons, to whom I wish given from my property what is contained in this memorandum, without anything being required from them. Have it given in such manner that they may not know who orders it to be given to them.

In the first place, to the heirs of Gerónimo del Puerto, father of Benito del Puerto, Chancellor in Genoa, twenty ducats, or its value.

To Antonio Vazo, Genoese shopkeeper, who was in the habit of living in Lisbon, Two thousand Five Hundred reals of Portugal, which are a little more than seven ducats, there being three hundred and seventy-five reals to the ducat.

To a Jew, who dwelt at the gate of the Jewry in Lisbon, or whom a Priest shall designate, the value of half a silver mark.

To the heirs of Luis Centurion Escoto, Genoese shopkeeper, thirty thousand reals of Portugal, of those which are worth 385 reals to the ducat, which equals seventy-five ducats, a little more or less.

To these same heirs and to the heirs of Paulo de Negro, Genoese, one hundred ducats or their value; half to go to the heirs of one, and half to the heirs of the other.

To Baptista Espíndola, or to his heirs, if he is dead, twenty ducats. This Baptista Espíndola is the son-in-law of the said Luis Centurion and was the son of Mr. Nicolao Espíndola of Locoli de Ronco, and apparently was living in Lisbon in the year 1482.

Which said memorandum and charge aforesaid, I, the Clerk, testify was written in the said Admiral's own handwriting, in testimony to which, I subscribed my name thereto. Pedro de Azcoytia.

DOCUMENT No. 5

EXPLANATORY MATTER RELATING TO THE BOOK OF PROPHECIES COMPOSED BY COLUMBUS

Most Christian and very exalted Princes, the reason which I have for the restitution of the Holy Sepulchre to the Holy Church militant, is the following:

Most exalted Sovereigns: At a very early age I entered upon the sea navigating, and I have continued doing so until to-day. The calling in itself inclines whoever follows it to desire to know the secrets of this world. Forty years are already passing which I have employed in this manner: I have traversed every region which up to the present time is navigated. I have held intercourse and conversation with learned men, ecclesiastical and secular, Latins and Greeks, Jews and Moors, and with many others of

other sects. The Lord was very propitious to this, my desire, and for it I was endowed by Him with an intelligent spirit: He made me very skilful in seamanship, He gave me a sufficient knowledge of astrology and also of geometry and arithmetic, and He gave me an ingenious mind and hands skilful in designing the sphere, and upon it the cities, rivers and mountains, islands and harbours, all in their proper situation.

During this time I have seen, and in seeing, have studied all writings, cosmography, histories, chronicles, and philosophy and those relating to other arts, by means of which our Lord made me understand with a palpable hand, that it was practicable to navigate from here to the Indies and inspired me with the will for the execution of this navigation. And with this fire, I came to your Highnesses. All those who learned of my enterprise denied it laughing and ridiculing it. Of all the sciences of which I have spoken above, none approved me, nor their authorities. In your Highnesses alone, faith and constancy remained. Who doubts that this light was from the Holy Spirit—as well as from myself—which with rays of marvellous clearness cheered you, most exalted and enlightened, with its Holy and Sacred Writing, with forty-four books of the Old Testament and four Evangels, with twenty-three Epistles of those blessed Apostles, encouraging me to persevere, and continually without ceasing a moment, that they *did* encourage me to press forward?

Our Lord very evidently wished to work a miracle in this voyage to the Indies, to console me and others in this other matter of the Holy Sepulchre. I spent seven years here in your Royal Court, disputing the matter with many persons of much authority and learned in all the arts: and finally they concluded that it was all a vain error, and with this conclusion they dismissed it. Then, it came about as told by Jesus Christ, our Redeemer, and as had been previously foretold by the mouths of His Holy Prophets, and so it must be believed that this other matter will come to pass. And in testimony of it, if the aforesaid is not enough, I bring the Sacred Evangel, in which He said that all would pass away, but not His marvellous Word, and in this Evangel He said that all necessary things which must be fulfilled, were written by Him and by the Prophets.

I said that I would give the reason which I have for the restitution of the Holy Sepulchre to the Holy Church. I say that I forsook all my navigation from an early age, and the discussions which I have had with so many people of so many sects in so many lands, and I forsook the many arts and writings of which I have spoken above. I hold only to the Holy and Sacred Writing, and to some prophetic authorities of some holy persons, who, through divine revelation, have told something of this. It might be that your Highnesses and all the others who may know me, and to whom this writing might be shown, either in secret or publicly would reprove me in divers manners, saying that I am not learned in letters and calling me a crazy sailor, a worldly man, etc. I answer in the words of St. Matthew, "O Lord, who wouldst keep secret so many things from the wise, and revealest them to the innocents." And St. Matthew says that

when our Lord entered Jerusalem, the children sang,—Hosannah, Son of David. The scribes in order to try Him, asked Him if He heard what they said: and He replied to them,—"Yes," saying:—"Dost thou not know that from the mouths of babes and innocents the truth is pronounced?" Or more at length, by the Apostles, who said such well-founded things, especially St. John: In the beginning was the Word and the Word was God, &c.—words so exalted from persons who never were learned in letters.

I say that the Holy Spirit works in Christians, Jews, Moors, and in all others of all sects, and not only in the wise but in the ignorant: for in my time I have seen a villager who gave a better account of the heaven and the stars and their courses than others who expended money in learning of them. And I say that not only does the Holy Spirit reveal the things of the future to rational creatures, but shows them to them by the signs of the heavens, by the air, by the beasts, when it pleases Him, as it was with the ox which spoke in Rome in the time of Julius Cæsar, and in many other manners, but very well-known to all the world, which it would be prolix to relate.

The Sacred Writing testifies in the Old Testament by the mouth of the Prophets and in the New Testament by our Redeemer, Jesus Christ, that this world is to come to an end. The signs of the time when this is to take place, St. Matthew tells and St. Mark and St. Luke: the Prophets also have abundantly predicted it.

St. Augustine says that the end of this world is to come in the seventh millenary of years from its creation. The sacred Theologians follow him, especially the Cardinal Pietro d'Aliaco in Word XI and in other places, as I will tell below. From the creation of the world, or from Adam until the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ there are 5343 years and 318 days, according to the account of the King Don Alonso which is considered the most certain. Pietro d'Aliaco, *Elucidario Astronomice Concordie cum Theologica & Hystorica Veritate* in Word X, adding to this 1501 incomplete years, makes in all 6845, incomplete years. According to this account, there are only lacking 155 years to complete the 7000, in which year I said above, according to the said authorities, the world must end.

Our Redeemer said that before the consummation of the world, all that was written by the Prophets will be fulfilled.

The Prophets, writing, spoke in divers manners. One of the future by the past, and the past by the future, and likewise of the present, and they said many things by comparison, others near to the truth, and others quite literally: and one, more than another, and one in a better manner, and another not as much. Isaiah is the one whom St. Jerome and St. Augustine praise most highly, and all the other learned men approve him and hold him in great reverence. Of Isaiah they say that he was not only a Prophet but an Evangelist. He concentrated all his efforts in writing of the future and calling all people to our holy Catholic faith. Many holy and learned men and sacred theologians wrote in regard to the prophecies and the other books of the Sacred Writing. They enlightened us greatly in

regard to that of which we were ignorant, although they disagree in regard to many things. There were some whose intelligence was not great.

I repeat again my protestation as to being called presumptuous and without science, and I continually allege the saying of St. Matthew, who said, "O Lord, who wouldst keep secret so many things from the wise, and revealest them to the innocents." And by this I answer, and by the proof of it which has been seen.

The greatest part of the prophecies and Sacred Writing is already finished. They say so and the Holy Church with a loud voice is saying it unceasingly and other testimony is not necessary. I will speak of one, because it relates to my case and it gives me rest and makes me content whenever I think of it.

I am a very grave sinner. The pity and mercy of our Lord have completely covered me always when I have called for them. I have found a very sweet consolation in concentrating all my faculties upon the contemplation of His marvellous aspect.

I have already said that neither reason nor mathematics nor maps of the world approved me in the execution of the affair of the Indies. Completely fulfilled were the sayings of Isaiah and this is what I desire to write here to fix it in the memories of your Highnesses, and that you may be rejoiced in regard to the other undertaking, as I shall say it about Jerusalem by the same authorities: in regard to which undertaking, if you have faith, you are very sure of victory.

Your Highnesses must remember the Evangels and the many promises which our Redeemer made us, and how much everything is expressed. St. Peter, when he sprang into the sea, walked upon it, so firm was his faith. Whoever has so much faith as a grain of seed, the mountains will obey him. Let whoever has faith ask and all will be given to him. Knock and they must open to us. No one should fear to undertake any enterprise in the name of our Saviour, it being just and done with a good intention for His sacred service. He succoured St. Catharine after He saw her proved. Let your Highnesses remember that with little money you undertook the enterprise of this Kingdom of Granada.

Our Lord has left the determination of everything to each one in his own free-will, although He admonishes many. He needs nothing which may be in the power of the people to give to Him. Oh, what a Lord, so full of goodness, who desires that people shall act, then takes it upon Himself! By day and by night and at all moments the people should give Him the most devout thanks.

I said above that much remained to fulfil the prophecies and I say that there are great things in the world. And I say that the sign is that our Lord hastens the fulfilment. The preaching of the Evangel in so many lands within so short a time now tells this to me.

The Abbé Joachim, the Calabrian, said that he who should rebuild the Sepulchre of Mt. Zion should come from Spain.

The Cardinal Pietro d'Aliaco wrote at length of the end of the sect of

Mahomet and of the coming of the Anti-Christ, in a treatise which he called *De Concordia Astronomie, Veritatis & Narrationis Historice*, in which he recites the sayings of many astronomers in regard to the ten revolutions of Saturn, and especially at the end of the said book in the nine last chapters.

DOCUMENT No. 6

WILL OF DIEGO COLUMBUS, SON OF CHRISTOPHER

Las Cuevas, March 16, 1509

In the name of God Amen.—Know all persons who shall see this testament, that I, *Don Diego Columbus, High Admiral and perpetual Viceroy and Governor of the islands of the Indies and of the mainland of Asia, discovered and to be discovered, and Captain-general of the Ocean-sea, son of Don Christopher Columbus*, first High Admiral and Viceroy, and of Doña *Philippa Moñiz, his wife*, deceased,—may God keep them; *being in the Monastery of Santa Maria de las Cuevas of the Carthusian Order, which is outside and near the most noble and loyal city of Seville:* and being of sound mind and body . . . declare and make known that I designate and appoint this to be my last will and testament, and the legacies and other matters which in it shall be contained, and that I do this absolutely and entirely for the salvation of my soul and to maintain peace among my heirs; and these are the legacies which I bequeath.

Clause I: First I commend my soul to God, my Lord.

Clause II: Item. I direct when death shall befall me, that my body be honourably deposited or interred wherever the body of the Admiral my lord and father—may he rest in glory—is deposited or interred, with its twelve tapers; and if God shall dispose of me in the Indies that it be deposited in San Francisco of the city of San Domingo; and while my body may be deposited there or elsewhere that there be given by my executors or heirs to the fathers of such Church or Monastery, fifteen thousand maravedis each year that they may pray for my soul and for the soul of my father, and to whom we are under obligations.

Clause III: Item. I direct that a thousand requiem masses shall immediately be said for my soul, and for the souls of my father and mother and ancestors, distributed in this manner; that one hundred be said in Las Cuevas of Seville, and one hundred in El Antigua and another one hundred in Guadaloupe, and one hundred in San Francisco of Seville and the other six hundred distributed to La Señora de los Remedios and among the Monasteries of the said city. And if God shall dispose of me in the Indies, I direct that of the total number of masses here stated and the thirty *tricenarios* which I shall name after this clause, three hundred masses and ten *tricenarios* shall be said in the aforesaid city of San Domingo, all distributed among San Francisco and other churches of the said city.

Clause IV: Item. I direct that thirty *tricenarios*, equally divided, be

said in the above named monasteries and chapel of La Antigua, or twenty, if, as stated, my death shall occur in the Indies.

Clause V: Item. I direct that in order to obtain indulgences and pardons, there be immediately given to the hospital of the same [La Antigua] one ducat, and another ducat to the hospital of Las Cuevas, another ducat to Cruzada de la Merced, and that the amount of forty ducats be divided by my executors among other hospitals and buildings, and in pious works, where they shall have pardons and indulgences, such as San Lázaro, etc., as shall appear best to them.

Clause VI: Item. I direct that from my estate, eight orphans (girls) shall be married with a dowry of twenty-five thousand maravedis each, and these orphans shall be such as my executors appoint and choose, who shall be poor and possess no dowry with which to marry.

Clause VII: Item. I direct that mourning shall not be worn for my death, neither shall honours be paid me, or other foolish expenses without benefit or necessity be incurred; because it is my will and command that all which would be expended in such human honours, be distributed in works of mercy, such as clothing the poor, feeding the hungry, and liberating the imprisoned, for which purpose I assign and direct and order that fifty thousand maravedis be immediately distributed.

Clause VIII: Item. I order that *Luis Fernandez de Soria*, Canon of the High Church of Seville, and father Don *Friar Gaspar Gorricio*, and Don *Bartholomew Columbus*, Adelantado of the Indies, my uncle, and *Don Diego Columbus*, my uncle, shall fulfil all which shall not have been fulfilled of the will of the Admiral, my lord and father—may he rest in glory—; all together if they shall be able and willing to act together: but if any one shall withdraw because of not wishing or not being able to act conveniently, I order that all that the others shall do, shall be valid and shall be equivalent to the same as though all were together: and it is my will and I authorise any one of these, my executors, whom I appoint for that purpose, to substitute another person such as he shall desire in case he is not able to attend to the matter himself.

Clause IX: Item. Inasmuch as the last will of the first Admiral, my lord and father, and mine, was and is that of all the revenue from the Admiralship of the Indies the tenth may be given to God, as contained in His testament and as I here declare, I order that the aforesaid father Don Friar Gaspar Gorricio, or whoever he shall order and appoint to act for the purpose, shall have power and commissions to collect and dispense the said tenth, as would appear by a letter and document signed with my name and as signed here, for all of which, by virtue of this I give him my full authority as I hold and possess it, provided the said letter and document should not appear; and I set it all aside for any purpose to which he or another person for him shall devote it, as if I myself collected and dispensed it.

Clause X: Item. And I direct that from the said alms of the said tenth, there be given by the said father Don Friar Gaspar, or by whoever has

such matter in charge, for the needs of the *Countess of Benanico*, my aunt, besides one hundred ducats which she has received, all that shall be required for the fulfilment of what I ordered given her by my cedula; and this remainder shall be paid in parts or together, at the will and convenience of the said father Don Friar Gaspar.

Clause XI: Item. I direct that until such time as I or my executors or heirs have the disposition and power to do what relates to the perpetual sepulchre of the Admiral, my lord and father—may God keep him—that from the said alms of the tenth there be given to the fathers of the *Monastery of Las Cuevas of Seville, where I ordered the said body deposited in the year* 1509, ten thousand maravedis each year, while it is deposited there, that they may pray for his soul, and to whom he is under obligations.

Clause XII: Item. I direct my executors and heirs to at once order a silver lamp made, chargeable to my estate, to weigh four marks, for our Lady of Monsenate, and that it shall be offered to her as alms, because of the great devotion and invocation which I have always had and have for this Lady.

Clause XIII: Item. I direct the aforesaid Don Gaspar Gorricio to immediately take two hundred ducats from my estate to pay certain debts, of which the Admiral, my lord, left an account; and to pay each one as contained therein, so that his soul and mine may be without burden and the creditors satisfied: but if the creditors shall not be found, he may dispose of the money as required by right and in good conscience.

Clause XIV: Item. I direct that all the servants of the Admiral, my father, and mine, who shall be found not to have been paid their full wages, and salaries and pensions, or part of them, shall be immediately satisfied and paid what shall be owing to them.

Clause XV: Item. And inasmuch as *Diego Mendez* must give account of a chain of gold which weighs and is worth twenty-three thousand maravedis, a little more or less; and further of a large pearl and of a ruby and of a diamond and of an emerald, set in gold, which cost seventy-five ducats, and besides, of eight ducats which I gave him: and of another ten ducats which *Agustin de Vivaldo* left him in my name in Toledo. I direct that in giving account of all this, there shall be paid to him all the maravedis which I owe him according to my note of hand.

Clause XVI: Item. Inasmuch as *Pedro de Arana* says that the Admiral my lord and father—may God keep him—owed him one hundred castellanos which he lent him in the Indies, I direct, if such shall be found true, that he shall be satisfied; but I order that first, the account shall be taken of all the items of his Majordomoship which Diego Mendez took from him in Burgos in the year 1506 and 1507: and likewise an account of all that he has since received and made good—what he shall owe and what he says is owed to him,—and that the accounts shall be satisfied and paid.

Clause XVII: Item. I direct that six thousand maravedis be paid to *Francisco Moscoso*, son of the Commander Moscoso, Commander of Portezuela, citizen of Jerez of Badajoz, or to his heirs, which six thousand maravedis I owe him.

Clause XVIII: Item. I direct that all the debts shall be paid which it shall appear evident that the Admiral, my lord and father, and I owe: especially those which I left with the reverend father aforesaid, Don Friar Gaspar, in a memorandum signed with my name.

Clause XIX: Item. I direct my heir, as soon as arrangements are made for it, to have a church built with its chapel in which masses may be said for my soul and the soul of my father and of my ancestors and successors, which church or Monastery, whichever it shall be, is to be entitled Santa Maria de la Concepcion, and is to be in the most convenient place that can and shall be found: and if it shall appear better that it be constructed within the boundaries of the city of San Domingo, it is very well: regarding which, see the clause in the last will of the Admiral, my lord and father, which speaks of building the said chapel; for this bequest and that of my father I wish to be understood as all one.

Clause XX: Item. I direct that there be given to Doña Maria, my wife, the total sum of maravedis which she brought as her dowry, and further I order that she be given two thousand ducats which I promised her and pledged as a marriage settlement when I married her: and if there shall be sons or daughters of hers and mine, and she shall not marry, I order that during all the time she lives, my heir shall give her three hundred thousand maravedis each year. Item I bequeath and grant and give to the said Doña Maria, my wife, all the jewels of gold and personal vestments which she has, except the cross of Don Enrique of Toledo, my uncle, which is of precious stones, with another jewel which I have. Likewise I give her the silver trappings of her saddle for her mule, with her *tablas* all of silver.

Clause XXI: Item, inasmuch as *Don Enrique, brother of the Duke of Alba, owes me five hundred and fifty ducats which I paid for him to certain merchants who had two of his jewels in pawn.* I order that whenever the said Don Enrique pays my heir the said five hundred and fifty ducats, that he shall be given the said two jewels: of which, the one which Doña Maria, my wife, has is a cross of gold with five diamonds, the one in the centre raised and four pearls: the other which I have, is a M . . . of gold with its crown which has eleven rubies and a diamond and seven pearls.

Clause XXII: Item, on account of the many good works and services which I have received from Don *Bartholomew Columbus*, my uncle, Adelantado of the Indies, I order that besides what is due him by the last will and testament of the Admiral, my father, there shall be given him from my revenues fifty thousand maravedis each year.

Clause XXIII: Item. I direct that there shall be given to *Don Diego, my uncle*, thirty thousand maravedis each year, besides what is due him by the clause of the testament of the Admiral, my lord and father.

Clause XXIV: Item. I direct that 20,000 maravedis shall be given as charity to Constanza Rosa, a resident of Burgos in the street of Tenebregosa: and if she is dead, that this amount shall be used for the marriage of a poor orphan, or shall be given for the redemption of captives. And inasmuch as it has been said that this said Constanza gave birth to a son or a

daughter belonging to me, I direct, if this shall be found to be the truth, that my heir shall receive such infant and shall order that it be brought up and provided for, in everything and with everything, in a manner suitable to my honour and rank. And in order to learn the truth of this matter, I advise my executors and my heir, that in consideration of the time at which I had relations with this woman and the time at which I left her, such infant should have been born in the month of June or July, 1508, as they will be able to learn from Garcia de Lama, a citizen of Burgos, in Santa Maria la Mayor.

Clause XXV: Item. I direct that 200 ducats shall be given by my executors or by my heir, to Doña Isabel Samba, who was the wife of Petisalazan, a resident of Bilboa or of Garnica, during the space of two years, for her necessities: and if she is dead they shall be used for the satisfaction of the legacies of this testament. And inasmuch as she gave birth to a son, I direct that when the suit which was brought against me unjustly and in defiance of the truth, is finished, such son shall be received by my heir and brought up and treated in a manner suitable to my honour and rank. Which son, as it appears, was born in the month of October, 1508. And as to the matter of the said 200 ducats, if the said suit is lost, they shall not be given, nor any part of them.

Clause XXVI: Also, I direct that there shall be given to my aunt *Brigulaga Moñiz*, through her agents, 20,000 maravedis each year while she lives, for her necessities, having deducted the 10,000 maravedis which I have been accustomed to give her.

Clause XXVII: Item. I direct that *ten thousand maravedis shall be given to Beatriz Enriquez each year, besides the ten thousand which the Admiral my father, ordered given to her:* so that there shall be paid her in all, twenty thousand maravedis each year that she shall live: and if from the year 1507 up to the present, they have not been given to her, I direct that this shall be fulfilled and all that is due shall be given her.

Clause XXVIII: Item. I direct that on account of the good works which I have received from *Doña Ana*, my niece, wife of the Jurist *Barahona*, thirty thousand maravedis shall be given to her or to her legitimate heirs, but if she shall die without a son or daughter to succeed her lawfully, I direct that this amount be distributed in pious works at the discretion of my executors or heir.

Clause XXIX: Item. I direct that forty thousand maravedis each be given to *Gerónimo de Agüero* and to *Fernando del Valdes*, my chamberlain: but if both or either of them be dead, this sum shall be used for the fulfilment of this, my testament.

Clause XXX: Item. I direct that fifty thousand maravedis shall be given to *Juan Ortiz*, in the Indies, because I sent him to Seville to marry his wife.

Clause XXXI: Item. I direct that twenty thousand maravedis each be given to *Francisco Manuel* and to *Peralta* my pages: and I order that ten thousand maravedis each be given to all my other pages.

Clause XXXII: Item. I direct that ten thousand maravedis be given

to *Garcia*, who was the running footman of the Admiral, my father; and that eight thousand maravedis be given to *Juan de los Angeles*, my running footman.

Clause XXXIII: Item. I direct that twenty thousand maravedis shall be given to each one of my executors, whom I appoint here in this, my testament, for their work: and I direct that all the costs which shall be incurred in thus fulfilling this, my testament, as well as the testament of the Admiral, my lord and father—may God keep him—shall be paid from my estate: and if it shall be necessary to retain any lawyer for counsel and aid, that he shall be retained and shall be given twenty thousand maravedis for his work.

Clause XXXIV: Item. If God shall dispose of me at a time when I might have a son, my legitimate successor and heir, or a daughter, my heiress, who might not be of age for the direction and management of my estate and household and property, it would be and is my will that in such case, Don Bartholomew Columbus, my uncle, and failing him, Don Diego Columbus, my uncle, should be and shall be the guardian and governor and representative of the said my son or daughter, until he or she shall be of age when such guardianship shall not be necessary: and now, at the present time, in anticipation of such time, should it occur, I supplicate their Highnesses, the King and Queen, our lords, to approve it and to grant me this favour.

Clause XXXV: Item. I direct my successor and legitimate heir or whoever shall succeed to the Majorat and my inheritance, and to whom it shall belong, to frequently read the last will of the Admiral, my lord and father,—may he rest in glory—and to be ever careful to render obedience to its mandates, and to fulfil all that is contained therein, in the same manner as I am obligated to do, and especially not to cause the diminishment of the said Majorat and to particularly observe everything relating to the service of its execution, of the King and of the Queen, our Lords, and the spreading of the Christian religion.

Clause XXXVI: And having fulfilled and discharged this, my testament, and the legacies and bequests contained therein, without deducting any fourth part whatever of which, I can more justly do, without depriving whoever I might finally name for my heir, I appoint and leave as my general heir, Don Bartholomew Columbus my uncle in the remainder of all my estates; and if the said Don Bartholomew Columbus, my uncle shall have died, I appoint for my heir Don Diego Columbus, my uncle: and if the said Don Diego, my uncle shall be deceased, I leave as my heir, the nearest relative of my lineage of the Columbus family: in case none shall be found, I leave as my heir the Church or Monastery, where shall be founded the perpetual sepulture of the body of the Admiral, my lord and father—may he rest in glory—and mine.

Constitution of Executors: And for the discharging and fulfilment of this, my said testament, and the legacies and other things contained therein, according to what is here written and directed, I leave and name as my executors in order that they may make the payments and fulfil the

bequests from my estate the aforesaid Canon, *Luis Fernandez de Soria*, and the father Don *Friar Gaspar Gorricio*, and the Adelantado of the Indies, Don Bartholomew Columbus and Don Diego Columbus, my uncles, to whom, the said my executors, I, by this letter and testamentary document, give and grant free and full and privilege in order that they may act all together or the greater number of them, if any one shall be lacking or shall not wish to serve, by themselves and by their own authority, without permission and mandate or authority from alcaldes or from justice nor from any other person whatever, and without restriction and without judgment, and without any penalty or calumny whatever: and if there shall be penalty or calumny, that all may be and shall be against my estate, and not against the said my executors nor against their estates. They can take possession and seize and sell and close out enough of my property to fulfil my will and to pay and fulfil my bequests: and they may pay and fulfil according to and in the manner which has been stated, and which the said my executors shall do for my soul, which God grant may be done for the good of theirs, when they shall need it and when they shall depart from this life: and I give power and privilege to each one of them that they may place another person in their place to fulfil this, my last will and testament: and in concluding I declare that this is my last and unalterable will and I again say and direct that this, my will, be valid and be fulfilled and regarded in everything for everything, and in every thing and every part of it as stated. And I revoke any letter or document whatever which would be contrary or shall appear to have been made before this one, which I declare and set forth as good and valid: in testimony of which I sign here with the impression of my seal, in the presence of the said father Don Friar Gaspar Gorricio and of the other Reverend fathers who here sign their names. *Done in the said Monastery of Las Cuevas, the 16th of March, in the year 1509.*

In Clause *XX* which speaks of the dowry of Doña Maria, my wife, I say as a further declaration, *inasmuch as the said amount of dowry is not received up to the present time*, that it is not to be paid to her without proving that it has been received and paid, *as is contained in the contract of Don Fernando, my father-in-law*, which I have received,—which contract I leave to the said father Don Gaspar.

And inasmuch as I have not designated a certain place for the perpetual sepulture of the body of the Admiral, my lord and father—may he rest in glory —nor for my own; I declare that my will would be and is that a most honourable sepulchre should be made in the chapel of the [*sic*] *Antigua of the High Church of Seville at the top of the postern which is in front of the sepulchre of Cardinal Mendoza:* and in case it cannot be made there, I direct my executors to choose the church and place which shall be most suitable for an honour and estate and welfare, that the said sepulchre may be built and made there, bestowing upon such church a perpetual income and endowment for that purpose.

(Archives of the Duke of Veragua at Madrid.)

SECOND WILL OF DIEGO COLUMBUS

San Domingo, May 2, 1523

(*Certificate of Deposit*)

In the noble city of *San Domingo*, by the port of the island of Española of the Indies in the Ocean-sea, Wednesday, at three o'clock in the afternoon, *on the second day of the month of May* in the year of the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ 1526, being in the houses which constituted the dwelling-place of the Illustrious and most magnificent Lord, *Don Diego Columbus*, who was *Admiral*, Viceroy and perpetual Governor in these regions for their Majesties—may he rest in glory—and there being present the most virtuous Señor, *Alonso de Valencia*, Alcalde in this said city for their Majesties, and in presence of me, *Esteban de la Rosa*, notary of their their Majesties, and Public Notary of this said city and in presence of the witnesses subscribed below, there appeared the Illustrious and most Magnificent Lady Doña *Mariade Toledo*, who was the wife of the said Lord Admiral, and said that inasmuch as the said Lord Admiral, her husband, before and at the time when he intended to leave this said city and island for the realms of Castile, made and drew up his last and final will and testament publicly closed and sealed, according to what is legally required in such a case; and inasmuch as it has now come to her knowledge, by letters which have been written her in regard to it and sent by this fleet which has just arrived from the said realms of Castile, as well as by being a public and well known fact that the said Lord Admiral has departed this present life, on account of whose end and decease, there rightfully belongs to her the guardianship, control, and administration of the persons and properties of Don *Luis Columbus* and Don *Christopher Columbus* and Don *Diego Columbus* and Doña *Philippa Columbus* and Doña *Maria Columbus* and Doña *Joanna Columbus* and Doña *Isabel Columbus*, legitimate children of the said Lord Admiral and herself: therefore she and the said named, as such guardian and administrator, or in such way, form, and manner as may best be permitted by law, made and caused presentation to be made of the said testament of the said Lord Admiral, her husband, and begged and petitioned the said Señor Alcalde to see and examine it: and that having seen and examined it he would direct that it be opened and published with the solemnity which is required in such case, and being thus opened and published, that he would order that it be sworn to, publicly and in such manner as to establish its legality to which he would interpose his authority and judicial decree, in order that it should be established as legal, in court or out of court, wherever it might be exhibited and presented, for which purpose and *enlo mal breve é seguro*, she said that she implored and entreated the service of the said Señor Alcalde.

Then the said Señor Alcalde having seen the said petition made to him by the said Lady Vicereine, took in his hands the said testament of the said Lord Admiral and looked at it and examined it and found it closed and sealed, not torn or cancelled or suspicious in any place and the act for

the same written outside and at the top, and signed with a signature which says the *Admiral and Viceroy* and with seven other signatures of witnesses, and signed with the notarial signet and sign of Fernando de Berrio, who was notary public of this said city; and having thus seen and examined it, for greater security he told the said Lady Vicereine to give him information in regard to the witnesses who were found present at the execution of the said testament and that, having obtained the said information he was prepared to do what was required in the matter. Then the said Lady Vicereine presented as a witness, *Juan de Villoria*, citizen and Alderman of the city of La Concepcion, who was present, whose oath the said Señor Alcalde took and received in legal form, and showed him the said will which he had in his hands and asked him if he had been present at the execution of the said will before the said Fernando de Berrio, and if the signature which was on the said closed testament which read *Juan de Villoria*, was his; the said Juan de Villoria said that he was present at the time that the said Lord Admiral executed the said testament before the said Fernando de Berrio and that he likewise signed the said closed testament with his name as witness, which signature he said he recognised and acknowledged, and this is the truth under charge of the oath which he took, and he signed it with his name, *Juan de Villoria.*

Then she presented as witness in the said cause, the licentiate, *Pedro Vazques de Niella*, whose oath the said Señor Alcalde took and received, before God and before Saint Mary in legal form, and showed him the said testament; he, having seen the closed testament, said that he saw it executed by the said Lord Admiral before the said Fernando de Berrio, notary, and that he likewise signed it as witness, which signature he recognised, and he said that he had heard it reported that the said Lord Admiral had departed this present life and that he died in the realms of Castile near the city of Toledo and this is the truth by the oath that he took, and he signed with his name, *the licentiate Pero Vazques.*

Then the said Lady Vicereine likewise presented as a witness *Fernando de Carbajal*, Alcalde mayor and citizen of this city, whose oath the said Señor Alcalde took and received, before God and Saint Mary and by the sign of the cross in legal form; and he showed him the said closed testament, and having sworn and seen the said testament he said that he likewise was present and saw and heard the said closed testament executed by the said Lord Admiral and Viceroy before the said Fernando de Berrio, who was notary public of this said city, which said Lord Admiral he saw sign with his name in the execution of the closed testament and that this witness likewise signed as witness, in the execution of the said testament, which signature he recognised; and that he had heard it reported most publicly and commonly that the said Lord Admiral departed this present life in the realms of Castile, near the city of Toledo and that on account of his end and decease he has seen and saw the shedding of tears and wearing of mourning and this is the truth by the oath which he took and he signed it with his name, *Fernando de Carbajal.*

Then the said Lady Vicereine likewise presented as a witness *Lope de Bardea*, citizen of this said city, whose oath the said Señor Alcalde took and received in legal form, and showed him the said closed testament which he had in his hands; and having seen the said testament he said that he was present at the execution of the said testament at the time the said Lord Admiral executed it before the said Fernando de Berrio notary, and he saw the said Lord Admiral sign it in executing it, and that this witness likewise signed it as witness, which signature he said that he recognised and acknowledged and that likewise he saw the writing of the execution of the said testament by the said Fernando de Berrio and that he saw him sign with his signature the extract from it, and that he had heard it reported most publicly and commonly since the day that the first vessel of the fleet which had just arrived from the realms of Castile entered this port, that the said Señor Admiral departed this present life in the realms of Castile, and that for his end and decease he had seen and heard the lamentations of the Lady Vicereine and her servants, and had seen and saw the wearing of mourning and this is the truth by the oath that he swore and he signed it with his name, *Lope de Bardea.*

Then likewise the Lady Vicereine presented as a witness, Garcia de Aguilar, who at the time was a citizen of this city, whose oath the said Señor Alcalde took and received in legal form, causing him to be shown the said testament of the said Lord Admiral closed and sealed, and he having seen it in the aforesaid manner said that he found himself present at the time when the said Lord Admiral and Viceroy executed it, the said testament before the said Fernando de Berrio, who was notary public of this said city and he saw the said Lord Admiral sign the extract and execution of the said testament, which said extract and execution he saw the said Fernando de Berrio, aforesaid notary public, write, and this witness signed the said testament as witness, which said signature he said that he recognised and acknowledged and that after the writing of the execution of the said testament by the said Fernando de Berrio, and after the witnesses whose signatures appeared had signed it, he saw the said Fernando de Berrio sign the execution of the said testament with his signature; and that he had heard it reported in this city, but a short time ago, that the said Lord Admiral had departed this present life and that he died in Castile near the city of Toledo, and he said that for his death he had seen and did see many persons wear mourning and this witness likewise wore it for the death of the said Lord Admiral, and this is the truth of what he knows, by the oath which he took, and he signed it with his name, *Garcia de Aguilar.*

Then the said Señor Alcalde having heard the said information given to him by the said Lady Vicereine, from which it appeared and is proved that the said Lord Admiral had made and executed the said testament before the said Fernando de Berrio and having seen how it appeared and was, and is, public and well known that the said Lord Admiral died and departed this present life in the said realms of Castile, declared that he directed and ordered me, the said notary, to open the said testament in

order that it should be known what the said Lord Admiral in it had directed and ordered, which said testament he declared that he ordered and directed should be recognised as valid, as the last and final will and testament of the said Lord Admiral, which testament, I, the said notary, opened by order of the said Señor Alcalde and caused to be read: and the testament being opened and read and seen by the said Señor Alcalde and it being seen that it appeared to be free from any defect and suspicion, the said Señor Alcalde said that he directed and ordered me, the said notary, to give to the said Lady Vicereine, who should have it and to whom it legally belonged, one copy, or two or more of the said testament authorised and signed by me, the said notary, in such manner as to make it legal to which said copy or copies, clause or clauses which should be given of the said testament, he said that he interposed and did interpose his authority and judicial decree that it might be valid and be recognised as legal wherever and in whatever place it might appear and be presented, the tenor of which said testament *de verbo ad verbum*, is as follows:

(TESTAMENT)

In the name of God amen.

Know all persons who shall see this testament, that I, Don *Diego Columbus*, Viceroy, Admiral and perpetual governor of these Indies and mainland, discovered and to be discovered, in the Ocean-sea, *legitimate son of Don Christopher Columbus, first Viceroy and Admiral and perpetual governor of these said Indies and mainland, and of Doña Philippa Moñiz, his legitimate wife, deceased*,—may God keep them—being in this city of San Domingo of this island of Española, in the houses of my dwelling-place which I possess therein, and being about to depart for Castile, sane and in my right mind and of my own free will, firmly and truly believing in the most Holy Trinity, the Father and Son and Holy Spirit, three persons and only one true God, as every faithful Christian must hold and believe, fearing death, which is a natural thing to every creature, ardently desiring to place my soul in the freest and straightest course for salvation,—therefore declare and make known that I make and draw up this testamentary letter and last will, and the legacies and things which shall be contained therein as much for the salvation of my soul as for the repose of my body and the peace of my heirs, are the following:

I. First, I commend my soul to my Lord God, who created it in His image and likeness and redeemed it by His precious blood, and I implore and beg in mercy the most happy and stainless Virgin, Saint Mary, our lady, His blessed mother, and of all the saints of the court of Heaven to be supplicants to my Lord Jesus Christ that He will pardon my soul and carry it with Him to His sacred glory and celestial kingdom. Amen.

II. Item. I direct that when it shall serve our Lord to take me from this present life, if I die in this island of Española that *my body be honourably deposited in this said city of San Domingo in the Monastery of Lord San Francisco*, and if I die in any other place without the city, that the said

deposit of my body be made in a House of the said Order, if there shall be one in the place where my death takes place, but if there is not any, it may be in the most devout Church of the said place, *and if my death shall happen in Seville, I direct that my body be deposited in the monastery of Las Cuevas, with the body of the Admiral, my Lord, which is there,* and I pray and entreat my heirs, for the love of God and that they may find some one to fulfil their last wills, to have in charge and take especial care when arrangements are made and the Monastery which I directed to be erected (of which mention will be made below) in order that I could be interred therein, is built,—to have carried and placed in it my body in the High Chapel of the Church and *to carry there likewise the body of the Admiral, my lord,*—may he rest in glory—which is deposited in the said Monastery of Las Cuevas in Seville, and *to likewise carry there the body of Doña Philippa Moñiz, his legitimate wife, my mother, which is in the Monastery of El Carmen in Lisbon in a Chapel which is called De la Piedad which belongs to the House of the Moñizes and likewise to take to the said Monastery the body of the Adelantado, Don Bartholomew Columbus, my uncle, which is deposited in the Monastery of the Lord San Francisco of this city of San Domingo:* and I charge and direct the heirs of the Admiral, my Lord, and mine, to take especial care of our perpetual sepulture since our Lord was pleased to show favour to the Admiral, my Lord, that he by his labours should be the first builder of these properties and the estate which we possess, although unworthy before our Lord, and all which in this case shall be done for the soul of the Admiral, my Lord and father, and mine, besides being for the service of our Lord, will be for the honour and glory of the heir who shall thus fulfil it, and if in anything I have not fulfilled what the Admiral, my Lord, ordered regarding his sepulchre, it has been on account of not having finished the settlement of the affairs in these regions in order to establish his sepulchre, in which our lord would be better served and his soul relieved on account of the benefits which would be derived thereby in this world; and as since the year 1512 some arrangements were commenced so as to be able to fulfil what was directed by the Admiral, my Lord in his testament regarding this matter and I have always done continuously each day what I have been able to do for the fulfilment of the aforesaid, in the way of continual sacrifices and prayers both in the said monastery where his body is buried and in other places in order to fulfil in some degree his will or command, which was,—that wherever he should be interred for ever there should be three Chaplaincies; and I charge and direct my successor in the Majorat to always have three continuous masses said until arrangements shall be made to build and finish the monastery where he is to be carried, where I desire to be buried: and I declare that the alms or revenue for these masses is not to be taken from the tenth part of the revenue from the Majorat, which the Admiral, my lord, directed should be distributed in pious works, but from the other property of the Majorat outside the tenth part: and therefore what I have done and directed to be done for his soul, I have not taken from the said tenth part, and thus it is declared in the

testament of the Admiral, my lord, and the masses are to be,—one for the most Holy Trinity and the other for the Conception of our Lady, and the other for the souls of his father and mother and wife and for mine, and for the souls of all the deceased, for such was his will.

III. Item. I direct that the ceremonies and honours of my burial shall be conducted with great humility so that what is done may be more for the honour and service of God than for that of the world, and I desire that there shall not be more than thirteen tapers and that mourning shall not be worn for my death, and that splendid and unprofitable expenses shall not be incurred: and I desire that on the day of my death and burial, an office for the dead shall be said for me over my body and sepulchre and a requiem mass sung in departing, with its responses over my body and sepulchre and that bread and wine and meat be offered as shall appear best to my executors: and that in this same manner a requiem mass shall be sung for me and the said offering be made from the day of my death and burial for the nine days following and at the end of that time the day shall be observed in my honour, and one year from the time of my death the anniversary shall be observed the same as the day of my burial and the expense of these things shall be what shall appear necessary to my executors.

IV. Item. I direct that as soon as I shall pass from this present life a thousand masses shall be said for my soul in this manner,—thirteen Passion masses and another thirteen of the Light and thirty Requiem masses which may all be divided and said on the day of my burial if it shall be possible, as many as possible to be said in the house where I shall be buried and the others in the monasteries and churches of the city where I die: and one hundred of the said thousand masses may be said for the souls in purgatory and all that remain to make up the thousand may be said for my soul and the soul of the Admiral, my lord and of my Lady, Doña Philippa Moñiz, and for the souls of Don Bartholomew Columbus and Don Diego Columbus, my uncles, which shall be distributed among these places, —in San Francisco, in San Domingo, in La Merced, monasteries of this city and island, in Santa Maria de las Cuevas, in San Francisco, in San Pablo, monasteries of the city of Seville, giving to each one of them the part and number of the masses which shall appear proper to my executors, in order that they may be said and fulfilled within three months from the time of my death: and I direct that for the said masses the customary alms shall be given in the places where they shall be said, doubling the alms for the Passion masses, and if my body shall be deposited in any church which shall not be one of those stated, I do not desire that any part of the said masses shall be given to such church in the aforesaid manner.

V. Item. I direct that fifty pesos of gold shall be given for the mediation of the Houses and Monasteries of Lord San Francisco, San Domingo, and La Merced of this city,—for the mediation of the said Monastery of San Francisco fifty, for the mediation of San Domingo twenty-five and for the mediation of La Merced; and I direct that forty ducats be given to the hospital of this city, for the sick and for their needs.

VI. Item. I direct the fraternity of the said hospital of this city, that besides the suffrage to which they are obligated on account of my being a member, they shall have four masses sung for me with their offices and responses for my soul. and for the soul of the Admiral, my Lord and the soul of Don Bartholomew Columbus, my uncle, and the souls of my other ancestors and I direct that ten pesos of gold shall be given to them as alms for the said suffrage.

VII. Item. I direct that twenty ducats be given to the Hospital of the Buboes of the city of Seville and ten ducats to the hospital of Mercy of the said city, which I direct shall be paid to them at once.

VIII. Item. I direct that within a year from my death six poor orphan girls shall be married who may not have anything with which to marry, and if it shall be possible to find daughters of noble families they shall be selected in preference to others: and if they shall be the daughters of servants or common people they shall be married from this, our household, in preference to others; for we are under greater obligations to common people: and I desire that there shall be given to each one of them for the said marriage, twenty-five thousand maravedis, and I direct my executors to pay especial attention to this matter and to fulfil it within the said time of one year, whether in Castile or in this country, by selecting such girls as shall seem best to them.

IX. I bequeath fifty thousand maravedis for the redemption of captives with which as many persons as can be redeemed with the said sum may be ransomed; and it is my will that they be women rather than men and if they cannot all be women, the men who might be ransomed shall be married rather than unmarried, which is to be fulfilled in a year from the time of my death; and I declare that it is my will, in this matter of this legacy for captives as well as in the one immediately before, regarding the orphan girls who are to be married, that the friars of Nuestra Señora de la Merced or La Cruzada or any other person shall not interfere to direct or manage any part of them, or in any other legacy which I shall make in this will, because of its being uncertain to which one the collection of the money would belong by any title or privilege; therefore I desire and it is my will that my executors shall carry out the things themselves which I direct, as if I named the persons and things by means of whom and which they are to be fulfilled; and for greater clearness I name and appoint the persons of the orphan girls who shall be married and the persons who are to be ransomed to be those whom my executors shall select and name and appoint, whom I appoint from this present time, especially for that time and from that time for the present time.

X. Item. I direct that all the Indians who shall be alive at the time of my death in any place where I may have them shall be clothed in such a way that none of them may remain without clothing of shirts and coarse trousers and the women of skirts and shirts of *presilla* and of *angeo* as shall seem best to my executors; and for all those who shall be dead I direct that an anniversary shall be observed, saying their office for the

dead and singing their Requiem mass, and that on such anniversary bread and wine and wax shall be offered, which offering may be in such quantity as shall appear best to my executors and according to what is customary in similar ceremonies.

XI. Item. I direct my executors to immediately take three hundred ducats from my estate and to pay with them certain debts of which the Admiral, my lord, left an account in a memorandum of his, as follows:

List of certain persons to whom I desire that there be given from my estate what is contained in this memorandum, without anything being deducted from it and it must be given in such a manner that they may not know who directed that it be given them.

First, *to the heirs of Gueronimo del Puerto, father of Benito del Puerto,* chancellor in Genoa, twenty ducats or its value.

To Antonio, tobacco [?] merchant, a Genoese, who customarily lived in Lisbon, two thousand five hundred Portuguese reales, which are a little more than seven ducats, at the rate of 385 reales to the ducat.

To an Indian who dwelt at the gate of the Jewry in Lisbon, or to whoever shall send a priest, the value of half a silver mark.

To the heirs of *Luis Centurion* Isconto [*sic pro* Scoto], Genoese merchant, thirty thousand Portuguese *Reays*, of which a ducat is worth 385 *Reays*, which are 75 ducats, a little more or less.

To those same *heirs of Paulo de Negron* [*sic pro* Negro], Genoese, five ducats or their value,—half must be given to the heirs of one and half to the heirs of the other.

To Batista Espíndola [*sic pro* Spinola] or to his heirs if he is dead, twenty ducats; this Batista Espíndola is son-in-law of the aforesaid Luis Centurion, who was the son of *micer Nicolas Espíndola* of the *polí de romo* [*sic pro* de Lucoli de Ronco] and by indications he was staying in Lisbon in the year 1482.

Which said memorandum I desire shall be fulfilled and paid according to what is contained therein, so that his soul and mine shall be without burden, and if such creditors cannot be given or sent to their heirs and if there shall be delay or the said persons cannot easily be found in any way, as soon as I die the said three hundred ducats shall be set aside and deposited with an honest and creditable person, who shall present a favourable appearance to my executors, in order that by means of this person this may be fulfilled as quickly as possible.

XII. Item. I bequeath to the customary pious works, to each one of them, whatever is customary in other testaments, and by this clause I set it aside from all my estates.

XIII. Item. I declare that inasmuch as the Admiral, Don Christopher Columbus, my lord,—may he be in glory—in his will made and drew up two clauses, and in one of them in question he directed that from the revenues of the said Majorat there should be taken the tenth part for relatives and poor, needy persons and pious works, and, in the other clause he directed that when there should be in this estate and Majorat a sufficient

revenue for the purpose, there should be built and erected a Chapel where three masses should be said each day, in the honour and reverence of the Holy Trinity: and he indicated that his will was that if possible it should be on this island of Española and even making it appear that he desired it to be in the city of La Concepcion, where he had commenced it: and I, desiring to fulfil as much as possible what is contained in the said testament, since he, through such labours, risk, and danger to his person, and debts and expenditure acquired this estate and God willed to show and reveal to him these regions—and up to the present time I have fulfilled what I have been able in doing good for his soul according to the revenue I have had, but as I have not entirely fulfilled it nor built the said Chapel and established the chaplaincies and perpetual sepulchre, because of the many needs and expenses which I have met with and the journeys from Spain and law-suits and because of the small opportunity which I have had, I have not been able to fulfil it: I direct if the time shall come to fulfil it and if I shall die on this voyage, and God shall will to dispose of me now or at whatever time it may be, considering that the *said Admiral, my lord, was always devoted to the order of the beneficent Saint, Lord San Francisco, and died wearing his habit, and likewise, especially charged that his body should be buried on this island*, since he could not select a more acceptable sepulchre, than in these regions which God willed to miraculously make known to him to discover and acquire: and as in the said city of La Concepcion there has been a diminution of the Indians, by reason of which and of many other causes it results and takes place each day that it is depopulated and diminished and even there is no certainty that it can endure for a long time, and the one which it can be believed will endure, and be more enduring and noble and better populated and the principal place in these regions is this city of San Domingo: in order to fulfil the said clauses for the honour and service of God I have determined and *it is my intention to build and erect a monastery for nuns in this city, which I wish to be of the said Order of the Lord San Francisco*, and of his religious and devout Santa Clara, in *which monastery in the High Chapel of the High Church belonging to it, may be the burial place and sepulchre of the Admiral, my lord, and my own, and to the said Chapel may be carried his body, which is deposited in the Monastery of Las Cuevas of Seville and there may be carried to the same sepulchre the body of Doña Philippa Moñiz, my lady, his wife,—may she rest in glory—which is in Lisbon in the Monastery of El Carmen, in a chapel belonging to her family which is called De la Piedad, and there may be likewise carried there the body of the Adelantado, Don Bartholomew Columbus, my uncle, which is deposited in the Monastery of San Francisco in this city and my body may be carried and placed in the said sepulchre* from wherever it shall be buried and deposited, which monastery, and the Church and Chapel belonging to it, I designate for the interment of the said my parents and mine and of my successors and descendants, for the building and sustaining of which monastery the tenth part of the Majorat may be expended because in spending it there the things may be fulfilled, for the Admiral,

my lord, in his will stated that it was for relations and needy persons and pious works. *I direct that this monastery be erected and located at the foot of the hill which was for Santa Barbola above the river on the side of San Francisco* in eight plots which I have there designated for the said house, in which said site I desire and it is my will that a habitation and house shall be erected for fifty nuns, twenty-five of whom shall be received and perpetually protected and maintained in it for ever after by the nomination and selection of the successor of this house and estate and Majorat. These nuns are to be maintained from the said tenth part which the Admiral my lord, designated, and which all the successors of this house are obligated to distribute in the aforesaid manner, and the rest which I shall leave for the said Monastery. I desire and it is my will, conforming in some degree with that of the Admiral, my lord, that these nuns should be needy persons, if possible my relatives if they can be found or relatives of my descendants whom I would prefer to any others whatever, and in default of these, that they be daughters of servants of the house, and not finding either that they be daughters of noble families if they can be found who are in need as has been stated; and not finding them that they be of another station, according as they shall be selected and appointed by the successor in this, my house and Majorat; provided that none of the persons who may be selected to enter the said religion and house shall be a Jewish proselyte; and that none may be selected or credited that he may be diligently examined as to whether he and they are or not: and for the aid of the edifice and maintenance of the said house and its nuns, I direct that as soon as God shall take me from this present life, my executors shall set aside two hundred head of cows from those which I have in *yguano* which I desire and direct shall be given from my estate to the said house and monastery, in order that they may be continually maintained if it shall be possible and their increase may profit the house and be the property and possession of the said Monastery; and in the same manner I direct that a thousand head of ewes shall be set aside and given and their increase, all of which while the nuns shall not receive it, may be spent in the building of the said Monastery, which said cows and ewes I declare that I give as alms to the said house and for the satisfaction and discharge of what I have not entirely paid of the tenth of the said Majorat which the said Admiral, my lord, left established for pious works; and the other nuns who shall be received in the said monastery may be at the discretion of the said successor in the Majorat and may enter with their dowries for maintenance as shall appear best to the said my successor in the Majorat and to whoever shall be the Abbess of the said Monastery, and I direct that in the High Chapel of the said Monastery, where the said burial place is designated, the said three masses which the Admiral, my lord, ordered may be said, and with the said Chapel there may be fulfilled the said clause of his testament; and I direct that if a Bull or dispensation shall be necessary for the aforesaid or for any thing or part of it, that the said Bull and licence be brought from the supreme Pontiff and paid for from my property, in order to erect and build the said

Monastery, as has been stated. Moreover, I direct that a continual mass for my soul shall be said in the said Monastery, for which purpose I direct that one hundred pesos of income shall be purchased for the chaplain or priest who shall say them, and for their purchase I direct my executors to take from my estate the amount of golden pesos which shall suffice for the purpose, with which the said income may be purchased, and I desire and it is my will that during the time when the said Monastery is being finished, the said continual mass may be said for me from the day of my decease, in the church where my body shall be until it shall be taken to the said Monastery and chapel and there may be place and disposition for the said mass being said therein. This said Chaplaincy with the other three may be provided and presented by the successor in the Majorat of this house, and may be served by the persons whom he shall select and appoint: and I charge it upon his conscience to try to select them and to select those who shall be of good life and character, fearful of God and with a good conscience and the most learned that he can find: and I declare three things in regard to the Chaplaincy which I institute, the first, that by it I intend to fulfil the clause of the Admiral, my lord, in which he directed that when the wealth of the Majorat shall be sufficient the chapel which he directed to be built may be increased in devotions and parts; second, that I establish it for my soul and the soul of the Admiral, my lord, and of the Adelantado, Don Bartholomew Columbus, my uncle, and after them, for all the faithful departed: third, I say that inasmuch as I am devoted to the Passion mass, I desire and it is my will that the mass shall be said every Friday in the said chapel of the Passion when there shall be no special feast to prevent it, and the other days it may be said in La Cruz, except Easter days and Feast days to be kept and special days, on which days the said mass shall be the one belonging to the offices which are being observed.

XIV. Item. I direct my executors and my successor in my Majorat, that while arrangements are being made to finish the said Monastery and to take up and carry to it the body of the Admiral, my lord, from the said Monastery of Las Cuevas of Seville, where it is, that of the said tenth part of the revenue from the said Majorat which is to be expended in pious works and for the poor, there shall be given to the Convent and monks of the said Monastery of Las Cuevas, ten thousand maravedis each year while the said body shall remain there until arrangements are made to take it away, as has been said, that said monks may take care to pray to God for his soul and the souls of the others for I charge them to do so: which said ten thousand maravedis I have continuously given and paid to them each year since the said body has been there.

XV. Item. Inasmuch as the Admiral, my lord, left me a charge regarding Beatriz Enriquez, who was near to him on account of certain obligations which he was under toward her and directed that I should give her ten thousand maravedis each year, which I have fulfilled, and as I believe that this was not paid her during some years of her life, I direct that the amount which shall appear not to have been paid her during her life shall

be found out and that it shall be paid to her heirs, for I believe that payment of the said ten thousand maravedis was not made for three or four years before she died, and I do not exactly remember.

XVI. Item. I direct that if at the time of my death, the dowry which was to be given me with the Vicereine, Doña Maria de Toledo, my wife, which up to the day of the date of this, my testament, has not been paid to me nor have I received it,—shall have been received, it shall be returned to her intact and besides the dowry there shall be given her two thousand ducats in gold which I settled upon her at her marriage, all of which shall immediately be paid from my estate, and further I bequeath her and it is my will and desire that she shall have, besides the aforesaid, all the jewels of gold, of silver, percious stones and pearls and articles of personal attire which I have given her, both for state occasions and for ordinary wear which I donate to her from the present time and direct that they be delivered and left to her freely without any hindrance or restraint to her whatever.

XVII. Item. I direct and require Don Luis Columbus, my son, and the successor of this house to read frequently the testament of the Admiral, my lord, and my own, and to take care to fulfil what is contained in them, particularly in regard to the special obligations, which are, not to diminish the said Majorat in anything and to continually and conscientiously pay the said tenth part which the said Admiral, my lord, directed should be distributed in pious works, and render service in everything they can and labour for the spreading of the Christian Religion, in everything relating to the service of his Majesty and of his successors, devoting to this purpose his person and estate as a good and loyal vassal.

XVIII. Item. I direct that he shall protect, aid, and keep together my children and relatives and honour and assist them with whatever God shall give him, since there is greater reason to do it for them than for any other stranger, especially as they are few in number and it is right that both should be aided and protected.

XIX. Item. I say and declare that all the original privileges of the Majorat, and many other documents and grants relating to it, and the will of the Admiral, my lord, and the contract of dowry which the Commander, my lord, bestowed upon me and the contract of the marriage settlement which I allowed the Vicereine are all in the Monastery of Las Cuevas of Seville in possession of the prior and convent of the said house.

XX. Item. I bequeath to Don Luis Columbus, my eldest son and his successor in the Majorat the share which I possess in the buildings of my dwelling place with all the plots of land belonging to it which are in this city, in which I live, and I cede and transfer to him the right which I possess to this share of everything, which, as they are necessary to the successor in the said Majorat, I direct shall always be vested and remain in the person of whoever succeeds therein, and that the said Don Luis or any other successor or heir of this estate cannot alienate, barter, exchange, donate, or transfer them in any manner whatever, but that whoever shall

succeed in the estate shall always succeed to these rights. If it is necessary I adjudge them to the said Don Luis, my heir in the said Majorat, and direct that he shall have them and hold them for himself and for his successors in the said Majorat, and I entreat and beg, as a favour, of the Vicereine, Doña Maria de Toledo, that she may think it best to leave the interest which she has in them or shall appear to have or which belongs to her, after her days, to the said Don Luis, or to the heir to this house with the same charge and restriction under which I leave mine to him: and I declare that the interest which I give him in the said buildings must not be counted nor may it be counted in his portion. Their value, which I desire to be estimated and I estimate at three thousand ducats, shall be deducted from the melioration of it which I make below, which interest in the said buildings I intend to give as an extra portion to the said Don Luis Columbus, my son for himself and for all the descendants in the said Majorat, to which Majorat I entail and join them, as has been said.

XXI. Item. I say that inasmuch as according to the agreement and prohibitions and the privileges of the Majorat of this house, there belongs and is due to the successor therein, the eighth part of all the revenues and profits which may be and shall be received in these regions, and as for a long time the Admiral, my lord, or I have never received it, nor has the said eighth part been given or paid to us, which the Admiral, my lord, likewise declares in his testament, I entreat and charge my executors and I direct my heirs to most effectually solicit and supplicate with great diligence, the Emperor, our Lord, in regard to it, begging justice from him and charging it upon his conscience in such ways and manners as shall be possible, in order that he may direct that there shall be paid to me the said eighth part of everything which may be received and obtained in these Indies, for it is very justly owing to me, and I direct that everything which shall be derived and received from this shall be divided among my heirs in equal parts in the manner and form which I have instituted for them as just, by means of which each one may have his legitimate part and extra portion in the same manner, and as I shall designate and appoint in the other property.

Moreover, I say that likewise, according to the said, my privileges and the declarations of them, there is due me the tenth part of all the gold, pearls, precious stones, and any other things whatever which shall be acquired and received both in the islands and on the mainland, as shown by the said privileges, and of everything which may be received on the mainland and Yucatan and the Almoxarifazgos, and nothing whatever has ever been paid to me, by reason of which all is owing to me. Therefore I entreat and charge my executors and successors to procure and solicit the recovery of it from the Emperor, our Lord: and I direct that what shall be received from it shall be divided among my heirs in the order and manner which I have declared in the paragraph before this one.

XXII. Item. I declare that between Don Ferdinand Columbus, my brother, and me, there were certain differences on account of a certain

legacy which the Admiral, my lord, had left him and on account of the houses which he said belonged to him by his will in regard to which we agreed so that I should give him each year two hundred thousand maravedis, of which there is a document and agreement which will be found among my papers, and it is therefore my intention to fulfil and observe it during my life; but I declare that after my death I do not desire to leave this charge to my successor, for I rendered him [Ferdinand] due consideration because he was my brother and on account of the great love which I always felt for him; but as the revenues from the Majorat are not as large as they were at the time of the said contract and as they were expected to be and it would be difficult for my successor to pay them, I desire that the said document may be examined and I say and declare that I consider it well that it be cancelled and withdrawn and that my successor may not be obliged to fulfil it as I fulfilled it, which I say and declare as well as I am able.

XXIII. Item. I direct that from the part of my property which can be realised quickest there shall be paid all the debts, for services as well as for any other purpose, which I leave declared in this, my testament, and as I, at the present time do not remember any more than those which will be declared below and are contained in this testament, I direct that all the others which it shall be shown by my books or by any signatures or by legal proof that I owe and am under obligation for, to servants of the Admiral, my lord, and my own as well as to any other persons whatsoever of whatever station they may be, shall be paid; and regarding those which shall not be shown by documents or legal proof, I direct that if any persons shall come to beg payment of debts which I owe them they shall be believed upon their oath if the amount is not more than three pesos of gold.

XXIV. Item. I declare and say that Don Diego Columbus, my uncle, died in Seville in the year 1513 [*sic pro quince*] I do not remember in what month, and at the time of his end and decease he made his last and final will, in which he established as his general heir, Doña Maria Columbus, my daughter, and named me as tutor and guardian of the said, my daughter, and I arrived in Seville from these regions in the month of April of the aforesaid year 1513, in which said month in the said city there was given and delivered to me from his estate, as such tutor and guardian, two thousand ducats, and a mule which at the time had cost him twenty-five thousand maravedis, all of which I received in the aforesaid capacity, in the name of the said Doña Maria Columbus my daughter, besides which the Vicereine Doña Maria de Toledo my wife, received on account of the said inheritance in the name of the said my daughter, in this island three hundred pesos of pure gold, one hundred of which he directed should be given to a son of Barbola, my servant, so that I have received and collected as such tutor and guardian of the said, my daughter, from the said inheritance, the said two thousand ducats and twenty-five thousand maravedis in Castile and two hundred castellanos on this island, all of which I owe and am under

obligation for to the said my daughter, and I direct that it shall at once be paid from my estate: and as I, in the administration and increase of the said property was not as diligent as I should have been in capacity of tutor for the satisfaction of my conscience, I direct and it is my will for the amount of revenue which could be purchased in Castile with the two thousand ducats and twenty-five thousand maravedis, at the time when I received them, there shall be given her the interest which should be received, according to what shall be decided by my executors, taking into account the amount of revenue which could be purchased in Seville, where I received the sums in the aforesaid year, which said interest shall be paid, reckoning from the day when I received the said money up to two months after this, my testament, may be opened and published: and regarding the two hundred pesos which I received in this island and collected there shall be given and paid to her what the said, my executors shall think right, taking into account what could be brought with them here at the time, which would be useful to the said, my daughter. I direct that this be given and paid to the said, my daughter, in the aforesaid manner without law-suit, reversion, or any opposition whatever, for I admit that I owe the sum to her and that they belong to the said Doña Maria Columbus, my daughter; and if, by chance, at the time when this, my testament, shall be opened, the said Doña Maria Columbus, my daughter, or whoever shall have her property in charge, shall not be in the place where it is opened, I direct that the said interests may run and be paid in the aforesaid manner, for two months after she or the person who shall have charge of her property shall learn of it and of this legacy and clause and declarations which I make here, unless it shall be paid to her sooner.

XXV. Item. In the same manner, I direct that the said one hundred pesos of gold of principal with the interest, shall be paid to the said son of Barbola, inasmuch as the Vicereine collected them and spent them for necessary things.

XXVI. Item. Inasmuch as the Admiral, my lord, left me a command, as an obligation, that I, in person should each month take account of the expense of my household and sign it with my name, because by doing the contrary many times the servants would lose and the estate, and enmities would be created, and as this command is so just I have always thus fulfilled and observed it, and I likewise direct that my successor in the Majorat shall observe it and obey it in order that by doing it and observing it great good and profit may be obtained, and the command of the Admiral, my lord,—may he rest in glory—shall be fulfilled.

The maravedis and debts which at the present time I remember that I owe in Castile are the following: To Nicolas de Guinaldi, Genoese merchant, who resides at the Court of the Emperor, our lord, four hundred and twenty-six thousand and four hundred and twenty maravedis.

XXVII. It will be shown by a cedula or document executed by me that I owe the aforesaid fifty thousand maravedis each year during his life, all of which will appear therein. Of this amount he has not received

any payment whatever up to the day of the date of this, my testament, and I direct that it shall be paid to him.

To Pedro de Medina two hundred thousand maravedis.

To Nebreda one hundred and eighty-seven thousand five hundred maravedis.

To Luis de Soria, canon, deceased, or to his heirs, one hundred and sixty thousand six hundred and forty maravedis.

To the Burpues (?) five hundred and thirty thousand four hundred and sixty maravedis.

To the Jurist, Antonio Bernal, eighty-nine thousand six hundred and forty maravedis.

It will be found that all the aforesaid reside in Seville.

The pesos of gold which I remember that I owe on this island are the following:

To Adrian de Bibaldo and Tomas de Fornel. To Gaspar Centurion one thousand ducats which it happened that he paid for me. To Melchor Centurion.

To Sancho de Urritia one thousand pesos of gold of Yucatan which he loaned me, as will be shown by a note which he has signed with my name.

To Fernando de Berrio six hundred pesos of gold which he loaned me, which will be shown by a note which he has signed with my name.

To the Treasurer Miguel de Pasamonte seven hundred pesos of gold, a little more or less, which will be shown by the cedulas or notes which he has signed with my name, to which I refer.

To the Ginobeses engaged in the slave trade two thousand five hundred arrobas of sugar for fifty negroes who may be received from them up to the date of this testament.

Item. Further to Juan de la Peña one hundred pesos of gold which I promised to give him for a jewel which he had and gave to Doña Maria, my daughter.

Item. Five hundred pesos of gold, a little more or less, which I remember that I owe on account of the tenth which I am obliged to deduct from my revenues, which the Admiral, my lord, left directions should be deducted for distribution in the service of our Lord, which may be regarded as borrowed to meet some necessities which we have been under: which pesos of gold are to be restored and paid so that by their means there may be effected and fulfilled what I leave ordered in this my testament regarding the erection of the monastery or as shall be decided by the lawyer or lawyers with whom my executors shall take counsel that it may be fulfilled for the lightening of my conscience, and regarding it see the clause of the testament of the Admiral, my lord, which speaks of the said tenth: and I direct that this sum be paid intact without the deduction of anything whatever, for the clause above regarding the institution of the monastery in which I say that the cows and ewes which I bequeathed for it I intend to be also for the satisfaction of what I have failed to pay, stated that on account of that, I do not desire that any legacy of this testament be de-

creased or unpaid. And as to the debts declared above which I say that I owe in Castile, I say that I am not certain if they are owed, but rather I believe that they are all paid or the greater part of them because since contracting the said debts and coming to this island, I have sent on different times and occasions, many sums in gold, pearls, and sugar to pay them, and the said creditors have there received them. This present year on the last vessels which left here before the date of this testament, which was in the month of April last, I sent for their payment a good quantity of pearls and sugar and hides, directed to Fernando Fere, a Florentine merchant in the city of Seville, that he might sell them and with the proceeds and with another nine hundred thousand maravedis, which he had to collect for me from Francisco del Alamo, for what remained due me from the sale of the town of La Palma and surroundings, he should pay and fulfil the said debts; and as some changes have taken place in regard to the above as well as the other debts concerning all of which I cannot be sure, I direct that an account shall be taken with the said creditors, and what shall appear to be justly owing them, shall be paid them without delay or lawsuit.

The debts which are owing me which I remember, are the following:

First, the Emperor, our Lord and the King, Don Ferdinand and Doña Isabel of glorious memory, owe me all the eighth which may belong to me in these regions on account of which they have not paid anything whatever to the Admiral, my lord, or to me: and besides there is due me the tenth from the mainland and from Yucatan, which is likewise mine, and belongs to me as shown by my privileges and these are to be paid.

Item, the Emperor, our Lord, owes me ten thousand new ducats which I loaned him in moneys at the city of Coruña, when he went to Flanders, as will be shown by a cedula signed with his name which is in the possession of the Vicereine, my wife.

Item, nine hundred pesos of gold which his Highness owes me for the ewes which he took from the Adelantado, my uncle—may he rest in glory—because nine years ago sentence was pronounced by him in order that they should be paid for.

Item, five hundred and fifty ducats which the Marquis of Villa Franca owes me, the son of the Duke of Alba, the note for which is in possession of Garcia de Lerma, and I believe that they are already paid according to what he wrote me.

Item, eighty ducats which the Commander-in-chief of Alcantara, son of the Duke of Alba, owes me, the note for which is in possession of Garcia de Lerma for collection.

Item, three hundred pesos of gold which is owing me by Miguel Dominguez and his heirs on the island of San Juan, as the heir of the Adelantado, my uncle—may he rest in glory—to whom he owed them. The documents relating to this are in possession of Francisco Manuel Dolando, on the said island, who has them in charge for collection.

Item, the King owes me one thousand nine hundred pesos of gold, a

little more or less, according to the auditing of accounts to find what may be due me from my revenues, which was done at his command by his officials of this island of Española with me: this auditing was done in the year 1521, and I have not received anything whatever on account of it up to the time of the closing of the said accounts in the books of the accountant of this Island.

Item. The Commander, my lord, owes me a million of the dowry of the Vicereine, my wife, in the half of the third and fifth of melioration of the property of Doña Maria de Rojas, my lady, her mother, which was given her in excess and further she is to have her portions, the documents regarding which are in Las Cuevas of Seville, with others of mine.

Item, the half must be collected from the food of the Island of La Mona, which was done with all the contraband goods there were on the island when the Admiral, my uncle, died, to whom the said island belonged at that time; and I as his heir agreed with the Treasurer Miguel de Pasamonte and the Factor Juan de Ampies and the accountant Gil Garcia, when they took the said island for his Highness, that they should make the food and contraband stuff which there was and will be upon it, half mine and the King should take half, and the other half should be sowed, by means of which there was a great quantity of food, and up to the present nothing whatever has been given me: and I do not now remember other debts. Let them be collected if they are found to be owing to me.

XXV.[1] Item. I declare that the property I possess, personal as well as landed, will be shown by inventories which are filed in this testament and signed with my name, to which I refer.

And to pay and fulfil this, my testament and the legacies and obsequies and clauses contained therein, I appoint and institute for my executors the Vicereine *Doña Maria de Toledo*, my wife, and *Juan de Villoria*, citizen of La Vega, and *Friar Domingo de Betanzos*, Religioso of the Order of Lord Santo Domingo, to whom and to each one of whom jointly and each one by himself, *insolidum*, I give and grant my entire and complete power; free and full and sufficient that they may enter into possession of my property and take the best and least encumbered of it without permission or authority from judge, or permission from any other persons,—as large a quantity as shall be necessary for the fulfilment of this my testament,—and cause it to be sold or sell it at public auction or otherwise, as shall be seen to be best by them, and fulfil and pay everything and for everything entirely as provided for in this, my testament, which power I give and grant with the incidences and trusts pertaining to and belonging to it, in the best manner possible and permitted by law.

XXVI. And having fulfilled this said, my testament and everything provided and contained therein, I direct that what shall remain of the fifth of my estate after the things and legacies which must be deducted from it shall be provided for shall belong to and be vested in *Don Christopher Columbus, my natural son, who is in Castile and who is now fifteen*

[1] Several paragraphs apparently have the same number.

years of age, which fifth of my estate I bequeath him for his provision and support, which I direct shall be given him without delay or recourse and without any delay or hindrance whatever being caused him, for it is my will that he shall have it and possess it for himself and enjoy it as his own possession, and shall have and dispose of what he shall thus receive from the said fifth of my estate.

XXVII. Moreover, for the remainder of my property I declare as my legitimate children and heirs and those of the Vicereine, Doña Maria de Toledo, my legitimate wife,—*Don Luis Columbus, Don Christopher Columbus, Doña Philippa Columbus, Doña Maria Columbus, Doña Joanna, Doña Isabella, and the child to which the Vicereine has not yet given birth*, who I direct shall have and inherit my property in the following manner.

That is to say: *Don Luis Columbus, who is my oldest legitimate son*, shall have and possess, and I declare that there shall belong to him the Majorat and estate belonging to this house, with all the pre-eminencies and dignities, jurisdictions, and rights and revenues belonging to the said Majorat, according to and as contained in the capitulations and contracts and privileges which the Admiral, my lord, left regarding it. He shall enjoy, hold, and administer this estate as contained in the said privileges, contracts, and articles, and as the Admiral, my lord, left established.

XXVIII. I give to *Don Christopher Columbus, my legitimate son*, over and above his lawful portion, a third of all my property, which third I desire that he shall have and hold for himself, and I direct that he shall have and possess the amount and value of this third in *a sugar plantation belonging to me which is called Nuestra Señora de Monte Alegre*, which is on the boundary of this city, appraising the value of the third and the value of the plantation in order that he may have the amount of the said third in the said plantation as stated: and I give him this portion over and above his lawful share, with the charge and condition that he cannot sell or transfer or donate or barter or exchange or alter it in any manner, and if he actually makes the said transfer or sale or donation or exchange, it shall be void in itself, and by the same act my other sons and daughters may have it and shall have and inherit it in equal parts; and if our Lord shall will to dispose of him and take him from this present life before he has a legitimate son or daughter, I direct that the child to which the Vicereine, my wife, has not yet given birth, if it shall be a son, shall have and hold the said third, but if it shall be a daughter and my said son Don Christopher Columbus shall die without leaving sons or legitimate descendants, as stated, my other legitimate children shall have and hold it in equal parts whom I substitute in the aforesaid order, mutually and equally, and if the child to which the Vicereine has not yet given birth shall be a son and shall succeed to this third through default of the said Don Christopher, I direct that he may have and hold it with the same entails and conditions which are set forth. My other children shall not be obliged to observe this entail, if by chance, through default of the said Don Christopher Columbus and of the child to which the Vicereine has not yet given birth, if it shall be a son,

they shall come to inherit in equal parts, as stated; and I desire and it is my will that the said Don Christopher, or in his default the child to which the Vicereine has not yet given birth, providing he shall receive the said portion over and above his legal share, shall not hold or enjoy the income from the said third until he reaches the age of fourteen years, and the income which shall be received from it during this time I desire that my daughters shall have and hold to help in their marriages, in the following manner: Doña Maria Columbus, my daughter, shall have half of the said income, which extra portion I bestow upon her, if it is necessary, in the best possible manner: and the other half all my other daughters shall have in equal portions to help in their dowries and marriages, providing that any one of them shall marry during the said time during which the said my son, is not to enjoy the income; or, if any one of them shall not be living in the world or shall have already entered an order or estate for her life, I desire and it is my will that from that time she shall not further enjoy the part which shall belong to her from the said income, and the said Don Christopher shall enjoy and hold it, or the person who shall have the said extra portion of the said third, so that, in case any one of the said my daughters shall be lacking or shall have disposed of her life and shall have entered the state of marriage or religion, she shall not hold or enjoy the part of the said income which may belong to her, and it shall return to and be enjoyed by the said Don Christopher, or whoever shall have the extra portion of the said third.

XXIX. And the remainder of my property shall be possessed and inherited in equal parts, by the said Don Luis Columbus, and Don Christopher Columbus and Doña Philippa Columbus and Doña Maria Columbus and Doña Joanna Columbus and Doña Isabella Columbus, and the child to which the Vicereine, Doña Maria de Toledo, my lawful wife, mother of the said my children, has not yet given birth: and as tutor and guardian of the said my sons and daughters for all and each one of them, I designate and appoint the Vicereine, Doña Maria de Toledo, my wife, in order that while she shall not marry she shall have and hold the persons and property of the said my sons and daughters, and as such tutor and guardian manage and administer their persons and property, and the person and Majorat of the said Don Luis Columbus, my son, with all that belongs to his offices, revenues, and estates, appointing and discharging for such purpose such persons as may be fitting in order that by her authority and government the person and offices and property of the said Don Luis Columbus, and of each one of the said, my children may be guarded and administered, observing in everything the service of God, our Lord, and of the Emperor and Queen, our Lords, and of those who shall be their successors, and the welfare and population of this country: and I charge, implore, and pray her as a favour to take great care of the conversion and protection of the natives of this said country, and of the welfare and increase of the said my children and hers, as I hope in her that she will do: and I direct the said Don Luis Columbus, my son, and all my sons and daughters to always

obey her, and serve and honour her since they all have obligation and cause to do so: and if it should happen that the Vicereine, my wife, should marry, I appoint and designate as guardians of the person and property and offices of the said Don Luis Columbus my son, and of the persons and property of all my other sons and daughters and of each one of them, Don Ferdinand Columbus, my brother, and *Juan de Villoria*, citizens and Governor of the city of La Concepcion de la Vega.

XXX. Moreover, inasmuch as being in the village of San Lucar, it may be three years ago, a little more or less, I made a codicil in which I bequeathed certain legacies, and left it in the Monastery of San Geronimo in the said village of San Lucar de Barrameda, I desire that if there shall be in it any legacy which is not in this testament, that it shall be fulfilled and observed as if it were placed and noted here: and by this my testament I revoke and annul and make void and invalid and defective all and any testament or testaments which I up to the present day may have made and executed in any manner, which I desire shall be invalid and worthless in court or out of court, except this one which I desire shall be valid and legal in court and out of court, and if it shall not be valid for my testament that it shall be valid for my codicil, and if it shall not be valid for my last and final will, which I desire shall be observed and fulfilled in the aforesaid form, and that it shall be valid in the best manner possible in law, in witness of which I execute this testamentary letter as my last will; before Fernando de Berrio, notary public of this city of San Domingo, dated the eighteenth day of September, of this year 1523.

Moreover, I say that besides the debts above declared, there have come to memory the following which I owe to the persons here declared.

To *Juan Fernandez de las Varas*, one hundred and eighteen pesos and two tomines.

To *Isabel de Campusano*, who was the wife of *Geronimo de Aguero*, one hundred pesos.

To *Don Francisco Centeno*, who was a citizen of the village of Santiago, deceased, one hundred and fifty-seven pesos.

THE SECOND ADMIRAL VICEROY DON DIEGO COLUMBUS.

In the city of San Domingo, by the port of this island of Española, Tuesday, the eighteenth day of the month of September, in the year of the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ, 1523; the Illustrious and Most Magnificent Lord, Don Diego Columbus, Admiral, Viceroy, and Governor in these regions for his Majesty, in the presence of me, Fernando de Berrio, Notary Public and Member of the Council of this city, and of the witnesses below subscribed, said that what is contained in this document which he presented before me, closed and sealed, was his last and final will and testament, and that it would be his will that such, his testament should be valid and should be fulfilled in everything and by everything as contained therein, leaving those persons contained therein, as his Lordship said he left them, as his heirs and executors, and revoking as he said he revoked them, any

testament and codicils whatever which he might have made, which should not be valid, but this one alone, in which he said that his will was fulfilled; to which there were present as witnesses the *Licentiate Pedro Vazquez*, and *Fernando de Carbajal*, Alcalde Mayor, and *Juan de Villoria*, and *Lope de Bardecia*, and *Garcia de Aguilar* and *Toribio Rodriguez* and *Francisco de Santa Cruz*, his servants and residents of this same city: and his Lordship and the said witnesses signed it with their names—The Admiral and Viceroy—Fernando de Carbajal, Juan de Villoria, the Licentiate Pero Vazquez, Lope de Bardeca, Francisco de Santa Cruz, Garcia de Aguilar, Toribio Rodriguez; and I, Fernando de Berrio, Notary Public, and belonging to the government of this said city, caused it to be written and placed my signature here, as witness.

The witnesses present at the said petition have this said testament opened and published, and all the rest contained above were the *Licentiate Marcos de Aguilar*, and the Licentiate *Alonso Zuazo* and the Licentiate *Pero Vazquez*, and the Licentiate *Troylus de Lucena* and *Juan de Villoria* and *Lope de Bardeci* and *Garcia de Aguilar* and *Hernando de Carbajal* and *Pedro de Lanzedo*, citizens of this said city, and *Antonio Lobio, clerigo presbitero*, and *Juan de Valle* and *Juan de Vargas* and *Alonso de Xeres*, servants of the said Lady Vicereine; and to have this present copy corrected and made to agree with the said original testament: *Francisco de la Rosa, clerigo presbitero* and *Hernando Silos* and *Abel Melendez* and *Juan de Loaysa*, residents of this said city: which copy was corrected and compared with the said original in the said city of San Domingo the sixth day of the month of May, in the year of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, 1526; being in the houses of the dwelling and office, the *said notary caused it to be written*, and I, the said *Esteban de la Roca*, Notary of their Majesties and Notary Public aforesaid, was present together with the said witnesses at all which has been said and each one thing and part of it: and by order of the said Señor Alcalde I caused this present copy of the said original testament to be written and drawn up, and I corrected and compared it with the said original testament; the witnesses who were present to see it corrected and compared were Francisco de la Rosa, *clerigo presbitero*, and the other witnesses aforenamed in the day, month, and year aforesaid, and therefore I placed this, my signet here, to that effect; in witness of the truth=[there is a notarial signet] Estaban de la Roca, Notary Public=between marks= *In Granada the 14th day of the month of August, 1526, Francisco de Aguilar presented it in the Council of the Indies.*

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[1] While this appears as Ianna Major in the printed *Libretto*, it is Joanna Major in the original manuscript.

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